Race Problem – 1936

Africa

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS AT PUBLIC SESSION OF NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA SIERRA LEONE SECTION.

MONDAY APRIL 27, 1936.

"THE PRESS IN SIERRA LEONE" BY MR. S. A. HUGHES, B.A.,

The paper begins by tracing the evolution of the Printing Press from the time of its invention by Caxton to its present stage of development, and tells us that the word Press has come to designate the whole arrangement connected with the publication and issue of Newspapers. Regarded as a necessary adjunct of civilization the Newspaper has been termed, not inaptly, "the Bible of the man of the World."

It was during the early part of the 17th century when Holland was at the zenith of his greatness and her commercial supremacy was unquestioned that England borrowed the idea then in vogue among Dutch business men of publishing sheets of news relating to trade and cognate matters from far and near, as such news was brought into Holland from all parts of the world. These sheets were called by the Dutch "*Coranatos*" but the English improved upon this by attaching the names of the editors to the sheets then known as news-letters.

Toward the second quarter of the 17th century conditions in England gave rise to a further development of these publications which began to be utilised as instruments of propaganda for political ends, under the name of "*Mercuries*." Flagrant abuses crept in and lampoons and licentious matttters predominated to such an extent that ways and means were sought to restrain and handicap the *Mercuries* and licences were issued to those who undertook to manage and direct these publications.

Since those days the powers and scope of newspapers have grown to such a prodigious extent as to embrace all phases of human activities.

As an instance of the curious ways in which some papers originated Mr. Hughes cited the case of the *Londan Gazette*, a Government Publication. On the outbreak of the Black Plague in London in 1665 the Court moved to Oxford and, as it was not considered safe to handle newspapers from the plague-stricken areas, Henry Muddiman, who is regarded to-day as the father of journalists was requested to provide means for supplying news to the Court. He did so, and on the return of the Court to London, established what is now known as the *London Gazette*

Mr. Hughes next dealt with the growth of the machinery, organisation and power of the Press. He traced how from the conversion of rags into pulp for the manufacture of suitable paper for printing purposes, there are to-day vast forests of trees in Norway and other places owned by Newspapers which when cut down and scientifically treated are converted into tremendous sheets of paper.

Adverting to our country, Mr, Hughes holds that the reason for the introduction of newspapers in Sierra Leone was rather as a means of ventilating grievances than for fostering trade or disseminating information about trade. The natural corollary of this should in his view have been collectively owned and managed by citizens, instead of being family concerns. Among individual proprietors of local newspapers in the past he mentioned Hon. William Grant, Sir Samuel Lewis, M. H. Davies, Rev. J. C. May, Cornelius May, A. J, and J. C. Shorunkeh Sawyerr, J. E. Gooding, S. J. Labor, T. E. Nelson-Williams, Hon. Dr. Bankole Bright, Hon. E. S. Beoku-Betts, present day proprietors being Mrs. A. C, May, Fowell Boston, T. J. Thompson, W. Coulson Labor, etc., At the moment there are two Dailies which came into existence through the enterprise and energy of Mr. Thompson and Mr. Boston, and he thinks that no fair and that running costs were heavy. It is for that reason that companies should be floated as in other places to provide adequate capital for running our papers efficiently and intelligently. So far as is known our Dailies are family preserves. And he added that, whatever it is, the Question must be faced as to whether, as they stand, our Dailies are elevating to the young, whether the intellectual and moral pabulum they provide are of the best.

After a vote of thanks to Mr, Hughes was carried the following Resolution was put and unanimously carried :—

"That, as matters stand at present, there is great necessity for the local press to take up its true role to stimulate thought and educate the people to higher ideas, and that in order to fulfil its duty to the community a Press Union is desirable."

The Meeting was closed with the Benediction followed by the National Anthem.

GENERAL OBSERVATION.—In Rev. Hycy Willson's excellent paper on Education scintillating with original ideas and sound suggestions, much was said about pooling of our resources and co-ordination of efforts. The reporter thinks that it would have been of benefit, had time permitted, if certain points were thrown open for discussion to see how far the community is prepared to adopt those wise counsels.

In recent years in a certain Mission Secondary School three competent graduates fresh from Fourah Bay were appointed to the staff as Junior Masters. There were no "Old Boys" of that Seminary and two of them belonged to another Denomination. The appointment it is said met with disfavour and two of the men had to resign, the third leaving sometime after. With such mentality and narrowness of mind is there any hope for progress? To the clamourers the test was apparently not that the men were incompetent but that they were not "Old Boys."

The second point touches our pride not a little but in the larger interest of the community we must face it. What objection is there to Headmasters of some of our Missionary Secondary Schools for boys being Europeans? There is a suggestion in the paper about interchange of Staff and it would indeed be a good thing when there is a dearth of first-rate local men, to fall back upon our benefactors for temporary help at least. In Nigeria and the Gold Coast this system has been tried with results which are well known to us.

No true African will advocate this policy as a permanent one. What is wanted for our children is nothing but the best and whether white or black, we should welcome the man who is prepared to sympathise with and help us.

In our Girls Secondary Schools we accept the situation with contentment and satisfaction. *Lonta.*

To impart this philosophy of life, which should be a lever to one's action is the work of present day newspapers, and in a measure, though there is room for great improvement, they are endeavouring to discharge the duties of this onerous position.

Mr. Hughes next dwelt on the advantages of advertisements to commerce and considers more benefit will be gained by merchants and traders if a more intensive use is made of this medium of making their wares known.

The Editors of papers are assisted in their work of social reform by contributions from the pens of private individuals. It is often a source of regret that many who can be of help to others in this direction from some cause or causes do not do so, whilst others, with all the best intentions in the world, are contributors whose zeal had outrun their knowledge and their labour cannot be accepted.

A word of advice to the enthusiastic embryo journalist is to avoid the use of high-sounding bombastic terms, and to employ everyday household words in sending articles to the press.

In a small community like ours much may be spoken in favour of writing under an assumed name, but it is a fact that cannot be gainsaid that much weight is attached to a communication to the press that bears the name of a person of influence in the community. In conclusion Mr. Hughes suggests that additional facilities be granted newspapers to view" *pro* and *con* measures in contemplation by the Government, that the laws relating to newspapers, as obtained in the British Isles, be brought up-to-date here amongst us, and to the owners of newspapers that they should unite into a Press Union.

He believes as and when our public is sufficiently intelligently alive to the adage that they who would be free themselves must strike the blow, that they would fall into line in the manner the people of the sister colony of Lagos have done, and register a company to own and control a press.

We must be zealous, but that zeal must be guided by knowledge, and to make knowledge valuable, we must have the cheerfulness of wisdom, for "wisdom is better than rubies, and wisdom excelleth folly as far as light excelleth darkness."

Mr. F. A. Miller, an old freelance journalist, opening the discussion, dilated on the difficulties of editors and regretted that the lecturer did not supply the names of some of the defunct newspapers, which in their day served the country and the cause of the people an omission it was observed Mr. Miller himself failed to supply.

Mr. Okon Sawyerr and Mr. Thomas Smart next took Mr. Hughes to task about the class of news which receives prominence in our Dailies and had some scathing remarks to offer. Some of these items of news were neither profitable nor edifying and did not reflect credit on the purveyors. To resort to the columns of a newspaper to vilify an opponent was cowardly and mean, and yet this practice was not unknown in our midst.

Both critics are young men and if they were voicing the opinion of youth it would seem that there is a growing dissatisfaction with the state of things and youth is demanding a higher standard in the tone of our papers. To broadcast the antics of Mary Batmot and gloat over the failings of hopless recidivists; to pander to the taste of the superstitious element in the community is deliberately to lower the standard and degrade the true role of the Press.

Mr. Carew thought a comparison of our Dailies with those of Nigeria would not be in our favour. He was aware that editors had their difficulties in making two ends meet and

accurate picture of the Press in Sierra Leone can be presented if the Government press with its publications are omitted.

Comparing the present with the past Mr. Hughes claims that the quality of printing has greatly improved due not only to the quality of the paper now used but also to the less lavish application of printing ink; and as to the articles he says "A fair percentage of present day contribution to newspapers, have escaped from what was more the fashion of decades ago, which was not only to damn with scanty praise, the individual or institution which is the point of attack, but to so bespatter with mud and blacken the opponent, that some writers may be likened to one who has written with his pen dipped in gall instead of ink.

To-day education is now steadily on the upgrade, and there are only few correspondents of the old type with just enough of learning to misquote the malaprops: nor are editors any longer pestered by contributions that are more or less full of scraps of knowledge and whose writers imagined that they would be immortalised by quoting those scraps, with their names published in print thereunder.

It is now considered that whatever also may be included in the policy of a progressive newspaper, it should endeavour to elevate its readers, by educating them along right lines.

To the question why newspapers are necessary Mr. Hughes's answer is, because men are desirous to obtain happiness and that happiness is best obtained when those things which grieve and annoy are got rid of. Mr. Hughes went on to develop his argument concluding with the dictum that it is observed on the other hand that with only a small amount of outward prosperity combined with a certain amount of good health, joined to a cheerful disposition and a sound *maniere de vie*, the average man or woman thus circumstanced experiences what cannot be worngly termed a sense of happiness,

If it is thus demonstrated that two of the chief requisites towards attaining happiness for most people, viz a measure of outward prosperity and a certain amount of good health, can be traced to economics and politics both of which with us here in Sierra Leone are words which in the final analysis mean Government—then Mr. Hughes concludes our newspapers have their work laid clear before them in the realm of social science. Why should this be so? "Because Social Science or Social Psychology has long been neglected for men have not yet learnt the lesson to think of others without passion," and because education and newpapers in many lands encourage and foster nationalism and emotionalism, and the scientific attitude towards human affairs has not as yet been adopted by the world at large. Physical science has influenced man's action in the material world during only the last three hundred years, and no one, he thinks would care to be such a pessimist as to assert, that social science will not in time, equally influence man's relation to politics and economies which means influencing the government. It should be borne in mind that it was due to the action of individuals who propounded the laws of physical science that changes were brought about; thus whilst we cannot afford to ignore the action that Society, the group, or mass has on the individual (that in a word society moulds the man), yet we must be equally wise to agree that there are instances where the individual or a few individuals have been known to mould or influence society.

Adverting the other factors which are productive of happiness in most average men namely cheerful disposition, and a sound philosophy of life. We can say with some assurance that cheerfulness may be congenital, but that this philosophy of life must of its very nature be imparted.

A FLAGRANT CONNIVANCE.

(By R. COEUR DE LION.)

The district centres of the Durban and District Football Association are seething with discontent and dissatisfaction brought to bear upon them by the attitude of the same Association in flagrantly overlooking to provide for proper superintendence of most of the matches played thereat, by failure to despatch referees for the Association matches. For instance in the North Coast zone of the matches already played since the opening of the season only one-quarter have been superintended by appointed Association referees. For the others the captains of the clubs contesting had just to agree upon some individual or other as most likely to manage the match approximately well —provided he also acquiesced with the request.

What note does this anomaly strike on the gamut of our Association? Nay, shall I not rather ask what nature or amount of discipline our Association expects from the players in the absence of an official superintendent over them? I am prone to think there is no doubt about any note other than the unpleasant note of preponderant disharmony, inherited incompetence, and ever-growing corruption among the executants of the aims, ideals, and purposes of so sublime an Association as this. Adherence to the prescribed rules and regulations of any organised body acts as its conserving force, and efficiency, which is the resultant of this, is essentially and intrinsically a determinant of the continuity and long life of such a body. But when an association begins to ignore its ancillaries disharmony and lack of co-operation become imminent, and one is apt to doubt to what degree the two above enunciated complementary elements of any association exist.

It is absolutely needless to enumerate the number of instances the association district clubs have been disappointed with the non-arrival of referees in spite of the pains and expenses incurred by the members of these clubs in coming all the way from Durban for the sole purpose of playing for their fixtured clubs. The serious riotous eruption between the Good Hopes of Mount Edgecombe and the Wild Zebras of Ohlange would probably not have occurred in the presence of an Association referee. Just at this very moment of my writing there are two clubs at the Ohlange Centre patiently and eagerly waiting for a referee who will not come at all, and it is already 4:15 p.m.! This really is enough to fling one into an ebullition of rage, for since the riot between the Good Hopes and the Wild Zebras, clubs fear to enter into any match in the absence of an Association referee. Therefore the members of these fixtured clubs must of necessity return to their respective places of abode—disappointed, disconcerted and woebegone.

Members of the Durban and District Football Association, the district centres of your Association appeal for more consideration, justice, impartiality, and fairplay They are your satellites; they are part and parcel of your unique organisation, and form an unquestionable integrated whole with you. You cannot connive at them without endangering the unity and co-operation of your organisation.

It is really with consummate sincerity that I appeal for the cessation of this prevailing flagrant connivance at the district centres by the Durban and District Football Association. If referees do not turn for matches for which they have been appointed up, they must be charged just inasmuch as clubs are penalised for failure to attend matches for which they have been fixtured by having their points forfeited.

Are Natives Enterprising Agriculturists?

(Bantu Sun Herald)

The Sun 6-20-36

NATIVE AGRICULTURAL SHOWS.

6-20-36

(By S. H. D. Lee Mnyandu)

Ohlange Phoenix

The season for agricultural shows has arrived. Many Natives began several months ago to prepare their stock for exhibition and to select best crops for the show. Agricultural demonstrators have been very busy during the year instructing Natives in best methods of cultivation and selection of show exhibits. With all this intolerable work on the demonstrators and white staff agricultural members, and staff members of the colleges, a concerted agricultural society is founded, which demonstrates to the Natives the value of agriculture, and how to stage a more successful show.

There is no excuse for a Native who says he did not know how to select his show exhibits, when so numerous agricultural demonstrators, and agricultural officers are at his disposal to assist him in his difficulties.

There is also no reason why Native shows should not surpass all others in this country, only if Natives are little energetic about their work, and use some fertilizers for planting, and stick to the slogan "quality and not quantity must be the breeder's watchword" in stock breeding.

General failure in succeeding in agriculture is always caused by laziness. Natives in general are not enterprising agriculturists, I don't care how deeply impressed a demonstrator might persuade their minds. On the contrary never, unless the white man comes and makes them work for themselves. When you tell him to prepare for a show, he thinks that you are worrying him greatly and unnecessarily. He thinks money is wasted unprofitably in shows; and in transit his exhibits depreciate in their value. This very truly is the case, a lot of money is spent in shows, or your exhibits don't get any prize in the show.

A farmer, however, who is very much interested in a show has a competitive spirit behind him. The little spirit a farmer has for agricultural shows generally shows how enterprising agriculturist he is at his own home.

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(Natal Mercury 20-3-36)

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Race Problem – 1936
Africa

A black Peril

Bantu Press Notes
The Sun of Natal,
3/4/36

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General Smuts in his address in London in 1917 when referring to the Native and Coloured troops then engaged in war in East Africa and France against the Germans said, "My eyes have been opened to a serious danger which threatens not only the future of South Africa, but also that of the world. That danger is the enormous value of the military material you have in that Black Country!

"It is possible to train there one of the most powerful armies the world has ever seen. We were not aware of the military value of the Natives until this war. I hope one of the results of the war will be that some understanding will be arrived at by which military training of Natives in that area will be absolutely forbidden. If that is not done armies may be trained there which if properly led by the whites and properly equipped, may prove a danger to civilization itself. I hope that will be carefully borne in mind by our statesmen when the day of settlement comes."

These words form the crux of the whole complicated situation in South Africa - that of retarding the progress of the Bantu people. There is a fear that if Natives are given full citizen rights the whites may be overwhelmed and their supremacy endangered.

European nations are not in favour of Italy's mad colonial adventure because of their sympathy to Abyssinia. The cold shoulder given to Italy is on account of the fear that if Italy completely subdues Abyssinia she might indulge wholesale in her non-racial discrimination in military training. She might raise in Africa "the most powerful army the world has ever seen," and this might react detrimentally to the colonial interests of England, France, Portugal and Belgium. Italy has long since seen the enormous value of military material she has in Africa, and she had in view the enhancement of this material when she advanced religious motives as her reasons for bidding common sense good night preparatory to a greater sanctity (?) than her sister countries.

South Africa, rather the Union of South African States, is striving hard for secession from the British Empire. It is at the same time sowing seeds of discontent amongst her Native subjects, and the communist movement is getting a firm grip on its discontented subjects. What will be the fate of South Africa after seceding from the Empire if a foreign country attacks it at the time when the majority of her population is quite discontent? We leave it to any one's imagination.

Last week General Hertzog did not mince his words when he made it quite clear that the supremacy of the white man in this country must be maintained at all costs, even if its maintenance was detrimental to the interests of the Native people. How the trusteeship advocated by Mr. Nicholls can survive under this threat, we fail to understand. Our rulers have alternating views and opinions on our fate. At one time are looked upon as dear children whose welfare must be under a trustee - this when they rob us of our land. At another time we are looked upon as a peril and danger to their civilization and supremacy - this when we ask for a say in the government of our country or when we fight for our rights when they are threatened. We are never looked upon, except by outsiders, as an asset - a powerful market which if well organised and equipped may prove to be "the powerful MARKET the world has ever seen." The Natives can absorb all the products of this country to the better advantage of enriching it. Bigotry in political circles however, blinds the Government and no advantage is taken of this market.

It is true we cannot always look to the whites for our daily bread. This is a period of each man for himself. Heretofore the strong, either in body or mind, have used their strength to exploit the weak for their own advantage and aggrandizement. The Bantu being weak have naturally been exploited. We have learned a lesson, thank goodness, not too late. We believe thoroughly in the capacity of the Bantu as a distinct race to work out for itself in civilization an honourable and praiseworthy place among the great peoples of the world. No class or group of people in this or any other country is ever going to get more than it has power to demand. What the Native lack in wealth and power he can make up by intelligent and serious thought and by UNITED ACTION. We are as much a part of the population of South Africa as any group composing that membership; and must possess the same rights and privileges.

We are thoroughly opposed to segregation, discrimination disfranchisement. We are opposed to the way in which our rights are made the political football of this country. We are not a black peril, nor a danger to any body or any class of people. We are a loyal and law-abiding people. It is high time that the Spirit of Christ was manifested in the making and execution of laws.

We appeal to the Race to be proud of itself in prosperity as well as in adversity, and being men and women let us love and assist one another in all reasonable ways when it is necessary to do so. Let us pray that by the grace of God and the force of truth the dangerous walls of prejudice and inhuman injustice may fall.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

PUBLIC SESSION OF LOCAL BRANCH.

Weekly Review
3/28/36

The activities of the Congress as outlined in their programme were continued during the week with much zest and earnestness.

On Monday, March 23, at 4 p.m., in the Wilberforce Memorial Hall, two papers were read, (1) by Dr. A. F. Renner Cole on the subject. "Medical Reforms, Personal Hygiene and Sanitation." The speaker travelled over a wide range, packed full of instructive, and interesting suggestions, and recommendations. It is to be regretted that the attendance was rather poor on this occasion. The paper when published would make a valuable addition to our local knowledge, of what we need.

The second paper on the "Future of the Congress" was read by O. J. V. Tuboku Metzger, Esq, Barrister-at-Law. It was a survey of the history of Congress from its inception, its growth achievments and aspirations for the future. The address was delivered with a great display of vitality and enthusiasm. A valuable historical contribution and appeal.

Friday 27, at the usual hour, witnessed a continuation of the series, when Mr. T. S. French M.A., read a paper on "Agricultural outlook in the Colony and Protectorate. As a student, and a son of one of the Western Villages, who has

We are sure the aims and objects of the Congress are being better understood by the work of the Session. We are looking forward to the session next week, when vital questions will be also discussed.

The Vice-President Hon. E. S. BokuBetts M.B.E., presided. There was a much appreciated Pianoforte solo, by Mrs. Potts Wilson; several ladies took part in the discussion on this occasion.

Race Problem – 1936

Africa

A black Peril

Natal Mercury 14/3/36

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European nations are not in favour of Italy's mad colonial adventure because of their sympathy to Abyssinia. The cold shoulder given to Italy is on account of the fear that if Italy completely subdues Abyssinia she might indulge wholesale in her non-racial discrimination in military training. She might raise in Africa "the most powerful army the world has ever seen," and this might react detrimentally to the colonial interests of England, France, Portugal and Belgium. Italy has long since seen the enormous value of military material she has in Africa, and she had in view the enhancement of this material when she advanced religious motives as her reasons for bidding common sense good night preparatory to a greater sanctity (?) than her sister countries.

South Africa, rather the Union of South African States, is striving hard for secession from the British Empire. It is at the same time sowing seeds of discontent amongst her Native subjects, and the communist movement is getting a firm grip on its discontented subjects. What will be the fate of South Africa after seceding from the Empire if a foreign country attacks it at the time when the majority of her population is quite discontent? We leave it to any one's imagination.

Last week General Hertzog did not mince his words when he made it quite clear that the supremacy of the white man in this country must be maintained at all costs, even if its maintenance was detrimental to the interests of the Native people. How the trusteeship advocated by Mr. Nicholls can survive under this threat, we fail to understand. Our rulers have alternating views and opinions on our fate. At one time we are looked upon as dear children whose welfare must be under a trustee - this when they rob us of our land. At another time we are looked upon as a peril and danger to their civilization and supremacy - this when we ask for a say in the government of our country or when we fight for our rights when they are threatened. We are never looked upon, except by outsiders, as an asset - a powerful market which if well organised and equipped may prove to be "the powerful MARKET the world has ever seen." The Natives can absorb all the products of this country to the better advantage of enriching it. Bigotry in political circles however, blinds the Government and no advantage is taken of this market.

It is true we cannot always look to the whites for our daily bread. This is a period of each man for himself. Heretofore the strong, either in body or mind, have used their strength to exploit the weak for their own advantage and aggrandizement. The Bantu being weak have naturally been exploited. We have learned a lesson, thank goodness, not too late. We believe thoroughly in the capacity of the Bantu as a distinct race to work out for itself in civilization an honourable and praiseworthy place among the great peoples of the world. No class or group of people in this or any other country is ever going to get more than it has power to demand. What the Native lack in wealth and power he can make up by intelligent and serious thought and by UNITED ACTION. We are as much a part of the population of South Africa as any group composing that membership; and must possess the same rights and privileges.

We are thoroughly opposed to segregation, discrimination disfranchisement. We are opposed to the way in which our rights are made the political football of this country. We are not a black peril, nor a danger to any body or any class of people. We are a loyal and law-abiding people. It is high time that the Spirit of Christ was manifested in the making and execution of laws.

We appeal to the Race to be proud of itself in prosperity as well as in adversity, and being men and women let us love and assist one another in all reasonable ways when it is necessary to do so. Let us pray that by the grace of God and the force of truth the dangerous walls of prejudice and inhuman injustice may fall.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

PUBLIC SESSION OF LOCAL BRANCH.

Weekly Mercury 25/3/36

The activities of the Congress as outlined in their programme were continued during the week with much zest and earnestness.

On Monday, March 23, at 4 p.m., in the Wilberforce Memorial Hall, two papers were read, (1) by Dr. A. E. Renner Cole on the subject. "Medical Reforms, Personal Hygiene and Sanitation." The speaker travelled over a wide range, packed full of instructive, and interesting suggestions, and recommendations. It is to be regretted that the attendance was rather poor on this occasion. The paper when published would make a valuable addition to our local knowledge, of what we need.

The second paper on the "Future of the Congress" was read by O. J. V. Tuboku Metzger, Esq, Barrister-at-Law. It was a survey of the history of Congress from its inception, its growth achievments and aspirations for the future. The address was delivered with a great display of vitality and enthusiasm. A valuable historical contribution and appeal.

Friday 27, at the usual hour, witnessed a continuation of the series, when Mr. T. S. French M.A., read a paper on "Agricultural outlook in the Colony and Protectorate. As a student, and a son of one of the Western Villages, who has personal knowledge of the soil, he was able to give an interesting outlook of the Agricultural needs of the Colony and Protectorate.

The second paper was on the all absorbing subject of "Unemployment in Sierra Leone and its Remedy, which was presented by Mr. C. Dunstan Williams, retired officer of His Majesty's Customs. The Vice-President Hon. E. S. BeokuBetts M.B.E., presided. There was a much appreciated Pianoforte solo, by Mrs. Potts Wilson; several ladies took part in the discussion on this occasion.

With the keeness of observation characteristic of the members of that Branch of the Civil Service to which Mr. Williams belonged, he dealt with the various phases of unemployment, beginning with shipping and seamen, on to laundresses, and petty traders. It was a practical treatment of a practical subject. Resolutions deferred for next meeting.

Weekly Mercury 25/3/36

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Dr. Seme's Support of the Compromise

MAGNA CHARTA OF NATIVE RIGHTS.

I write to confirm the view that Professor Jabavu and his colleagues had no power to reject or to accept the proposals made to them during the course of their interview with General Hertzog. They must first return and report to the people whom they repre ent. African leaders have to move slowly in order to retain the confidence of their own people today. I think that the Government should allow the executives of organised African bodies to meet during the Easter holidays and to circularise the Native Bills in their amended form before introducing them for final action in Parliament. The great offer or compromise made by the Prime Minister almost removes the principal objection of the northern Provinces against the original Bill. The disenfranchisement of the Cape Natives seemed to strike most mercilessly at the most vital hopes of all Africans in this country, the right of citizenship.

The Honourable Prime Minister has made a very great compromise by withdrawing the intention to disenfranchise future generations of Africans, in this country. Some of your readers think that the Professor and his colleagues should have accepted the offer on the spot. Some of these people do not realise that the "Natives" have definitely advanced a stage higher today. Public opinion should be generous and patient with us Africans in our present very weak position. No other section of the community in this country perhaps deserves your greater interest and consideration. We are every thing to you -- Our cheap labour alone is one of the greatest riches of this country and bring happiness and comfort to every farmer and the humblest family in the land

The African National Congress, the Cape Native Voters Association and all other organisations must first receive the report of the Convention delegates during their Easter conference. I have no doubt that the compromise made by the Government will bring much desired relief among the Chiefs and the Africans of the northern provinces, especially because they want the other portions of the Native Bills to be considered too. Everything so far has been overshadowed by the Cape Native Vote. There seems to be no good reason to disappoint Native hopes for co operation in connection with the legislation which is the Magna Charta of Native rights in this country. The compromise opens new avenues for co operation which the Government should develop since it must help to create confidence in the hearts of the Native Africans of this country, who are the majority of the inhabitants of South Africa. No matter what any one may say, it seems to me that the Africans, (the Native Problem) will dominate the life and spirit of this country more and more as the years go by. Therefore it must pay to recognise the fact and the necessity for real and proper co-operation between the Government and the Africans.

P. ka I. SEME.

MR. VILAKAZI'S ASCENDENCY.

THE capping of two hundred students at the Summer graduation ceremony of the Witwatersrand last Saturday was of interest to the European race by reason of the sons and daughters who were on that occasion being rewarded for their labours of years. But it was also full of interest for us of the African race by reason of the fact that one of those capped was one of our race in the person of Mr. B. W. Vilakazi B.A. who has again signalized himself as a grant in learning. It will be remembered that he distinguished himself in attaining to the B.A. degree as a private student while at the same time engaged in the duties of teacher. Last Saturday's ceremony is of peculiar interest to us as it abundantly goes to prove that his services in the Witwatersrand are already too. Everything so far has been a success. European students and a European audience does not burst into song over a trifle. The inmost ardent prayers of some of Vilakazi's friends are now being rewarded for they prayed that he may be imbued with a heart and mind full of humility and to always keep in mind that he is there on a severe trial and that his false step and fall will bar the door against his people for a considerable time to come.

Our hopes were strengthened when we saw him during last year's holiday being accompanied by a young man of the Dutch-speaking race. This young man went everywhere with him walking to destinations where there was no conveyance and it may be that they even entered huts together on their knees! That fact itself showed that he (Vilakazi) was not putting on airs and trying to show himself as the equal and perhaps superior of those whom he teaches Native although of the ruling race. His behaviour has gained for him this great honour. Failure in this has been the cause of the downfall of many of our people who do not realize the fact that courtesy does not cost anything but is of great value. We know of a good number of our people who were chosen for positions that had not been hitherto vouchsafed to their people. While with white people they showed the I-am-as-good-as-you spirit to their undoing. We remember one of those who was given the position of looking after the light house on the South Coast. One night a surprise visit was paid by a superior officer and what did he find ? The caretaker had gone to attend a wedding and left his duty ! There have been others who were given higher position even in the courts and some of these did not comport themselves as representing a whole people who will depend upon his behaviour to run the chance of attaining to the same position. How often we forget this that one false step taken for our dignity may mar the opportunity of our fellows for a long time to come.

Let us hope that Mr. Vilakazi's ascendency so far may be continued and that our young men may follow his steps to attain great knowledge but never to throw away the garb of humility in the attempt to attain their objective that of raising their people to a higher pedestal by their self-sacrificing efforts. All great men have attained to true fame and greatness by treading those very paths. It is said Pride goeth before destruction and a haughty spirit before a fall or conversely, Humility goes before greatness and a lowly spirit goes before a worthy life.

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

SUMAMRY OF PROCEEDINGS AT PUBLIC SESSION OF NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

SIERRA LEONE SECTION.

Continued from our last.

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Commenting on the short time at his disposal, Dr. A. F. Renner Dove admitted the difficulty of dealing in detail with various aspects of the important subjects which fell to his lot. He therefore proposed to confine himself to broad outlines putting forward recommendations and suggestions as he went along.

He had some caustic remarks to make on the mentality of a people that could not differentiate between a Medical Officer and a Dispenser or Dresser, as an instance of which he mentioned the lamentable misunderstanding and outcry against the V.D. Bill, the enactment on which Dr. Dove observed would have been of inestimable benefit to the country.

Dealing with the office of the Medical Officer of Health, Dr. Dove asserted that for some years no permanent officer, i.e., officer with the necessary qualifications had been appointed to the post, only acting officers were officiating. It was of paramount importance that this should be remedied.

The second point touched upon was the absence of any provision for a whole-time Medical Officer to look after School children as in other countries. At present on the outbreak of any infectious diseases like Measles, children are left to the tender mercies of Sanitary Officers who have their limitations and in the nature of things cannot be expected to diagnose cases.

The omission to appoint a Resident Medical Officer for the Headquarters District based on Waterloo, where the annual death-rate is between 400-500, Dr. Dove considers deplorable; and he strongly suggests that as the Revenue expands the question be raised. There would be plenty of work for such an Officer as his orbit would embrace Hastings, Benguema, York, Kent and other adjacent villages.

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For Maternity Cases special buildings are required. The ward at present in use in the Connaught Hospital accommodates only a limited number and when it is remembered that the number of cases treated has jumped from 214 in 1925 to 501 in 1934, the growing appreciation by the community of the advantages of skilled professional treatment and nursing is apparent and ought to be encouraged. After confinement women should remain in the hospital for some little time and not to be evacuated too soon as is now the practice to make room for other cases. More spacious building is therefore desirable.

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(a) Prevention of over-crowding especially in the East and West Wards which is principally the cause of tuberculosis and marlaria among the country people in those places.

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As far as this Colony is concerned, there is existing no political organization to give intelligent expression to the country's standpoint and grievances. It is doubtless the inclination of Governments to serve the people, but if the people are not vocal, if through selfishness and inertia they cannot cohere to make collective representations, it is not to be expected that Government will go out of its way to redress wrongs and grievances that are not brought to notice. No privileges or rights are ever conceded without in some cases bitter struggles. Consequently if the lot of our people is to be ameliorated, if their ligitimate aspirations are to be respected, if we must emerge from inaptitude to self-government, we must combine for the general good.

The youth of this country must wake up. We have social clubs, a few, if any, debating clubs or literary societies, but there was no political organization outside of Congress to watch the interest of the people. Elsewhere in the West Coast, Youth movements of a sort were arousing young people to service. Congress will always welcome an awakening among our young people. Mr. Tuboku-Metzger made it quite clear that the appeal of Congress does not confirm itself to political issues exclusively; the cultural development of West Africa looms largely in its programme. A West African University with colleges in each Colony, questions of alien immigration, agriculture etc., are kept in view. In his concluding remarks Mr. Tuboku-Metzger extended cordial invitations to all true Africans to the Service of their Country.

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(By Selby Ngcobo.)

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Weekly News

4-4-36

Editorial

Inequalities

It is generally known that the Representation Bill affects Natives, but we do not know how it affects them. Who are included in the Voting Units and how are they included? Perhaps we shall not know some of these points until after the Census has been taken. I propose to elaborate on some of these points later on.

Inequalities

The Representation Bill is full of inequalities. That is the most addi-striking thing about it. In the Cape Province, present and future we can be Native voters will elect two Eu-

The Bloemfontein Conference

11-4-36

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

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Weekly News

4-4-36

Editorial

Leader

1-4-36

is at a disadvantage. One amendment is to include the Mission Reserves Boards of which there are several functioning already in Natal among the Voting Units. It must also be remembered that there is actually only one Local Council in Natal. The Provinces and the Electoral Colleges will not exercise equal political power. In the Transkei, there are many Local Councils and two or chiefs. In the Cape Colony, there are few chiefs, several Councils and a fair number of Advisory Boards In the O.F.S. there are two chiefs, several Advisory Boards and two or three three Councils. In the Transvaal, there are several chiefs, seven councils and several Advisory Boards. What we want to know exactly is: How many there are of each of these Voting Units. In connection with Advisory Boards, a point which is agitating Natal is the fact that there are Advisory Boards which are merely adjuncts of the Municipal Government and not Advisory Boards under the Urban Areas Act and therefore Voting Units recognised in the Bill.

What is ment by the expression "Chiefs of such tribes" say in urban or semi urban areas? Is the word *tribe* here used in an ethnic sense or in an administrative sense? Again, how is British Bechuanaland a district area which has been so recognised ethnically and historically affected by this Bill? Nor does it seem fair that the Chief Native Commissioner of the Witwatersrand area should have a seat in the council when his area is not a distinct Electoral Area. Another point worthy of note is the fact that the four Senators are not required under the Bill to attend the proceedings of the Native Council when they might, with profit, do so if Native Representation in the Senate is to mean something concrete and substantial.

ADVICE TO PARLIAMENT.

The Native Representative Council means well. It gives us a legal and constitutional platform from which we can raise matters affecting us: but we must not think that it is the only body that will advise Parliament. Parliament will receive advice on Native affairs from the following:

(1) The eight Senators elected under the South African Act to represent the reasonable wants and wishes of coloured persons (Natives, Indians and Coloureds.)

(2) The four Senators to be elected under this Bill.

(3) The Native Representative Council.

(4) The Native Affairs Commission.

(5) The Natlve Affairs Department.

What is the relationship of these bodies to one another and to Parliament and may Parliament not be paralysed by conflicting advice.

The chiefs, who are the only people with areal franchise in this bill at their second conference in Maritzburg requested an increase in the number of members to the Native Council and also a delay in the bringing ol such a bill into oparation. The chiefs were right. The bill is too complicated for the lay and non-legal mind. Even after going throug all the stages in Parliament, it might be well to allow a year to pass before putting it into operation and in that time get Native Commissions to tell our people what they are supposee to do.

(To be contued.)

MORE WAR SOUGHT BY HAILE SELASSIE

Ethiopian Leaves Geneva on Way to London, Supposedly to Plan Return Home.

9 CHIEFS STILL FIGHTING

Emperor Can Get to Free Area of His Country Only With Aid of Great Britain.

By FREDERICK T. BIRCHALL

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

GENEVA, July 5.—Haile Selassie, the Lion of Judah, who was, and from his own viewpoint still is, the King of Kings ruling Ethiopia, left Geneva tonight a saddened and disillusioned man. He had pinned his faith to the League of Nations, and what happened here yesterday has shown to him and to the world how frail and insubstantial is this imposing façade which he and others believed to be a solid and substantial structure.

With the Emperor went his entire entourage. They are going to London and the Emperor's present purpose is understood to be seeking permission to attempt to enter what remains of his former kingdom not now in Italian hands to make a last stand against the aggressor. He can reach it only by airplane over Anglo-Egyptian Sudan or under British safe conduct through the Mediterranean. Whether that safe conduct or permission to fly over the Sudan will be forthcoming is a matter resting upon such consciences as there are in Downing Street.

It takes courage for the monarch to return to Ethiopia under present circumstances but Haile Selassie, as he has abundantly proved, has much. If the Italians, closing in upon what remains of independent Ethiopian territory, catch him, his end is certain. Yet he still hopes that Ethiopian resistance to the invader may be made effective.

Nine Chiefs Still Loyal

It is understood there remain free and independent in Ethiopia nine tribal chiefs, most of them from the South, where the Ethiopian forces were never broken. These chiefs acknowledge allegiance to the Emperor. They are said to command forces estimated at 135,000 men.

These forces have no artillery but have machine-guns and rifles and a limited supply of ammunition. Waging guerilla warfare during the rains, which will not cease until October, they may make things uncomfortable for the victorious Italian army.

That is the vision of the exiles, who hope soon to be on the way back to their homeland to direct operations. To others who remain here amid the disillusionments of Geneva it seems a vast vision.

The estimate of 135,000 men is based on a letter—now weeks old—from the Ethiopian Government left in Gore. The ammunition supply depends almost entirely upon the good-will of Great Britain, whatever that may be worth.

Modern Britain, as exemplified by Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden and Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, has a reputation of being realistic and of "cutting its losses" as the League cut its losses yesterday.

The Ethiopian hope is that, failing a defense contribution which the League Assembly so positively turned down yesterday, the remaining friends of Ethiopia in London, headed by Professor Jevons, may be able to float a voluntary loan by private subscription to Ethiopia on the principle of those extended to the Irish Free State.

Such a loan might purchase for the defenders medical supplies and protective equipment against Italian poison gas.

Swiss Welcome Limited

In a sense the Emperor's departure from Swiss territory was involuntary. He has a villa at Vevey on the shore of Lake Leman and, were he an ordinary citizen, he could remain there. However, the Swiss Government always is fearful of incurring the displeasure of any European government and has held that he could live there only if he gave a pledge to refrain absolutely from any political activities while on Swiss territory.

Such a pledge the Emperor obviously could not give without betraying the country he has sworn to defend. Failing it, however, the Swiss permission that he might remain here covered only the period during which he filled the rôle of the first delegate of Ethiopia to the League Assembly. The Assembly having closed, he must go.

Possibly 100 persons, including international newspaper correspondents, were at the station tonight to see him depart. He came, a solitray figure, in his inevitable long black cloak with brown suede shoes, Ras Kassa, Ras Nasibu and other members of his suite walking respectfully behind him. He entered his compartment and through the window the silhouette of his melancholy and lonely face was outlined against the red woodwork as the train moved out. The only demonstration was a series of scattered cries of "Vive l'Emperor!" Haile Selassie rose and bowed. Then the train passed on and he was gone.

American Advisers Also Go

There departed also tonight his faithful American advisers, upon whom to the very last his utmost reliance has been placed. Mr. and Mrs. Everett A. Colson are returning to their home in Maine. Mr. Colson goes back there in ill health, his heart having been affected by the altitude of Addis Ababa. He stayed with the Emperor as long as he could be of the slightest use. Dr. John Hathaway Spencer returns to his home in Iowa. He also can do no more and must seek some other occupation.

Thus ends Ethiopia's brave stand for justice at Geneva, where public utterances proclaim idealism, while underlying forces recognize only realities. The finale of this drama of the little nation will be played out elsewhere.

Race Problem-1936

Africa

S. A. P. Get The Freedom Of Durban City.

Pick Up Black Marias Active.

Native Women To Carry Passes.

Without pomp and heraldry the South African Police walked into the City of Durban last Saturday to get themselves into pitch to take over, on the 1st of April, the work of patrolling the the City and suburbs and assuming responsibility for all serious and non-serious crimes. The Borough Police, however, have not walked out of the scene. They have been retained to control traffic and help in the administration of liquor laws.

The entry of the South African Police into Durban has occasioned great unrest amongst the Native labourers and residents in Durban. The arrival of the "Pick Up" Vans one or two weeks ago has been the topic of conversation, and as a result the tax collectors and pass registry clerks have had their time taxed to the utmost by never ending cues of tax payers and of those who want their passes adjusted. The Native Affairs officers both at Ordnance Road and Stanger Street are simply inundated with hard-earned pounds pouring in unceaseless stream.

POLICE DRAGNETS ALREADY ACTIVE

The S.A.P. assumed duties on the Fools' Day, but there has been no fooling about it. They were already active at 12.15 in the morning of the 1st of April, when a young Native damsel in her nocturnal visit was dragged into the police net at the intersection of Alice and Grey Street and removed in the "Pick Up" van to the Central charge office in Smith Street. What the fate of the poor girl was the report is quiet about it.

NATIVE WOMEN TO CARRY PASSES.

Another innovation brought about by this S. A. P. is the insistence of carrying out that provision in the Native Administration Act that local authorities may at their discretion cause the Native women to carry passes. It is a great shame and a blot on the reputation of a city like Durban. But Durban has now become the area of S. A. P.'s activities, and there will be no fooling about it. The Native women have now been deprived of their freedom of movement. The respect for the weaker sex is thrown to the winds when the skin is black.

I saw them, I mean the S.A.P, White and Black ones, tall and slender, but full of pep. They are ready to pounce upon anyone infringing the laws.

I saw them, the same S A.P., with wide maps probably studying the streets, and I would not be wrong in saying they were also probably checking the rendezvous of the white and black shimiyana queens.

Wag en sien, ons sal baye nader niewes het. Die Zuid Afrikaanse Polisie is in, ons moet almaal hulle taal praat.

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS AT PUBLIC SESSION OF NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

SIERRA LEONE SECTION.

Continued from our last.

Friday, March 27, 1936.—Under the Chairmanship of the Hon. E. S. Beoku-Betts, M.B.E., supported by Hon. Dr. H. C. Bankole Bright, Mrs. A. C. May, Mrs. Short, and other members of Congress, the proceedings started at 4.30 p.m., with an opening prayer by Mr. Dunstan Williams.

The first item was a Pianoforte Solo by Mrs. Potts-Wilson in her sprightly and inimitable style.

FIRST PAPER:—Agricultural Outlook in the Colony and Protectorate by Mr. T. S. French. M.A., Headmaster, Government Model School. Mr. French divided his subject into the following parts:—(1) Cultivation of Annual crops outside the scope of Plantation (2) Plantation products; and (3) Livestock Products.

The Lecturer said that the first business of the Agriculturist was to determine the fitness of the soil for planting purposes. He then stressed the matter of co-operation, as the only means of producing a sufficiency of the various crops for home consumption and export. He suggested that Agriculturists should seek the aid of the Agricultural Department for a supply of first class crop-seeds, and for first-hand advices as to the treatment of such seeds, and that only in this way can abundant and rich harvests be ensured. The duties of the Entomologist and the Mycologist were explained; the former to combat the attacks of insect pests and the latter the ravages of plant diseases such as fungi, etc.

Under the second head, the Lecturer dealt with what he termed the more direct economic products of the agriculturist, and instanced plantations of cocoa-nut, oil-palm and cotton. He would like owners of such plantation to become owners of the necessary machinery which would enable them to conduct farming operations on extensive and profitable lines. He was sure Government would be willing to effect arrangements with suppliers of such machinery.

Combination and co-operation were prerequisites. For only by this means would the necessary capital be obtained to meet labour charges and other concomitants. The days of small farming and single handed effort were gone. A case in point was ginger cultivation. Combination was necessary to produce ship and market large consignments.

In livestock farming whether in the form of sheep and cattle rearing, or of poultry raising, selection of the best stock and breed was essential and too much attention cannot be paid to this point. Here again the advice of Agricultural officers would be of inestimable benefit in this and other respects and the result will give impetus to the supply of nutritious meat, pork, milk, eggs, etc.

The question of preserving fruits, large quantities of which rotted every year and are destroyed should receive consideration. No doubt, when competition with other fruit-producing countries is less keen, the question of shipment of selected fruits such as oranges and bananas will again receive due attention.

General discussion initiated by Mr. Spilsbury, Mr. Blyden Johnson, and Mr. Smart, was taken up by Mr. Currie Williams, Mr. Miller and others. It centred round the following points which it was avowed militated against successful farming in the colony villages:—

(1) Predial Theft and measures to combat it such as

(a) The formation of Village Councils in which all sections of the village would be represented. (b) Imposition of deterrent sentences for such offences. (c) Repatriation of offenders.

The persistent theft of Farm produce by marauding bands has tended to paralyse initiative and discourage enterprise. It has ruined many well-intentioned cultivators and in the face of this it is unfair to blame educated natives if they fight shy of farming on unrenumerative lines. It was exasperating to listen to loose talk about Back to the Land in present circumstances. If no security can be ensured for a man to reap the fruit of his labour, no wise man will risk a heavy outlay on farming in the colony. And yet all are agreed that by this industry much can be done to relieve unemployment and in a measure bring prosperity to the country.

(2) Formation of Agricultural Banks.

(3) Appointment of Travelling Inspectors to tour villages and instruct the people on proper methods and distribute improved seeds.

(4) Encouragement to bona fide farmers by Government of visits to Government Demonstration Farm at Newton and elsewhere.

(5) Training of suitable youths in Trinidad or elsewhere.

It was agreed that so far as the Protectorate was concerned Government was alive to its responsibility and was doing everything possible to encourage farming and raise the standard of the quality of rice and other produce for export by methodical inspection and grading.

2ND PAPER:—Unemployment in Sierra Leone and its remedy, by Mr. C. Dunstan Williams.—Mr. Williams doubted whether he —owed the compliment of being selected to deal with the subject to the fact of his being a pensioner. If so, he thought there were other Senior officers who could claim without any demur on his part priority of rights.

When the fiat went out "In the sweat of thy face shall thou eat bread." there was no alternative but for man to plod to keep himself alive. Mr. Williams reminded the gathering that in his great sermon before Congress, March 15, Archdeacon Johnson referred to the concept of labour as understood by primitive man, who was a totalitarian, a Jack-of-all Trade self-contained, self-constituted, self-supporting. He was his own butcher, his own baker, his own carpenter, shoemaker etc., sufficient unto himself. In such circumstances and in that age of world's history, there was obviously no room for unemplopment, but as time went on and as social life developed with its complexities, division of labour and co-operation resulted as a matter of course. Later on the invention of mechanical devices increased output and productivity and in his opinion it would be safe to say that unemployment had its genesis in the introduction of machinery and its large scale use.

Generally speaking the above statement may be said to apply to conditions in Europe and other civilized places yet to some extent the same conditions and results are reflected in Sierra Leone as a necessary corollary. It must however be conceded that there are difficulties in the way of a clear study of the subject in Sierra Leone where there is no machinery, such as Trades Union, Unemployment Bureaus &c, to afford sufficient data for a scientific examination of the question.

The term unemployment the Lecturer said may be defined for short as "Nothing to do" There is the burning desire and pressing necessity but there is no work. That such a condition exists in our midst cannot be gainsaid.

To illustrate his point, Mr. Williams referred to the case of our sea-boys many of whom in the old days were employed as trimmers firemen, stockers etc. These men have been idle for years without any prospects of going to sea again. With the advent of motor vessels, run with fuel oil, this class of seamen have been eliminated.

The Lecturer likewise cited the system of engaging seamen through Headmen as responsible for corrupt practices which in turn add to the gravity of the situation, and he suggested the establishment of Labour Bureaus for this purpose under the auspices of the Government or the Shipping Companies.

Turning to other skilled trades Mr. Williams analysed the position of tailors, shoemakers, masons, and carpenters. While the first was in apparently thriving condition, except for bad payments, the rest were badly hit more or less by the slump.

It was true there was a Carpenters Defensive Union, but after forty years of a hectic existence, it had petered down into a Benefit Society, concerned less with the larger interest of the trade. The shoemaker was in a bad way, but for repairs and resoleing he had nothing to do and yet fifty years ago the trade was flourishing and turning out first class boots and shoes.

The closing down of many public works, has helped to contribute to increase in unemployment. The great hopes raised by the proposed erection of a harbour jetty have not been realised as unskilled labour is reported to be more in demand and the inconsiderable drainage and canalization scheme is also more or less in the hands of unskilled labour

Co-operation in industry and establishment of local enterprises, such as fishing industry with the necessary plant for curing fish would help in a way to solve our difficulties. There was a large demand for fish up country and it required combination and the necessary capital to meet the demands.

Lively discussion followed in which the ball was set rolling by Mr. C. T. Peeler. He thought that if pride and false shame could be put aside there was scope for our girls to engage in some form of petty trade on which their mothers in the old days were able to make out a livelihood. Girls of 14 or 16 were nowadays as a rule averse to petty hawking and all they cared for was dress.

Miss M. E. Palmer rebutted the statement with some warmth and considered it a slur on her sex who were a hard-working class. A visit to Water Street and King Jimmy on a Saturday she suggested would disabuse the mind of Mr. Peeler of any misconception. To the lot of a woman oftentimes fall the care of the home after father's death and her sex have never been known to shirk this responsibility.

Mrs. C. A. E. Macauley and Mrs. Potts-Wilson took part in the debate, the former broke new ground by suggesting that if pride and false shame were not at the root of the matter it ought to be an easy matter for young girls of a class to obtain employment as house-maids or nurse-maids. This was essentially a job for girls and many good homes needed such helpers. She would be glad if this point could be seriously considered by the community.

As to the drawback of forming Companies or co-operative societies, Mrs Macauley said it seems to be forgotten that honesty was the best policy and as long as there was doubt as to the bona fides of would-be promoters of local companies there would be hesitation on the part of those who can afford it to join forces.

Mrs. Potts-Wilson did not think there was much exaggeration on the part of Mr. Peeler. She laid stress on the fact that in the old days, girls were taught the value of modesty. Can it be said that at present this was as a rule observed? She wondered whether the present trend of education was responsible for this. It was the duty of all—the homes as well as the school—to proclaim to our girls that honest work was no disgrace.

Other speakers advocated the adoption of a quota system by Government for the control of Syrian immigration and an appeal to the Chamber of Commerce for a modified restriction of retail trading on the part of big firms.

As regard the quota system it was pointed out that neither the U.S.A. nor the British Government disdained to adopt suitable measures to regulate immigration and meet the pressure of Japanese competition in trade when their interest was at stake.

The Chairman in closing the debate expressed his appreciation of the interest shewn and thanked all present for coming.

The usual vote of thanks to the Lecturers were duly passed and the meeting closed with the Benediction by Mr. Miller, followed by the National Anthem.

THE ASHANTI SURPRISE

Shareholders in Ashanti Goldfields received a very welcome surprise this week in the announcement of an extraordinarily rich strike in a borehole on the lowest level of the mine. It is ancient history now that in deepening the shaft a few years ago the Obuasi lode between the twentieth and twenty-third levels was intersected by another lode, which proved to be the lost Cote D'Or lode. During these attempts to rediscover the outcropping mineralisation the rich Obuasi lode, the development of which has enabled the company to become the outstanding success of West African mines, was disclosed. The junctioning of the two lodes was both fortunate and unfortunate, for while the results of the joining of the two lode fissures produced a marked falling-off in the mineralisation of the enlarged fissure, the following up towards the surface of the recovered Cote D'Or lode has provided a large tonnage of highly payable ore, which may be said to have compensated the company for the disappointment encountered in the workings below the junction. Dr. McCann, the well-known geologist, who examined the mine, was optimistic and, following his advice the opening up of the twenty-ninth level was pushed forward, and in the early part of the year it was announced that crosscut No. 30 had exposed reef 24 ft. 6 in. wide, averaging 14½ dwt., including 10 ft. assaying 33 dwt. The next crosscut, 50 ft. along the level, disclosed 18 ft. of reef averaging 15.3 dwt., after which, however, values fell off. This week it was announced that a borehole in an extension of crosscut No. 31 had encountered reef 82 ft. in, showing high value, which is confirmed by the cable published on Thursday that completion of the borehole showed a value of 122 dwt. (6 oz. 2 dwt.) over 6 ft. 8 in. It seems not improbable from the distance given of the borehole that a parallel lode has been encountered, or maybe a remaking of either the Obuasi or Cote D'Or fissures, but whether this conjecture proves correct or not the discovery may have a far-reaching effect on the fortunes of the company and strengthen the confidence of those who are developing other sections of the great Prestea-Ashanti fissure.

"NIGERIAN DAILY TIMES'" TENTH BIRTHDAY.

Our popular and widely read contemporary, the "Nigerian Daily Times" published an attractive special issue on June 4 to celebrate the completion of its tenth year of publication. The contents include contributions by the Hon. A. Alakija, chairman of the Nigerian Printing and Publishing Co.; Mr. H. S. Goldsmith, C.M.G., late Lieutenant-Governor of the Northern Provinces; Mr. E. M. Bland, C.M.G., late general manager of the Nigerian Railway; and Sir William N. M. Geary, Bart. (who in the course of an appreciation remarks that the "Daily Times" has one defect from a lawyer's point of view—it has never been involved in a libel action!).

The special number also carries a 12-page pictorial supplement recalling the principal events of H.M. the King's visit to Nigeria as Prince of Wales in 1925 and depicting the personnel, premises, and plant of the "Daily Times." We heartily congratulate the proprietors, editor, and staff of West Africa's premier newspaper on the attainment of this notable milestone in its history and on the high standard of accuracy and literary merit which it has consistently maintained. *Ad multos annos!*

P. D.

Race Problem – 1936

Africa

The Comet.

Maseru, Basutoland.

SATURDAY MAY 2 1936

Will Basuto Accept?

Commenting on the Union offer for financial support to the High Commission Territories as appearing in recent Parliamentary reports on the Union Budget, a few weeks ago, we expressed a doubt that the offer will be accepted by the chiefs and the Basuto.

The subject of cooperation between Union Government and the Administration of the High Commission Territories was discussed by Mr J. H. Thomas, former Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs with the Union Prime Minister in May last year, when the latter had gone to London to represent his Government at the celebrations of His late Majesty's Silver Jubilee. General Hertzog had approached Mr J. H. Thomas to demand the handing over of the Territories to the Union as provided for in the South Africa Act. After the Union Prime Minister was told that this could not be done before the inhabitants of the territories both European and Native, were fully consulted and before a full discussion of the matter had taken place in the House of Commons, and that at the moment feeling among the Natives was against incorporation Mr Thomas, by way of solace to the Union Prime Minister, advised that the Union Government could endeavour to co-operate with the administration of the High Commission territories as a first step towards incorporation in order to convince the Natives of their genuine interest in the development of their territories.

The arrangement was only between the British Government and the Union Government. The Natives of the territories, so far as we are aware, were not consulted on the matter, neither were they officially informed of the arrangement until only last week when the local administration handed over, for publication in the press of the Territory, a memorandum of the arrangement which was practically a year old and after a specified sum of money has already been offered by the Union in terms of the arrangement. The memorandum concludes with the following paragraph:

"His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom are convinced that co-operation which His Majestys Government in the Union of South Africa have thus most generously offered will be productive of considerable benefit to the three Territories and feel sure that the offer will be cordially welcomed by the Native population.'

There are many questions arising out of the arrangement. For instance it may be asked whether this financial offer for the development of the Territory of Basutoland which we are asked by the British Government to accept, is not a means by which the Union Government may gain a foot hold into the Territory that may even eventually lead us to accept incorporation at their own terms even though those terms may, in our opinion, be considered detrimental to our future welfare. We have been promised full consultation before our territory could be incorporated in the Union. By consultation we understand that certain terms shall be agreed upon between ourselves and the Union regarding our future welfare before being taken over with the British Government as our spokesman or that we propose what may be suitable to us. That this will be so is supported by the statement agreed upon by both Mr. J. H. Thomas and General Hertzog that incorporation will not be forced against the wishes of the inhabitants of the Territories. We should like to repeat what we have stated before that such financial offer is bound to be regarded with suspicion by the Basuto.

There are reasons why the Basuto would prefer to remain under the British Administration. In the first place they offered themselves to be protected by Great Britain against their enemies, then the Boers of the Orange Free State Republic with whom they were at war. Since they came under that protection they have enjoyed its benefits while at the same time they were allowed a measure of self government. No obstacles have been placed in their way of progress and civilization.

Since the arrangement the Union Parliament has passed, in spite of the opposition of the Natives an Act that denies them common citizenship with the white subjects of that Government, and even the Native of the Cape Province who have enjoyed franchise for eighty years without reproach had that right taken away from them. In the words of Mr J H Hofmeyr, Minister of Interior "the central feature of the Bill was to give the Native an inferior and qualified citizenship.' The passage of the Act is bound to increase ill feeling and bitterness between black and white in the Union. The Natives of the Territories like those of the other Union Provinces will not be represented in the House of Assembly after they were taken over.

This is what the offered financial support leads us to, and the acceptance of it will mean accepting what the Union Natives have opposed and has been forced down their throats. Now the question is: Will the Basuto accept? To us it looks like choosing between life and death, and no sane people could elect to throw their freedom away and accept instead

teachings of Science as new facts and truths were emerging every time from scientific researches. It was therefore out of the question for him to say that "Science should be the last word for man" to quote Mr. Deigh.

Had time permitted, it would have been of advantage to investigate the point how far the unrestricted use of the vernacular at home and outside the school weakened our knowledge of English. The schools would do their best but if parents do not encourage children to speak good English no improvement must be expected.

Pertinent resolutions bearing on the recommendations in the Papers and vote of thanks to the Lecturers and Artistes having been passed, the meeting was brought to a close with the Benediction and the National Anthem.

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS AT PUBLIC SESSION OF NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

SIERRA LEONE SECTION.

MONDAY MARCH 30, 1936, 4 P.M. AT THE WILBERFORCE MEMORIAL HALL.

EDUCATION.—Chairman: A. E. Tuboku-Metzger, Esq., M.B.E., supported by Hon. Dr. Bankole-Bright, Hon. E. S. Beoku-Betts, M.B.E. Alhaj M. Iscandri, J.P., Mrs. A. C. May, Mrs. Short, Mrs. M. Thompson and other members of Congress.

Prior to the formal opening Mr. Ralph Wright entertained the gathering with choice selections of Pianoforte solos after which Rev. Dr. Ojumiri Taylor opened the Proceedings with a short prayer.

The Chairman in introducing the Lecturers extended welcome to the Hon Director of Education, the Principal of the Prince of Wales' School and others who honoured the meeting with their presence. He dwelt on the importance of the subject and held it was time we begin to think African and see that our local system of education be adjusted to meet present day needs.

FIRST PAPER—Kindergarten and Primary by Mrs. Lerina Bright-Taylor. In her prefatory remarks the lecturer was at pains to define the scope and aims of education dilating on its development from stage to stage. Among other things she postulated that education leads to clear thinking, aims at training character and the development of the mind.

It also enables one to adopt himself to his environments and at the same time points out the advantage of the use of the hands and brains, a method much in evidence in the German system.

In the old days methods were circumscribed and rigid and corporal punishment far too common. It was ruling by fear rather than by love. Teachers were ill-paid and the hard circumstances of their lot re-acted on their personal appearance and on their outlook. Gone are those days and teachers are now trained on more scientific lines which enable them to perform their duties more efficiently and sympathetically. Better paid, they are cheerful in their outlook, neater in appearance, and the profession is attracting a better class.

Kindergarten means garden of children and crystallises the leading ideas clustering round the system initiated by Frederick Froebel, a German educationist. It is a system of education for very young children in which instruction is given by means of toys, games, songs, etc.

Mrs. Bright-Taylor had something to say about the attitude and idiosyncracies of Parents. She is disappointed in the Kindergarten Department of the Local Government Schools. Classes are over crowded, pictures recklessly hung. There is little compensation in the way of music, physical exercises and handwork, all of which have their definite places in the scheme of things and aim at creating a love and appreciation of the beautiful, at charm of language and expression, at developing muscles, at originality and widens vocabulary.

Among the recommendations put forward for consideration of School Managers are:—

Wider use of Reading Books adapted to African Life.
More of Nature Study.
Dramatization.
More use of Vernacular in the elementary stages of up-country school Nursery Schools.
Co-operation between Home and School.
Limitation of number of Pupils in classes.
Formation of an active Teachers Association for elementary and Secondary Schools.
Pension or Superannuation Scheme for Teachers.
Formation of Parents Association.

She laid stress also on the value and opportunity of the Press in raising the tone of the young in the community in fostering a love of reading and of all that is good, beautiful and pure; and advocated the founding of a branch of the R.S.P., of cruelty to children.

In conclusion she enlarged upon the value of Sunday Schools in the Moral training of children and in moulding their spiritual life.

Rounds of deafening cheers marked the appreciation by the audience of the able and illuminating address delivered in clear and choice language as was to be expected from one who is a trained elocutionist.

There was an interval of ten minutes during which Mrs. H. Benka Coker the well known contralto accompanied by Mrs. A. C. May, held the audience spell-bound with a beautiful song in her charming and flowless style.

The Second Paper:—Scientific and industrial, by Mr. S. Tuboku Metzger, B.Sc., Assistant Master Prince of Wale's School which followed was very ably dealt with by the Lecturer. Mr. Metzger began by defining science as systematized knowledge, representing subject matter that has been the result of observation, reflection and testing. It is a study that tries to discover the relationship between a string of observations and then goes further to formulate a law to which these observations are obedient.

The Scientist is the last man who would create the impression that the laws of nature are fixed and immutable. These laws he readily admits, are but human interpretations of natural phenomena and it is just possible that new interpretations can be made at any time to displace those in vogue, provided that they square with all the known facts.

Attention was called to the difference in the attitude of mind between the modern scientist and the scientist of the middle ages. The latter believed that the Greeks had settled most of the scientific questions and that no one had any right to doubt their decisions; but the modern scientist carries an open mind and is always willing to examine a new fact even though it may lead to the overthrow of views he had held before. He never pretends to know for certain anything which he has not thoroughly investigated so as to be fully convinced of its truth.

The Lecturer then gave reasons why science should have a place in the curriculum of the school. Its value. (1) As a mental discipline. (2) As an enrichment of our lives.

Dealing with the first point. The value of science as a mental discipline. Mr. Metzger pointed out that present day psychologists had exploded the belief once held that the mind was made up of several faculties, each of which was in a sort of water-tight compartment and could be trained independently of the other. Thus reason or memory is no longer an isolated faculty of the mind, but is the result of a very complex and varied inter-action of many elements.

Modern psychologists have shown that the training the mind receives in one field can only help it to overcome situations in another field only in so far as the two fields have certain properties in common. So that whatever the pupil is taught in school will enable him or her to control situations in actual life only in so far as what he is taught is identical with his every day experiences. The criterion therefore of the value of any subject in the whole curriculum is the extent to which it enriches the lives of the student, for education is life.

The teaching of science in our schools, be it chemistry, physics, biology, or geology, is expressly justified on this ground; for science is our effect to find out all we can about the world around us. It is essentially a system of explanations, answers to questions why things behave this way or that way, things that crowd upon every one of us in our daily experiences.

The other way in which science satisfies the above criterion is in the method used in attacking scientific problems, which is fundamentally the same employed by the plain man. The pupils begin their thinking about science in the simple way to which they are accustomed and gradually scientific training tends to refine and sublimate their way of thinking. The scientific mind must be free from bias capable of weighing facts on their merits arriving at a conclusion only after exhausting all known avenues.

The second part of the paper deals with industrial education as part of a liberal education. It was pointed out that industrial education is being given a prominent place in the curriculum of the school because of the discipline the training affords; the aims pursued by industrial education are identical with that of pure science; and the clergyman, lawyer, doctor or clerk needs the training founded on industry even more than those who work with their hands.

The aim of industrial education or manual training is primarily the quickening of the intelligence; it vitalizes the schoolwork by bringing it into closer touch with every day interests and cultivates not only the hands but also attention and judgment. Its great advantage lies in the fact that the pupils get their information first hand; they are face to face with facts which tell them in no uncertain language why their efforts meet with success or failure.

The Lecturer then showed how in handling a material whether wood, metal, silk or rafia. the pupil's knowledge of geography, chemistry, physics or history is brought to play; thus realizing that the industrial training he is receiving is a vital part not only of his school work but of his whole environment.

Educational handwork does not prepare a child for any particular trade but seeks to develop the hand eye and an attitude of mind that will be of immense value in any field of work. By accomplishing a piece of work well, a child is able to feel satisfaction in something achieved. This success gives self-confidence which reacts to a great extent on the other phases of the child's life.

The Lecturer closed by urging the introduction on science and manual training in more of the schools and suggested that as the matter of obtaining funds is the difficulty, certain schools should combine their resources and work together. He pointed to the Igbobi College at Lagos, under the combined control of the Methodists and C.M.S., as an example of what can be done by co-operation.

Mr. Davies, Principal Prince of Wales School, before leaving for another important engagement seized the opportuntty to congratulate Mrs. Bright-Taylor for the high qnality of her paper. He had been at pains to ascertain during his leave why Sierra Leone has of late years failed to secure a more prominent place in the Pass list of the Cambridge External Examinations and the reason assigned was collapse in English Papers. In his opinion it might indicate poverty of expression, the remedy for which should be found in a wider and more intelligent reading and study of wholesome English classics. He could not say he agreed with everything his colleague, the last speaker, said but he would discuss the point with him elsewhere.

Mr. C. T. Peeler. Headmaster of Buxton School, deplored overcrowding of classes which in present circumstances was unavoidable and expressed a hope that during the present regime the evil would be remedied. It was more or less a question of adequate staff.

Mr. T. W. Deigh, was anxious that the policy of Mr. Keigwin, last but one Director of Education, which aimed at raising the standard of Education might be kept in view. There should be no attempt to lower the standard. With regard to the Lecturer's recommendation for the use of the Vernacular, Mr. C. A. C. Noah wanted to know whether the patois would be useful as a vehicle for teaching. It was explained that, the Sierra Leone jargon or patois being a debased form of English into which a medley of words from other foreign and native languages had crept, there was nothing to be gained by adopting the suggestion.

Mrs. Bright-Taylor further made it clear that she had in mind Schools in the Protectorate where a recognised native language, and not the Colony polyglot, was the everyday language of the people.

In regard to the comparison made by the Lecturer between the teachings of the Bible and the result of scientific discoveries, Mr. Deigh made certain criticisms. Mr. Tuboku-Metzger in reply pointed out that from the statement in his paper, there could be no finality in the

Race Problem — 1936
Africa

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA, SIERRA LEONE SECTION.

Freetown,
10th June, 1936.

The Honourable,
The Director of Education,
Freetown.

Sir,—We are directed to transmit for your consideration the attached copy of Resolutions passed at Public Meetings held recently by this Section to discuss matters of Public interest and to see in which way progress could be ensured in vital matters which concern the country's welfare.

2. The community is grateful for what has hitherto been done by Government and the various Missionary bodies, but the discussion which ensued after the reading of the three papers on Education, clearly disclosed the fact that things were far from being satisfactory.

3. This Section, therefore, feels it its duty to submit these Resolutions through you for any action you may be disposed to take towards the attainment of the objects in view. Of course, Resolution 2, while not falling within your province will, we are sure, not fail to receive your hearty support.

4. Furthermore, we are to invite your attention to Resolution 6 in connexion with Medical Reforms which reads:—"That a wholetime Medical Officer be appointed for the Schools of the Colony and Protectorate." Such an appointment, it is understood, exists in the Gold Coast and in Nigeria.

5. It should also be mentioned that, in his Paper on Secondary and Academic Education, Rev. P. Hycy Willson, Acting Principal of Fourah Bay College, urged that some contribution ought to be made by the Municipality, and the Chiefdoms of the Protectorate towards the advancement of education by a small addition to the rates, while he does not think that the time is ripe for the control and management of schools to devolve on that body, he holds that it could pay subventions to approved educational Agencies in the form of building and equipment grants, scholarships, travelling grants to teachers etc. This matter is being brought to the notice of the Town Council.

6. Copies of this letter have been sent to Government, the heads of Secondary Schools and the Teachers' Union.

We have the honour to be, Sir, Your obedient Servants,—

S. ADOLE HUGHES.
T. J. CAREW,
Joint Secretaries.

"EDUCATION."—RESOLUTIONS.

1. That this Meeting of Congress, whilst appreciating the present advance in the position of Kindergarten and Primary Schools in the Colony and Protectorate in comparison with the past, is of opinion that steps should be taken to promote better conditions in our Schools and provide better qualified teachers.

2. That whilst appreciating the past and present efforts of Government and the various Missionary Societies and other Agencies in the promotion of Education in the Colony, the time has come for all Educational factors in Elementary, Secondary, College and Vocational Education to organise and co-operate in the formation of a Teachers' Association for an interchange of views concerning the Educational progress of the Colony.

3. That to make Teachers more contented and the Teaching Profession more attractive, Congress repeats and re-affirms its submission to Government in an interview of Congress with Major Hans Vischer, C.M.G., O.B.E., a Joint Secretary of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies who visited this Colony sometime ago, that the scheme for the Superannuation or Pension of Teachers should be proceeded with without further delay.

3a. That in the interest of teachers and of general education, steps should be taken to start a School Magazine for the dissemination of information and views respecting matters affecting our schools and education system and policy.

4. That the attention of Government be invited to the matter of refusal of admission of children into some schools through overcrowding of classes and to the necessity of providing separate class rooms, and additional teachers for such schools.

5. That the importance of Industrial and Scientific Education be brought to the notice of Government and of all Managers of Mission Schools wth a view to conjoint action being taken for the establishment of suitable central schools for this purpose by pooling their resources.

6. That the question of raising the standard of Village Schools by grouping them in important centres should be brought to the notice of Government, so as to enable the pupils thereof to proceed to Standards Seven to Nine as obtains in the Government Model School in Freetown.

7. That in the opinion of Congress the Board of Education should be enlarged or a Colony School Committee be constituted as in Nigeria to admit of the appointment of Educationists connected with Elementary and Secondary Schools and Fourah Bay College and other experienced Africans capable of contributing practical suggestions for the solution of the education problems of the Colony; and advise the course of training that shall best attain the end in view—vide copy of lists attached of members of the Nigerian Colony School Committee and of the Education Board.

8. That having regard to improvement in the Education system of the Gold Coast and of Nigeria, and the advantages that teachers would derive by periodical visits to those places for study leave, or a course of training, Government and Mission School Managers should consider the advisability of providing facilities, by way of Travelling grants and by arrangement with the Shipping Companies for Special reduced fares.

MEDICAL REFORMS—RESOLUTIONS.

1. That the time has come when Government should consider the advisability of appointing a qualified Medical Practitioner with Health qualifications to the post of Medical Officer of Health of the Colony.

2. That taking into consideration the population and area of the Headquarters District, it is desirable in the interests of the inhabitants that a Resident Medical Officer be appointed to that District.

3. That consequent on the difficulty of preserving anti-toxic serum by Medical Practitioners, it is advisable that Government be requested to stock such serum in quantities that will be available for such diseases as Tetanus, Snake bites and Diptheria.

4. That in view of the increase in the number of cases dealt with in the Connaught Hospital, thereby indicating the community's appreciation of the advantages derivable from medical treatment Government should consider the advisability of providing more accomodation for all classes of the community and especially for maternity cases; and furthermore, that the number of Health Visitors should be increased in order to assist in educating the mothers of the community and thereby lessening the Infant Mortality rate in the City.

5. That the time has arrived when Government should remove the duties on all drugs payable by Medical Practitioners and Hospitals.

6. That a whole-time Medical Officer be appointed for the Schools of the Colony and Protectorate.

AGRICULTURE ETC., RESOLUTIONS.

1. That in the opinion of this Meeting the Government should be approached to consider the possibility of introducing Agricultural Banks with a view to encourage bona fide farmers by providing a portion of the necessary capital.

2. That Government should be approached to take more serious view of predial thefts and inflict deterrent punishment in order to stamp out this offence which discourages farming and ruined many a small farmer; and that village Committees should concert measures to assist in the detection of such crimes.

3. That Travelling Agricultural Instructors be appointed to tour the Colony villages for the Instruction of farmers in proper methods of farming and marketing; and to facilitate distribution of improved goods, etc.

4. That under the patronage of the Colony Commissioner and the Director of Agriculture and the Rural Member of the Legislative Council, Village Committees be formed to hold annual conferences on Agricultural matters, and to start where necessary communal farming for such particular villages.

5. That in the opinion of this Meeting steps be taken by Government to send to Trinidad or elsewhere for training suitable youths who would on their return help to train others in farming, etc.

6. That in the opinion of this Meeting Government should encourage periodical visits to the Demonstration Farms at Newton, Mabang and Njala by giving bona fide farmers free railway passages and selling seeds and suckers at nominal rates.

7. That this Section of Congress records its appreciation on the efforts of the Local Agricultural Society in organising annual shows thus encouraging agriculture, etc., and trust it will not confine its efforts wholly and solely to the Colony proper.

"UNEMPLOYMEMT"—RESOLUTION.

1. That in the opinion of this Section of Congress, the time has arrived for due consideration to be given to the question of the further restriction and control of alien immigration by means of the quota system in operation in the United States of America and in the Canadian and Australian Dominions, and which is being carried on by the British Government in respect of imports when faced with the pressure of Japanese competition.

2. That the Government should consider the advisability of embarking on large scale development works, such as building of seawalls to prevent eresion in foreshores, improvement of roads, widening of bridges over motor trunk roads in the Colony,

completion of Aberdeen Creek causeway, &c., &c., to afford employment to members of the community a great number of whom have no work to do.

THE FUTURE OF THE CONGRESS.

1. That this Congress being fully convinced of the importance of continuing and perpetuating its work and extending the operations of the Congress into the Villages and Protectorate of Sierra Leone resolves to undertake extensive propaganda work among the peoples of the Villages and Protectorate of Sierra Leone with a view to the formation of branches in those places.

2. That the Congress takes the opportunity of bringing to the notice of the Central Body the desirability of holding regular sessions in he different Colonies as was formerly done.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COLONY-BORN AND PROTECTORATE-BORN. RESOLUTION.

1. That in the opinion of this Section of Congress the future relationship between the Colony-born and the Protectorate-born should tend towards a similarity of interests and that every effort should be made towards promoting co-operation between the two.

TRADE AND CO-OPERATION IN BUSINESS

1. That this section of Congress feels that the time has come for the formation of a Co-operative Society with the object of forstering trade and agriculture and of undertaking commercial enterprises.

2. That taking into consideration the fact that shopkeepers and small traders purchase all their stock in trade locally from the Big Firms and the narrow margin of profit accruing to such middlemen on account of keen competition, this meeting, while appreciating the difficulties that merchants themselves have to encounter, venture to suggest to the Chamber of Commerce the desirability of considering the question of making concession in prices to traders, and at the same time of how far the retail trade in certain lines by merchants themselves cannot be restricted or regulated to give better scope to traders.

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

Freetown, Sierra Leone

SIERRA LEONE SECTION.

Freetown,
9th June 1936.

Sir,—We are directed to submit for the consideration of Government the accompanying copy of Resolutions advocating certain Constitutional and Municipal as well as Legal and Judicial Reforms which were passed at two of the series of Public Meetings held recently by this Section.

Weekly News 7-6-36

2. The Session was organised to deal with general questions in so far as they relate to the Public Welfare, and at each meeting papers were read and Resolutions embodying the recommendation of the meeting presented and passed after full discussion. The meetings were attended by responsible members of the community who were animated by no motive other than the advancement and well-being of our people and country.

3. Some of the measures advocated may have already been brought to the notice of Government in one form or other, and we are to say, that this Section trusts that those resolutions which are susceptible of early practical solution, may receive the attention of His Excellency in a spirit of good-will and kindliness.

4. We may mention, that opportunity has been taken to forward to His Honour the Chief Justice of Nigeria in his capacity as President of the West Africa Court of Appeal, and to His Honour the Chief Justice of this Colony, respectively, an extract of those portions of the Resolutions bearing on Legal and Judicial Reforms.

We have the honour to be, Sir, Your obedient Servants,

(Sgd.) S. A. HUGHES.
,, T. J. CAREW
Joint Secretaries.

The Honourable,
The Colonial Secretary,
Freetown.

Freetown,
9th June 1936.

The Honorary Secretary,
Bar Association,
Freetown.

Sir,—We are directed to transmit for the consideration of the Bar Association, a copy of Resolutions advocating certain Constitutional Reforms, etc., etc., which were passed at some of the meetings of the Public Session of this Section of Congress.

2. These Resolutions have already been sent to Government and extracts of those relating to Judicial and Legal Reforms will be submitted to His Honour the Chief Justice of Nigeria as President of the West African Court of Appeal, and to His Honour the Chief Justice of the Colony.

3. We trust your Association will see its way to extend its co-operation to us in pressing for improvements in the Legal and Judicial machinery of Government.

We the have honour to be, Sir—Your obedient Servants.

(Sgd.) S. A. HUGHES,
,, T. J. CAREW,
Joint Secretaries.

The President City Council,
Freetown.

Freetown,
10th June 1936.

Sir,—With reference to a motion in the City Council recently put forward by Councillor Dr. I. C. Pratt, for the establishment of Municipaal Schools, we are diricted to invite the attention of the Council to the following recommendations made by Rev. P. Hycy Willson, Acting Principal of Fourah Bay College, in his papor on Secondary Education read on April 27, at one of the series of Meetings organised by Congress.

2. Summarised the recommendations that some responsibility should be laid u the Municipality and upon the Chiefe in th Protectorate for promoting the advancement of education throughout the country. As regards Municipal Schools, Mr Willson holds that the money can be raised by the Municipality by a small addition to the rates *ad hoc*, say one penny at the start, but he does not think that the time is ripe for the control and management of such Schools to be undertaken by the City Council. Instead, the City Council could pay subsidies to approved educational agencies in the form of building and equipment grants, scholarships, travelling grants to teachers, prizes, etc. We are to say, that with this view this section of Congress is in entire agreement.

We have the honour to be, Sir—Your obedient Servants,

(Sgd) S. A. HUHGES.
,, T. J. CAREW,
Joint Secretaries.

Freetown.
10th June, 1936.

The Honourable,
The Director of Medical Services,
Freetown.

Sir,—We are directed to forward for your consideration a copy of Resolutions dealing with Medical problems which were passed at a meeting of the special Session of Congress recently held to discuss matters of Public interest. A copy has also been sent to Government.

Weekly News 7-6-36

2 Whilst appreciating the efforts already made to improve medical and sanitary conditions in this country, we trust you will see your way to take such steps as may tend to further improvement of matters on the lines indicated in the Resolutions.

Sierra Leone

3. At the same time we venture to bring to your notice the fact that there is general dissatisfaction with the delay in attending to Out-patient at the Connaught Hospital. It is a common complaint that many who call for treatment early in the morning are not released till late in the afternoon. If this is so, we are sure you will not hesitate to give such directions as will afford some remedy for this frequent complaint.

We have the honour to be, Sir, Your obedient Servants,

(Sgd.) S. A. HUGHES,
(Sgd). T. J. CAREW,
Joint Secretaries.

Race Problem – 1936

Africa.

WHO'S WHO.

African Convention Notabilities.

[By Hannie.]

D. D. T. Jabavu, B A. Hons Lond. Professor of Bantu Languages at Fort Hare University College, an international figure, a well tried leader of his people, a keen politician He safely piloted the All-African Convention at Bloemfontein to unanimity in rejecting the Government's Native Bills.

A. B. Xuma, M.D., M.R.C.P S. a Johannesburg physician He acted as vice-chairman of the Convention. His intellectaulity is not to be gauged by the smallness of his stature. He is rising to recognition in the service of his people.

Selby Msimang, an attorney's clerk to a Johannesburg solicitor secretary of the Convention, a social reformer will versed with the conditions oppressing his people on the farms as labourers His exposition in this direction was very instructive. He has a small voice.

R. H. Godlo, a journalist of East London, slim in stature, a shrewd social worker. President of the Congress of Advisory Boards, a clear sighted politician. He acted as Recording Secretary at Bloemfontein.

T. Mapikela, headman of the Bantu Villages in Bloemfontein. Among his compatriots he is known as 'Map' the 'Mayor of Bloemfontein. A great organiser of the Convention. He has more than once accompanied the South African deputations to England. His contributions to the Convention debates were helpful though his knowledge of Cape statutes need revising.

Rev. Z. Mahabane a tall bulky figure. awe-inspiring, with a thundering voice. Now and then in his addresses he brought the house down by his candour in exposing the political situation. He is no hypocrite. South Africa knows that too by now.

Rev R. M. Tunzi a humorist. By his humour he successfully lifted the onerous burden of the delegates by intermingling mirth and business. This variety was welcome and Rev Tunzi was just the man for the moment. 'Fools who came to scoff remained to pray.'

Rev. J. S. Mazwi is a remnant of the old school of politicians. He is an imposing figure compelling veneration by his sturdiness and sincerity of purpose. His life has been one long stretch of political activity for the sake of his people. At Bloemfontein his utterances were apt.

P. T. Xabanisa, a successful farmer of Emgcwe in the Transkei, a foundation member of the Transkeian General Council, a successful educationalist, also a politician of the old school keen as a razor, far-sighted and firm. His contributions at Bloemfontein commanded respect. A real patriot.

Rev. J. L. Dube popularly known as Mafukuzela. His crescent-like moustache betrays cuteness of vision a clear grasp of intricacies. His clear enunciation of the political situation left no doubt that South Africa was at the crossroads. He knows the government. As an educationist and founder of Ohlange Institute, he should know whether we are financially and politically getting a square deal.

Cape Native Voters' Convention.

(1) The conference of the above body, for the year 1935, was held at Bloemfontein on Wednesday 18th, December 1935, at 2 p.m.

ELECTION POLICY.

(2) It was unanimously decided that for election purpose the Convention will vote for the Dominion Party. But in the case of the Cathcart Constituency, Mr. van Coller will be adopted, by reason of his loyal stand by the Cape Native franchise.

In other cases where there is no Dominion Party candidate, the test will be the support of the present Native franchise through the stages of
(a) the second reading,
(b) the committee stage; and
(c) the third reading.

THE NATIVE BILLS.

(3) All branches are instructed to approach their individual members and obtain from them a clear promise that they will vote against CLAUSE 1 of the "REPRESENTATION of NATIVES BILL," in *ALL* its stages, that is: in every Cape constituency, the Native voters must call upon each Member of Parliament to vote against the Second Reading of the Representation of Natives Bill; and against the passing of Clause 1 during the committee stage, and against the third reading.

This is necessary and important, because it has been discovered that there are certain members who imagine that they will save their faces by voting merely against Clause 1, and then vote with the Government at the other stages.

(4) The 1936 annual meeting will be held as usual in King William's Town, unless the Secretary, acting on the advice of the committee, intimates a different venue.

(Signed) C. A. W. SIGILA
Secretary, C.N.V.C.
P O. Healdtown, C P.
December 21st. 1935.

Coloureds and Templary.

"King" was the venue of the Midland Grand Session (Coloured) during this week, the meetings being held in St. Andrew's Hall, under the presidency of Pastor W. M. Boggenpoel, Grand True Templar. Delegates numbered over 50, and together with a host of interested visitors exceeded one hundred. The area represented comprised Carnavon, De Aar, Graaff Reinet, Middelburg, Cradock, Port Elizabeth, East London, and Queenstown. King William's Town experienced considerable activity when bus and lorry loads of the templar visitors entered the town by all main roads, the streets assuming an animated appearance after the holiday exodus of local inhabitants which left the town severely deserted. The local Eurafrican community were not lacking in their treatment of the guests to an appreciated hospitality. A drive to the exquisite scenery of the Pirie Dam was arranged, which was thoroughly enjoyed; followed by a public reception in the evening at the Brownlee Congregational Church. Rev. D. Tolmie Fraser, the resident missionary extended a hearty welcome, ably supported by Mr. B. Arends, and a musical programme in support concluded the evening's activities.

In accordance with the usual routine of grand temples, the delegates participated in a temperance rally on Sunday afternoon 5th January, a throng of 300 marching and singing lustily through the streets of the town. This culminated in a service at Brownlee Mission where Pastor Boggenpoel preached a convincing temperance sermon with great acceptance. Thereafter, 47 members of the Order of True Templars were invested with the Grand Temple Degree amid an atmosphere of dignity and solemnity. On Monday the plenary session deliberated on the general sphere of the work, including the Band of Hope sections, and satisfactory progress was reported to have been achieved. The result of the election of office-bearers was as follows:

Grand True Templar: Pastor Bro. W. M. Boggenpoel. Grand Vice-Templar: Bro. S. J. Redcliffe. T. Secretary: Bro. H. C. Ross; Grand True Treasurer: Bro. Chas. Julies; Grand Supt. Juvenile Work: Bro. B. J. Louw; Grand Marshal: Bro. W. Swartz, Grand Deputy Marshal: Sr. G. Bruwer; Grand

Past True Templar: Bro. A. C. Meyer; Grand Sentinel: Bro. N. P. Arends; The post of Grand Missioner was left in the hands of the Grand True Templar; Grand Inner-Guard: Bro. L. Fritz; Grand Outer-Guard: Bro. S. S. Julies; Grand Asst. S. Juvenile Work: Sr. J. Simon.

We congratulate our Eurafrican friends in the firm stand taken up to combat the disastrous evils of strong drink among their fellowmen. With our folks, the black Grand Temples have their work cut out in fighting the twin-headed dragon of the European's liquor with the so-called national beverage—kaffir beer, a problem that has defied solution by enterprising local authorities and joint councils. The Eurafrican in this country is faced with the enemy of cheap wines and brandies; but it is a formidable opponent that threatens to annihilate the entire Coloured community. It is imperative that all the forces at hand should be marshalled with tact and skill to combat inebriety among the Coloured people. We wish the Midland Grand Temple all success in the national cause of saving the souls of thousands of topers among their race.

Unauthorized Use Of Ethiopian Correspondents' Name Harmful Practice, J. A. Rogers Declares

George Smith Claims Article Alleged to Have Been Written By Him Was Not—Says Paper and Not Himself to Be Blamed.

By J. A. ROGERS
(Courier War Correspondent)

ADDIS ABABA, Jan. 18—(By Mail)—"Enterprising" newspapers who are anxious to give the public the "truth" about Ethiopia and for this purpose use the names of "correspondents" without their knowledge perhaps do not think that they are likely to do harm.

Take the case of George Smith who is a teacher in the Menelik School here. It appears that some time ago Mr. Smith wrote certain of our newspapers offering his services. It further appears that one of these papers, I do not know which at this distance, used Mr. Smith's name telling of his great adventures in reaching Ethiopia, his exploits, and the like falsehoods.

This statement of mine is based on an editorial in the Pittsburgh Courier of November 30th, attacking Mr. Smith for what seems his mendacity. Mr. Smith is now very justly angry since he tells me and others that he has not been sending any articles to the American papers. He feels that the Courier instead of attacking him ought to have attacked the paper that made a liar of him, unknown to him.

I tried to explain to Mr. Smith that the writer of the editorial, whoever it was, was possibly just as much deceived as were the readers of the paper that was carrying his alleged articles, but Smith is too angry to see straight and went so far as to accuse me of writing the editorial, despite the fact that as late as December 3rd, a week after the editroial was written, all that I knew of him was his name. Moreover not only have a never writen an editorial for the Courier but I was thousands of miles away at the time, and as I said blissfully unconscious of such a one as Smith.

In his wounded pride Smith talks of jealousy. But had I learned here that he had been doing what the Courier unknowingly accuses him of I would have been the first to expose him, and wouldn't have cared whether he was hurt or not. And I would have signed my name to the article.

I hope, however, that Mr. Smith will learn the name of the newspaper that has been making him look so ridiculous and compel it to pay him a good round sum. He is a government employe and as such has to be very careful what he says. Words might be put into Mr. Smith's mouth that might cause him to lose his job, which he had some difficulty in getting.

Natives Meet Premier.

The Sun of Natal

DISCUSSION ON BILLS.

(Glangwane Natal)

The deputation representing the All-African Convention, led by Professor Jabavu, met the Prime Minister on Monday. The purpose of the deputation was to present to the Prime Minister the findings of the All-African Convention at Bloemfontein on Dec 16 on the Native Bills. The deputation stressed the question of time and pleaded for the postponement of the introduction of the Representation of Natives Bills pending the possibility of further consultation of a combined Union conference. 2-8-36

The deputation made lengthy statements amplifying the views of the convention on the land and franchise questions.

On the Land Bill the Prime Minister assured the deputation that it was not intended to proceed with it until the Representation of Natives' Bill had been disposed of, and that there would be ample time for further consultation on the abolition of the Native vote. Further discussion ensued, the Prime Minister insisting on the abolition clause as being fundamental to the whole scheme. He expressed his willingness to consider other possible alternative suggestions that could be offered by the deputation with regard to the rest of the Bill.

POSTPONEMENT URGED

Tuesday the deputation submitted a statement expressing appreciation of the reception extended to them by the Prime Minister and earnestly requesting him to defer the introduction of the Representation of Natives Bill into Parliament until it had reported to the convention during the Easter holidays. It might then be in a position by reason of the facts already stated and particularly the new conception of the attitude of the Government as explained by the Prime Minister which concedes the reconsideration of the remaining provisions of the Bill, to suggest either an alternative or a compromise.

The Prime Minister stated in reply that it was impossible for him to defer the introduction of the Bill because he had already announced in the House that the sitting of the joint session was due to begin on February 13 and that it was the desire of Parliament to proceed with the Bill.

The deputation further asked for a postponement after the first reading or at any other stage to allow them to summon a conference of the convention Executive in the interim, and asked that the Government assist in convening the conference during Easter under the auspices of the Native Affairs Deparment.

The Prime Minister pointed out that that could best be left to the consideration of the deputation and the Department of Native Affairs.

In conclusion, the deputation urged a policy of caution, insisting upon the necessity for ample time being given to their people for the consideration of a matter so momentous to the future of racial goodwill in South Africa.

The deputation will take up the matter with the Native Affairs Department. The question of representation to plead at the bar of the House was referred to the Speaker.---("Natal Nadvertiser.")

Race Problem — 1936

Africa

THE NIGERIAN TEACHERS CONFERENCE

Hon: Dr. C. C. Adeniyi-Jones's Lecture

(Concluded from Saturday's issue).

Only the other day we had in our midst for a few weeks a West Indian lady who whilst studying at Bedford College, as published in the local press, secured first place in English at the University of London Exams. Many other West Indians have also distinguished themselves in other British Universities. Why ? Because with them English is a sort of Mother-tongue. This fact is also exemplified in West Africa by the galaxy of West African Stars, living and dead, some of whom I have already referred to, who were subjected to the System of Education when the study of English started in the Kindergarten Classes and continued throughout school life.

What to me is an indisputable proof of the efficiency of this System in contrast with the dubious merits of the Vernacular System, is amply demonstrated by the following facts : namely,

1. The compiler of a Yoruba Dictionary was Bishop Crowther trained under the old Missionary System.

2. The translators of the English Bible into Yoruba were African Ministers trained under the old Missionary System.

3. The Authors of Standard Works on Yoruba Grammar, such as teachers Kuye and the late Beecroft, were trained under the old Missionary System.

4. Yoruba Historians such as Messrs Ajisafe and Losi, and the authors of the various publications issued under the auspices of Egbe Agba Otan of Ibadan were all trained under the old Missionary System.

5. Other writers on African Folk-lore and Customs such as the late Bishop Johnson, Dr. Agbebi, etc., were also trained under the old Missionary System.

6. The translation of the Koran and of Julius Ceaser into Yoruba was done by the Revs. M. S. Cole and the late E. T. Johnson, respectively, both men trained under the old Missionary System.

7. The Editors of all the Yoruba journals and periodicals, past and present, have been men trained under the old Missionary System. And

8. The successful teachers of Yoruba such as Canon Latunde, Rev. Ogunbiyi, and others, were also trained under the old Missionary System; not to mention the powerful Yoruba Orators from the late Rev. Stone downwards.

Thus it will be seen that the study of the English language from the Kindergarten classes upwards does not tend to impair one's knowledge of the vernacular; on the contrary, those who have been able to master the English language conjointly with the Vernacular have been those trained under the system by which English was taught from the Kindergarten Classes upwards, and was the medium of instruction all through school life.

The question that now arises, is, what has the present-day Vernacular System of Education produced as an offset to the brilliant array of scholars, Divines, Teachers, Historians, Grammarians, Editors, Professional men, etc., etc., in order to justify the support it is receiving from Government and other high quarters ? Mr Ukong-Ibekwe himself gave us an inkling into the reply when he bewailed, in his article quoted supra, the inefficiency of young Africans who are now clerks and teachers in various departments, whose knowledge of the English language in which they were taught in schools and which has much to do with their proper understanding of their business career, is not even developed by them; and who understand only imperfectly both English and their respective vernaculars.

Mr. Vincent I. Onwubuya, a school teacher in the Awka District, who visited Lagos a few weeks ago also said, at an interview, that vernacular Education is used in the Awka District to teach early standards ; but it has been observed that the progress of the pupils who are taught English only after they have attained to a certain standard is consequently slow. They do not grasp the English language quickly and well.

Instances may be found, I admit, of pupils who appear to progress fairly well in English when they begin the study after attaining to a certain standard. But in almost every one of those cases it will also be found that the pupils had been taking private lessons in English all the time.

Having now attempted to portray the merits of Old Missionary System of Education as against the demerits of the Vernacular System, I shall now make an effort to dilate upon the value and importance of the English language to us as subject-members of the British Empire.

In this connection whether we are disposed to view the situation from the stand-point of utility or pragmatism, it will be readily conceded that English is destined to play a very important part in our National life in this great Dependency of Nigeria constituting as she does, one of the component units of the British Empire.

In the first place, English is not only the *lingua franca* of the British Empire, but is fast becoming the *lingua franca* of the world. Next, English is destined to be the *lingua franca* which will weld the diversified tribes of Nigeria into one national homogeneous whole. As it is at present, many tribal units in Nigeria who do not understand a word of each other's vernacular are holding ready converse with each other through the medium of the English language. In India the English language has been able to weld into one National unit the diversified tribes of that great country with their multifarious vernaculars and dialects; and if such has been achieved in India with its teeming millions of more than 20 times of those of Nigeria, it is not unreasonable to believe that it can be achieved in Nigeria. English gives us a rapid and easy communication with the outside world. It helps us to interpret to the world at large our inmost thoughts and feelings. It gives us direct access to classical literature and the wisdom of the ancients, even though we may not be able to peruse the latter works in the original; and it opens to our gaze the rich literary scientific treasures of modern civilization.

As the language of the British Empire it helps us to follow the trend of Imperial thought and feeling, and to discern the laws that are being devised and promulgated for our governance, with a view to

our intelligent understanding and criticism thereof. It is the magic wand which will help all Africa to present a united front to the world so as to revive the glories that were once her own. Consequently, no efforts should be stinted, no pains accounted too great, to enable every man, woman, or child in Africa to have as comprehensive and thorough a knowledge of English as possible. And this can only be achieved by the teaching of English, and the use of that language as the medium of instruction, from the Kindergarten classes upwards; that is to say throughout the whole period of a child's school life.

One word more; Mr Ukong-Ibekwe observes in his article that pupils leaving school consider the vernacular unnecessary, for the simple reason that (to use his own words) "it has nothing to do with their various departmental occupations". One could hardly blame any pupil for adopting such a view-point under existing circumstances, because if any application for employment is to be submitted anywhere the language must be in English. In the Commercial Houses and in Government Departments the books to be kept, the accounts to be submitted, and the letters to be drafted and typed, have all to be done, more or less, in English. This one fact alone proves the indispensability to us, subject-members of the British Empire, of the English language, and disposes finally of the present Vernacular System as an unprofitable use of much valuable time of our children in school by delaying their early acquaintance with that language.

In one of the latest School Reports as published in the local press, the following will be found, that "where a boy has the right initiative the foundation training of the school is sound;" and I maintain gentlemen, that without English as a medium of instruction throughout the whole of that boy's career, that boy will not get the right initiative for the battle of life in a British West African Colony.

What I say, therefore, is this, teach the vernacular by all means, teach it as early as possible and as thoroughly as possible; but teach English also equally by all means, and teach it equally as early as possible and as thoroughly as possible. And if it so happens that one has to be taught at the expense of the other, then let English be taught at the expense of the vernacular; not *vice versa*.

In conclusion, I beg to express my genuine and great appreciation of the opportunity your Secretary has afforded me of discussing so important a subject before so well-informed an audience; as also my profound gratitude to you all for having patiently suffered me so long. I pray that the activities of your Union would redound not only with great credit to yourselves, but also with ultimate educational benefit to your pupils.

EMICO INSTALLED OLU

Nigerian Daily Times 2-10-36

Friday's Historic Ceremony

A GREAT PAGEANTRY

The Olu Officially Recognized

(*Daily Times Special Telegram*)

Warri, Saturday.

YESTERDAY'S show has been voted the grandest in the history of Warri. It was the culmination of the historic ceremony of installation of the new Olu of Itsekiri, a ceremony whose preliminaries had taken some days as already reported by the *Daily Times*.

The Olu looked magnificent and gorgeous in his robes of Office and a Paramount Chief in every way when the rites were carried out at Ode Itsekiri.

The Resident of the Province of Warri went to accord the Olu official recognition whilst over 200 war canoes took part in the pageantry witnessed by all Europeans resident in Warri and in the vicinity.

The termination of the ceremony in the very happy way it did is a credit to Capt. E. A. Millar, Acting Resident of Warri as well as to Capt. J. A. Mackenzie, District Officer of the Sobo-Jekri Division who have succeeded where it was not given to others to do.

EMICO, OLU of Jekriland who was installed Olu on Friday and on whose behalf fervent prayers are being offered for a peaceful period of Office and long life on the stool of his fathers.

What they did in the realization of a unified Jekri people.

Race Problem-1936

Africa

Principle of Self-preservation.

That the principles of Christianity were as equally important as that of self-preservation formed part of the gospel preached by the Prime Minister in the House of Assembly last Tuesday. He went further by stressing the fact that Christianity itself was dependent on the principle of self-preservation. After reviewing the inherent dangers of the Cape Native franchise by allegations of blood intermixture and congratulating the white race for keeping their race and blood pure, the Prime Minister did not outspokenly (though he did by implication) charge the African races with the crime. Even if he meant to cast such an aspersion on the black races, the existing facts in this connection were sufficient evidence to explode his theory. All persons of bastard origin are regarded as outcasts in European society, their place in life being found either among the Coloureds or Natives. This is how the Prime Minister can always find it convenient to extol the European race for its moral integrity. The moral restraint of the African in this connection is more commendable than that of the supposedly superior race, for it is anathema according to Bantu tribal custom for a male to make gestures to the opposite sex of the white race. The moral weakness of those who are the fathers of illegitimate half-castes hardly entitles them to a defence on the principle, or doctrine to be more appropriate, of self-preservation. "That safety of the white man in South Africa demanded that the rights of the Native should be confined within reasonable limits," says General Hertzog He further argues that every forward step taken by the Native in respect of enhanced education and civilisation aggravated the danger of being eventually swamped by them. It would sound as if the European section were conscious of having reached the end of their tether in education and civilisation, and that the blacks who followed in their trail were overtaking them, hence the resort to self-preservation which he claims is his fullest right to ensure their continued existence in South Africa. Rather a poor and miserable existence if it must be maintained by keeping the weaker race in perpetual subjection.

But is it true that self-preservation was the basis of the Christian religion? The politician's conception of Christianity may regard it as such; but to the student of Christ's teachings on earth, the outstanding elements of justice to all, the love for one another, the championing of the cause of the despised and weaker ones, were the theme of His admonitions. If self-preservation constituted His bulwark of defence, the men who tempted him in the Wilderness would not have taken forty days in attempting to obstruct him; for Christ had the power to call a sudden halt to their machinations in less than an hour. He preferred not to use His power to the detriment of those whom he had characterised as not knowing what they doeth. **Tolerance, perseverance, and love for His fellow-men were His watchwords. It is indeed regrettable that Christianity should be irreverently used as a political synonym for self-preservation, for it is the very antithesis of that spirit of selfishness and arrogance**

General Hertzog applauds the manner in which the two sections of the white race in South Africa have stood together on this national question, and yet he clearly discountenanced (at the Executive interviews with him) the co-operation between the Cape Natives and those of the northern provinces. Hardly anything is said officially of the Native Bills being the avowed Native policy of the Government of South Africa nowadays. The kernel of the dispute is purely the Cape Native vote, and the political expedient of using it as a sanctuary against imminent dissensions in the United Party ranks. Africans throughout the Union have been compelled by the pressure of race prejudice that permeates the House of Parliament to abandon the hope of a square deal; for the principle of justice has been openly sacrificed to the dictates of self-preservation and right is might. The Bantu realise that the expedient of a Compromise is equivalent to amputating the two legs of a condemned murderer as a guarantee against his escape before the final execution. European opinion of the North has dominated that of the South in the influence of abolishing our Native franchise. Our Cape parliamentarians have succumbed to what they view as the inevitable. The Africans of the South are to-day sufferers under a foreign prejudice. It logically follows that the Natives of the North must wake up from their political slumber, and keep their Europeans in the North preoccupied by an internal constitutional agitation for full political rights, (the individual franchise included), an agitation whose intensity will move the four corners of the Union to a sense of justice to the black man. This agitation would be only a reply to the doctrine of white self-preservation initiated in the North by General Hertzog and his satellites. Possibly the Cape Natives would then enjoy a temporary truce from the outrageous attacks on their political rights by foreign Europeans. If parliament passes the Compromise Native Bills the seeds of political strife will have been sown, and those whose stubborness obfuscated their sane view of rhyme and reason will have to be taught by unpleasant experiences how unwise it is to consider one's own preservation in a country inhabited by various elements of nationality.

Correspondence.

THE GREAT BATTLE.

Editor "Imvo,"

Sirs,

May I crave a space in your valuable paper to clear up certain misunderstandings in connection with the stupendous work which is engaging the serious attention of the members of the Executive Committee of the All Africa National Convention.

Newspaper reports, abbreviated as they are, are capable of misleading and in some quarters may prompt unnecessary suspicion that one or other of the Executive members may be inclined to bargain with the resolutions of the Convention. I want to say that in my whole experience as a public man I have never worked with a group of men so jealous of the trust placed in them by the Convention **that whatever their personal views none dare hawk with the responsibility or the mandate.** All the members of the Executive Committee know that they were never authorised to negotiate with the Government or members of Parliament for a compromise or to barter with the Cape Native vote in any way. Our mandate is clear, concise and unequivocal, for the Con**vention felt that it had nothing before it in the nature of a charge laid against the African voters in the Cape which it had to defend or explain away, and knew of no reason why the Cape franchise should be abolished. There was therefore no reason why it should offer an alternative or negotiate for a compromise, save to protest against an obvious injustice.**

We have to remember that by the attack against the Native vote in the Cape we are being called upon to pay a penalty for what in some quarters is commonly known as the arbitrary action of Great Britain which caused the Great Trek of 1836. When the Imperial Conference of 1926 and 1930 granted to the Dominions 'sovereign independence,' Great Britian least thought that a modern Government or Parliament could be capable of resurrecting memories a century old or seek to requite her magnanimity by a nasty smack in the face, for that is what the Representation of Natives Bill purports and signifies.

The definite stand taken up by our Executive Committee appears to have given to the enemies of our country a pretext for saving themselves from the ignominy and ridicule and are now offering not only to depart from the accepted policy of making uniform laws for all the Provinces but to offer the Cape Africans the right to elect three representatives to the House of Assembly and two in the Provincial Council. In other words, we are asked to accept as a compromise a means which must eventually erase the Cape Native vote. It is common knowledge that three representatives in a parliament such as of this country cannot hope to influence Parliament in any way unless they be of an extreme revolutionary kind, capable of

holding up the business of parliament by tactics bordering on abuse of parliamentary procedure; in which case parliament may hasten to repeal the law, thus abolishing the Cape Native vote.

The loss of the Cape vote means to all of us a come-back of the slave age in South Africa. One has only to read Chapter IV of the Land and Trust Bill to realise it more forcefully. If one recognises that the existing scheduled areas and lands acquired since 1913, are congested; and that it is proposed under this Chapter to drive out of the land some 900,000 squatters, and that under the proposed amendment to the Urban Areas Act several hundred thousand African families in the urban areas have to be removed and others who must follow as more are being made "superfluous" by the application of the civilised labour policy, and that therefore the seven a quarter million morgen to be released will scarcely be adequate to accommodate them all or relieve congestion, the dice are being loaded as heavily as never before. If it be true that history repeats itself, then all responsible leaders of our race must needs blush and tremble when they visualise that the country is heading for what happened in Russia which culminated in the assassination of the Czar and the overthrow of the Government.

My countrymen must accept as a fact that things are bad and that our salvation lies in the strengthening of the All African National Convention. The fight is just beginning and in order to meet it we should close our ranks. This we can do by each organisation in the country doubling its efforts in seeing to it that its membership is increased. I, as General Secretary of the Convention, am in duty bound to assist any organisation in whatever way possible, for the registration of organisations composing it so as to gauge its strength. I propose in the near future to tour the country.

May I in conclusion remind my countrymen of the resolution of the Convention requesting each delegate to appeal for funds. The Convention wants five million shillings which must be collected and remitted to Dr. J. S. Moroka, P.O. Thabanchu, O.F.S. immediately. This is very important if we must keep up the fight.

Yours etc.,

H. Selby Msimang,

General Secretary.

Why Africans Did Not Compromise.

South Africa is in the grips of a political sensation of first rate magnitude. The Native Bills, the beloved creature of General Hertzog now fifteen years old, and the adopted child of Mr. Heaton Nicholls, has become the bone of contention between (a) the Government and Natives of South Africa, (b) the Malanites and General Hertzog (c) the bed-fellows of the United Party, (d) Europeans who uphold a Native policy of Christian principles, ethics and justice, and those who are inveterately bound to the 18th century traditions of their forbears, acting in collaboration with un-principled self-seeking politicians.

However numerous be these opponents, the issue at stake is the Cape Native vote of which the Africans in the Cape are the lawful owners. Any losses sustained during the fight between these factions are a debit only to the Cape Natives' side. It is elementary justice to uphold the paramountcy of Bantu opinion in the Cape and elsewhere above the claims of any other section. Our people were granted the franchise in 1854 by the Imperial Government. Whether it is considered by others that this was a grave error in policy does not seem to have room in the argument; anymore than could the liberation of black slaves by America be regarded as a mistake. Difficulties of racial contact to-day may not be solved by whittling down the original rights of one section to accommodate the other. Such an expedient is nothing short of legalised theft.

In the Native Bills as placed before the Union Parliament the right of the Cape Native to vote on an equal basis with Europeans is sought to be withdrawn. The consensus of African opinion is strongly against such a step, and representations to ventilate this view were arranged for in the form of an All-African Convention Executive. This body visited the legislative capital of the Union, consulted various parliamentary representatives and held several interviews with the Prime Minister. The fruits of all this labour proved abortive. The influence of various political interests seemed to upset the exercise of sane and unbiassed judgment.

Unable to arrive at a realisation of how their rights would be affected by the proffered compromises of the Prime Minister and certain members of parliament, the Executive of the all African Convention decided that the best and safest course would be to refer the political situation to the plenary conference at an early date. The resolute refusal of the Premier to delay the legislation created a deadlock, since the Executive had no mandate to accept any compromise. More impossible was it to do so when the legal imputations of a compromise had not been submitted to legal authorities. For an example, the right of the Africans to return men of their colour to the Provincial Council is withdrawn. The acceptance by Natives of the principle of political segregation may be used against them in all future discriminative legislation as a justification in upholding the inferiority of the black race, regardless of the mental or cultural achievements of any of its members. In a word, the progress of the Africans in western civilisation would be abruptly checked, and a reversion to primitive conditions begun. We submit that this is impossible, and those who desire such a state of affairs are seeking for political security in the wrong direction. As Mr. Schreiner put it many years ago, "it is idle, to my mind, to think of building anything permanent in South Africa by the mere goodwill of ourselves, the European descended minority. We shall, if we deserve it, remain dominant. But it must be dominance in a free country, where career is open to talent, and to civilised men, with no discrimination or distinction upon such grounds as colour or race."

Race Problem – 1936
Africa

NIGERIA UNION OF TEACHERS

Fifth Session—Federal Council

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The following is the text of the presidential address delivered by the Rev I O Ransome-Kuti to the Federal Council of Nigeria Union of Teachers, mentioned in yesterday's issue in report of the proceedings:

My comrades of the N. U. T.,

Greeting! Common cause, common purpose, common aim—the triumph of Educational efforts in Nigeria, the deepening and broadening of the outlook of youth in the things that matter—leading them up to higher grounds where they can see before them the grand ocean of adventure and discovery, pointing to them the right way of taking the initial steps, inspiring them with courage and enthusiasm as they embark on this voyage of discovery—and so considerably influencing the whole course of the country's progress and destiny—these are points in the immense programme of our mission. They are great ideas requiring great interpreters—not only well-equipped but willing and ready. And when we examine the rank and file of the teaching profession in Nigeria today, are we not justified in asserting that the materials are not wanting? The result of the last ten years of educational effort in this country speaks very favourably for teachers as a whole. It is a result of which they need not be ashamed; at the same time it is becoming increasingly difficult for us to suppress the anxiety felt for the future security and happiness of these fine materials under the existing conditions. Last year we met together in this hall under dark clouds of financial depression which teachers everywhere did so manfully weather. And it was very comforting to note that during the year 1935 many friends did bestir themselves and speak and act on our behalf. Of the 6 per cent cut restored by the late Governor to the assisted schools, only 5 per cent did actually reach the schools and even then it made little or no difference to the sufferings of teachers in the overwhelming majority of cases. Was the 5 per cent ever paid to them? In some areas the position is reported to be even worse than before. And now we are being told that the government is contemplating a further 15 per cent to 20 per cent cuts in the grants-in-aid—to serve what purpose still remains to be seen. But the Director denied in his talk to us two days ago that that was true. Even the block grants for 1936-1938 as assessed at present do not very much recommend themselves to Your Executive. It made little or no provision for increments of salaries of men who in addition to heavy cuts have known no increment for many years past. Your Executive drew the attention of the Education Department to this. The Assistant Director of Education (Mr McCowan) pushed us back to the missions through a maze of argument which I for one still have to understand. But what to my mind it is impossible for the Government to avoid is the final responsibility. The onus of educating the country does not in the least rest with Missions who undertook the work along with the preaching of the gospel only in a purely voluntary capacity. It is the duty of the government to foster education and to look after the welfare of teachers, and no amount of whatever the missions say or do can exonerate the Government from final responsibility. There is a Yoruba Proverb-"gba ran mi ki di eleru"—"Help me to carry this load' never makes the carrier the owner of the load." The Missions are helping and doing their best quite well enough. Where they fail—the Government who is the really responsible party should step in and put things straight, and should not in any case allow the sufferings of teachers to be in any degree more than those of any class of the public Service. If the plea of "no money" is advanced then we have a right to ask what percentage of the public revenue of Nigeria is being spent on Education, and what percentage ought to be spent: suppose the Missions had not undertaken the noble work of education at all, and the Government had to do it unaided, would they have constituted the teaching profession the parish of the public service that it now is? Fortunately we have a Director who to my mind is very sympathetic, and a Governor resolved to build on the solid foundation of his late and able predecessor, and we teachers most of whom have borne our sufferings in patient silence all these years, look up to them for immediate relief, and trust we shall not look in vain.

Some time ago—The Assistant Director of Education, Mr McCowan made us to understand by facts and figures in the many cases that there should be no cuts at all. If the Government knew this, then they have no excuse for permitting cuts. It is their duty to demand where the money went, and to insist on its being produced and used for what it was intended. To us it is unthinkable that the Government would acquiesce in a system which savours of misappropriation of public funds. In a certain area which in the meantime I refrain from naming, instead of removing the cuts a new scale of salaries was made which dodges the issue, and teachers are now to receive their salaries with the cuts more or less still there; but, what is worse, the new scale is now used as a screen to tell the Government that there are no more cuts.

In the C.M.S. area, however, the Bishop of Lagos had ruled long ago that teachers should be taken into confidence, as to whether this money was there or not and also what was done with it if it was not there. That has been some consolation at least to the suffering teachers, for it has checked a good deal of the bad trick which had been going on before about these funds. But in many other areas Assisted School accounts still remain a dead secret, and teachers up till now are being made to hear news about them at a safe distance. They see and know that money is coming in and that is all. Will the Government as the custodian of public money look on and allow this state of things to continue unchallenged? That is unthinkable.

In spite of the foregoing, how-

ever, my comrades, let us continue to keep up our curage and self-restraint, and to face the situation a determination which eliminates the possiblity of surrender or defeat. Let us never be tired of "knocking" until it is opened to us at last. I am still firm, as I hope you too are, in my belief in the good sense and sympathy of those in authority and in the readiness of public spirited members of the community to help. In any case great points are never carried with folded arms: Says Garribaldi to his red shirts: "Soldiers, what I have to offer you is fatigue, danger, struggle and death; the chill of the cold night in the free air, and heat under the burning sun; no lodgings, no munitions, no provisions, but forced marches, dangerous watch-posts, and the continua struggle with the bayonet against batteries. Those who love freedom and their country may follow me." And although ours is a different type of struggle the moral of the quotation is obvious. Therefore my comrades, let us press on at all costs "trusting in God and doing the right."

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR

For the first time in its history the Nigeria Union of Teachers joined last October in a practical manner the chorus of welcome which greeted a new Governor on his arrival on these shores. We were very fittingly represented by our energetic Secretary Mr E E Esua, and the text of our address of welcome has already been published along with others. Here is not the place, nor am I qualified if it were, to give a forecast of what a new Governor is going to be; it is sufficient for our purpose to remark that he has made excellent impression in the judgment of those qualified to speak, and his reference too to education in his reply to the address of welcome is also re-assuring. I take this opportunity on your behalf once again to bespeak for the Governor an unqualified success during his tenure of office.

Africa in Need of Basic Change, Yergan Says. Returning to Post

Natives Live in Hell in South Africa, 'Y' Missionary Holds

Cuttings from news

When as a young man, fresh from the campus of Shaw University, Max Yergan first went out to Africa as a Y. M. C. A. secretary, he believed that social services and Christian teachings would lead the African into the "good life." That was during the war years, 1916-17. 3-7-36

"I am convinced now that there will have to be fundamental changes, striking at the very roots of political and economic conditions in South Africa, before the African can be assured of even the beginnings of a good life." Herald Trib

The years that he has spent on that continent have brought him inevitably to this conclusion, Mr. Yergan said last Saturday morning before sailing aboard the Italian liner Conte de Savoia, returning to Africa on his eighth trip.

He was apologetic about sailing on an Italian liner. It was, he explained, because he had bought a round trip ticket when he came back to this country last summer, before Mussolini had hurled his Black Shirt legions against the ancient Kingdom of Ethiopia.

But it was not chiefly Italy and Ethiopia that concerned him Saturday. It was of South Africa and the plight of the Africans that he talked. Their restricted opportunities, their super-exploitation and their efforts towards adjustment.

Hell in South Africa.

If you believe, as many do, that Dixie is hell, listen to Max Yergan and learn about hell. In South Africa not only are Negroes disfranchised, beaten and subject to terrorization by any white person; they are denied the right to organize industrially; they are denied justice in courts; they are denied freedom of motion; in short, they are virtually enslaved. The Union of South Africa, the vast dominion which Cecil

Max Yergan.

Virtual Economic and Political Bondage Fetters People

Rhodes built through treachery and brigandage and murder, is pyramided upon the bent black backs of native workers.

"Since 1932 profits in the gold mines around Johannesburg and in the Transvaal have increased 100 per cent and dividends over 70 per cent, Mr. Yergan pointed out. "Wages of white workers have been measurably increased. But not since the war has there been a single increase in the wages paid to over 200,000 Africans working in these mines."

This static condition of the African worker, he asserted, is due to the fact that he is not admitted to the organized labor movement in South Africa and is not permitted to maintain his own organization. Formerly, under the leadership of Clements Kadalie, a militant African, the Industrial and Commercial Union voiced the demands of the African workers. Collusion between the government and the white labor movement wrecked the I. C. U. And since then labor organization among natives has been outlawed.

There is, however, a national native congress, which seeks to represent the Africans of the Union. This organization is made up chiefly of detribalized natives of the professional classes—teachers, ministers, lawyers. Their aim, Mr. Yergan said, is to find a place for themselves in the imperial set-up. "And," he added thoughtfully, "there is no place for them under European imperialism."

Convinced now that social service, while still needed, is not sufficient for the Africans, Max Yergan, who first went out to Africa to render such service, believes that "the greatest need of the masses of Africa today is organization along industrial lines. It is necessary for the Africans to organize and to educate in order to give each child and adult a firm, deeply-rooted conception of the good life for him and his community."

Race Problem - 1936
Africa
(Ilanga Lase Natal, Durban, Natal. 7-13-36)

An Appeal For The John L. Dube Commemoration Fund

(Ilanga Lase Natal, Natal)

There has been a widespread feeling among many Europeans no less than among the Zulu people themselves that the time has come for some public recognition of the outstanding work of the Rev. John L. Dube.

Mr. Dube is widely recognised as an unusually gifted leader and inspirer of his people. Thirty-two years ago he brought into being the "Ilanga Lase Natal", which remains the recognised Bantu newspaper in this Province. He was the first President of the African National Congress and has done much for his people in the fields of civic and religious service.

Perhaps his greatest work has been the building up of the Ohlange Institute as a combined High and Industrial School. Mr. Dube founded Ohlange in 1901. It was modelled on the example of Booker T. Washington's great school at Tuskegee, starting under the most difficult circumstances it has grown to be a fully recognised school with an enrolment of some 300 pupils.

In all the fields of activity Mr. Dube has proved himself a sane and constructive leader, while at the same time he has never failed to speak out boldly for what he felt to be right.

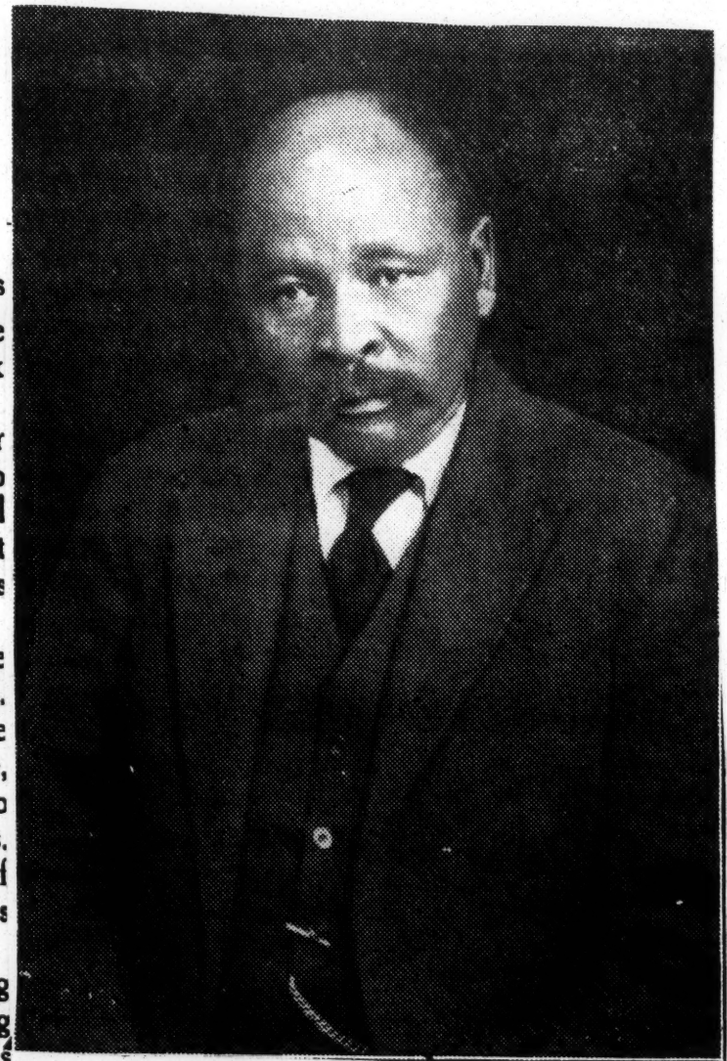
It has been thought that the best way of commemorating his services would be to raise a sum of money for equipping Ohlange Institute with a good Library. An earnest appeal is made to all the readers to send in subscriptions as soon as possible, so that this commemoration of Mr. Dube's work may be made in the near future. Subscriptions may be sent to Mr. Allsopp, Secretary, The Natal Estates Ltd. Club Arcade, Durban or to Dr. Edgar Brookes, Adams College, P.O. Adams Mission Station, who form the European Committee; or to Rev. P. J. Gumede, P.O. Inanda, or Miss V. Sibusisiwe Makanya, Imbumbulu M.S., P.O. Amanzimtoti, who form the Bantu Committee.

Cheques should be made payable to "The John Dube Commemoration Fund."

The European Committee acknowledge with thanks donations from friends amounting to £111-6-0.

The Bantu Committee also acknowledge with thanks the following donations:

Mr. Mafavuke Ngcobo	£5	0	0
Taylor St. School Staff	1	10	0
General J. R. Royston	1	1	0
Mr. W F. Bhulose	1	0	0
Mr. A. W. Geo. Champion	1	0	0
Rev. P. J. Gumede	1	0	0
Mr. J. B. Mnyandu	1	0	0
Mr. J C. Chester	10	6	
Rev. K. Hallendorff	10	0	
Mr. C.M. Mkize	10	0	
Mr. Zeph. Radebe	10	0	
Rev S. E. Shongwe	5	6	
Rev. A. Nxaba	5	0	
Mr. A. E. Allay	5	0	
Miss Lavinia Scott (Adams College)	2	6	
Nurse Ethel Setaba	2	6	
Evangelist J. Tusi	2	6	
,, A. Gubevu	2	6	
,, W. Damane	2	6	
,, N. Xaba	2	6	
,, J. Vilakazi	2	0	
,, E. Nishangase	1	6	
Mr. O. Mbata		6	
Miss R. Khumalo		6	
Miss L. Mncube		6	
	£15	7	0



The Dissatisfaction in Basutoland Administration

(The Bantu Mochochonono)

The letter we are publishing hereunder is written by one of the Basuto young men in reply to one that recently appeared in this paper. We shall be pleased to publish other letters bearing on this subject from other young Basuto; of course the subject is not a new one in this Territorry :— (6-13-36)

The thrilling article written by Mr B. S. Likate in the Mochochonono of the 25th May should now be in the hands of the sons of the soil (Basuto) for detailed discussion. It is now for them either to agree or disagree with him whatever the case may be and in doing so, should do so in consideration of the fact that necessity knows no law. It is right time that such a topic should be of special concern to all patriotic Basuto. We have heard from time to time about the National cry as regards the so-called National Council. Personally, I consider it justice that people should say their feelings in connection with that council as long as it does not satisfy them.

It makes one feel sick both in heart and soul when one hears of such a council being called a National Council when about

three-quarters of the people are totally dissatisfied with it, people of the very nation which is supposed to own the council, fancy! At any rate it sounds a fallacy from the very start to see that the people who are supposed to hold reins in the Council are chiefs only and their supporters, straight away their "FAVOURITES". I find that if Mr Likate's appeal as well as of the three quarters of the nations, could be considered, that in the national council there should be a number of people chosen by the nation things would politically run smoothly as all these horrible complaints would come to end. In all probability the chiefs who have been holding the council for years would not like the previlege being taken away from their hands and handed to commoners, but then the council should not be claimed to be national because the facts are concrete and self-evident that it is otherwise, or then it should be a council for chiefs not for the nation.

I am quite certain that there are far too many people in the nation who can resolve better resolutions than about three-quarters of the chiefs in the council who apparently are apt to side with any European who might bring forth his own feelings and this is due to the fact that there is a belief that whatever is said by a white man is always right and irreversible which thing is logically an absurdity. It has long been proved that a white man and black man are equally talented as far as mental capabilities are concerned. On the contrary I am quite certain that there are sufficiently capable people who are not chiefs who can face any black or white man in the National Council who brings forth suggestions likely to be disliked by the nation. The chiefs and favourites in the council are only a part of the nation neither do they satisfy the nation but still the council is said to be national and yet a part will never be equal to a whole as it would be preposterous to say so. The secret is that the problem needs an immediate remedy and time and tide wait for no man, but how shall it be hammered so that its effects will be such as will not receive a cold reception from the authorities

Otherwise I find it useless that there should be all these sorts of grievances without coming to a certain agreement whereby the said national cry would be stopped.

As it is, it will be found that people discuss time and again with the result that their discussions go in smoke because of the lack of power and co-operation to let the grievances materialise somehow. The question of people electing their representatives has often been discussed but there is nothing being done to show its seriousness.

As I said, an early start is the secret of success because if we wait a little longer, before we know where we are we might find ourselves swimming in a pool of tears. Mr Likate's view of it was quite satisfactory only he needs a few supporters to enable the matter to take further steps.

In a nutshell that's how it is from my personal point of view.

M. Matete,
Adams College

Union and the Protectorates.

To what extent the Act of Union is being misinterpreted by the statesmen of South Africa in order to fit in with their ulterior motives is demonstrated by General Hertzog's amazing statement recently. In the House of Assembly the Premier, alluding to the Protectorates, said: "A schedule to the Act provided that when the Union regarded the time as ripe for the taking over of these territories it had only to approach the British Government in the matter. In the meantime, however, the British Government had assumed certain obligations, one of which was that the Natives concerned should be consulted before the control of the territories was handed over to the Union.

"That did not necessarily mean that the Natives should agree to the change, but what was aimed at was the greatest possible measure of agreement and goodwill on the part of the Natives It must be remembered that these territories had not been conquered and annexed by Great Britain, but that they had become Protectorates at the request of the Natives themselves."

We are indebted to the "Daily Dispatch" for the relevant replies to the views expressed by the Premier which we reproduce hereunder.

"This interpretation of the position, however, is quite at variance with that of the British Government, and, it may be added, with General Hertzog's own statement in the Union Parliament on March 25, 1925. On that occasion the Prime Minister said:

"Our position has always been as a party, that we are not prepared to incorporate in the Union any territory *unless the inhabitants of the territory are prepared to come in.*"

In the Aide-Memoire already mentioned, the Secretary of State refers to these words of General Hertzog and says:

"We believe that the Union Government would not wish to incorporate the territories in the Union unless the inhabitants of the territories, Native as well as European, are 'prepared and desire to come in'."

That this represents the opinion of the British Government is clear also from an answer given to a question in the House of Commons last year by Lord Stanley, Under-Secretary for the Dominions.

"The word 'promise'," he said (referring to the undertaking in the South Africa Act that the Protectorates should be transferred to the Union), "is taken to mean an understanding that a transfer will take place sooner or later *with the agreement of the Natives* and after Parliament has had an opportunity of expressing its opinion."

Again, in the Imperial Parliament last year, the Secretary of State for the Dominions, referring to his conversations with General Hertzog, said:

"We agreed that nothing would be more disastrous, if ever the time arrived when transfer was agreed upon, after the conditions had been fulfilled, than that it should take place by people being compelled to go against their will. In other words, whenever the time was ripe circumstances would warrant or justify it, for transfer, *the one essential thing was that it should take place with good will and co-operation and be welcomed by the Natives themselves.*"

Race Problem – 1936
Africa

BISHOP HOWELLS' 70TH BIRTHDAY

Nigerian ~~Daily~~ Times

And Retirement From Active Service

British West Africa

CELEBRATIONS IN ABEOKUTA

9 – 14 36

Impressive Thanksgiving Service

DISTINGUISHED CONGREGATION AT ST. PETER'S

Popular Rejoicings

(*From Our Own Correspondent*).

Abeokuta, August 10.

As previously announced, Sunday the 9th August was a great day for the Anglican Church in Abeokuta and was observed as a day of thanks-giving and rejoicing, not only by the entire Anglican Church members in Abeokuta and district but by the Ogunbona Agboketoyinbo family, in which an illustrious member of the family in the person of the Right Revd A W Howells D.D, celebrated the 70th anniversary of his birth, and retirement from active service after 50 years fruitful labours in the Lord' vineyard.

From Saturday the 8th, friends admirers, and old parishioners from Lagos, Ibadan as well as colleagues, have been pouring into the Bishop's House at Ake where they were received by the veteran prelate and his amiable consort, Mrs A W Howells. In the evening feasting and dancing took place among the members of the family.

On Sunday at 7.30 a.m. there was Holy Communion at St. Peter's Anglican Church, Ake attended by His Lordship and Mrs A W Howells, and friends and relatives, the Revd Delumo officiating.

At 11 o'clock the spacious Church had been filled to overflowing. Christian Chiefs headed by the veteran leader, Chief Durojaiye Sowemimo, Balogun of the Christians, Councillors, notables parishioners from all Anglican Churches in the town—all congregated to give joint praise and thanksgiving to God on behalf of their prelate who in full episcopal robes and seated on a special dais near the Chancel was the cynosure of all eyes.

A procession of choristers from leading parishes and Clergymen entered by the main entrance singing Hymn No. 565, the Venerable Archdeacon S O Phillips leading with the Revds Canon J Pearse, E S Aiyebiwo, J Wilcock, C. M. S. Secretary, Onitsha, representing the Niger Diocese; D A Williams, J F Peters, S A Delumo, Oduwusi, T O Dedeke, E T B Adebiyi, I O Ransome-Kuti, S P Adeyinka, D M George, B A Falode, D O Dixon, J O G Sodipe and A W F Howells.

The Alake was also present and the service was impressive throughout. A special Yoruba Anthem composed by Mr. Olu Ogumefun, Organist of the Church, was rendered by the Choristers and the Venerable Archdeacon of Lagos received the offerings.

A special sermon was delivered by Revd D A Williams, Pastor of Ogunpa Anglican Church, Ibadan, choosing as his text Psalm 107 verse 1.

He gave an historical sketch of the advent of Christianity in Abeokuta of which the grandfather of the aged Prelate was instrumental and which also led to his being trained by the early converts.

Among those present were Messrs Peter J C Thomas, W G Howells, R A Macarthy, Snr., Abiola Macarthy, E C Howells, Tunde Agbebi, A Beckley, Mr. and Mrs. T K E Phillips, Mr. and Mrs. E Goyea, Mesdames S O Phillips, Keke Williams, J S Williams and a host of others. *Ad multos annos.*

AFRICAN MEDICO HONOURED

Staff's Tributes to Dr. Doherty

UNIQUE GATHERING AT OSHOGBO

Nigerian Daily Times

Oshogbo, Aug. 15.

A most convivial gathering was that held at the African Hospital grounds on Saturday, August 15, in response to the invitations issued by the combined staff of the Medical and Health Department, in honour of Dr. H A A Doherty, Medical Officer, Oshogbo and districts who will shortly be proceeding on leave.

The function started at 5 p.m. with the introduction of the afternoon's chairman, Mr. Forrest, Sanitary Superintendent by Mr S F Phillips of the Health Office.

In a modest and breezy speech Mr Forrest introduced the object of the gathering. He commented on the high efficiency of Dr. Doherty during his tenure of office in Oshogbo and described him as a worthy Head of a Department. Concluding, he wished Dr. Doherty more successes in his career and also expressed the hope that the community will extend the same loyal co-operation and services to Dr. McLetchin, his successor.

Address And Presentation

The Staff's farewell address was then read by Mr B A B Adelaja, in the following terms :—

Dr. H. A. A. Doherty,

Medical Officer, Oshogbo

Dear Sir,—The circumstance which has brought us together this evening is not only unique in the short history of the African Hospital at Oshogbo since its foundation, but also peculiar in the annals of this town. Our object is

to put in as few words as possible our sense of high appreciation of the time during which we have been fortunate to serve under you as Head of this Department. It speaks volume when we say the period of your administration which is now coming to a close, marks a mile-stone in the appointment of Africans to European positions in the service of the Government.

Although we, the staff, might have found it hard on several occasions to cope with the ever-increasing amount of work which has steadily been developing since you took charge of this Hospital, yet we have on every such occasion been able to carry out our duties through the untiring and unflagging interest, coupled with an undiminished energy, you have always exhibited and put forth with a view to bringing up the good name of the Hospital. In this respect, we can assure you, you have succeeded to an extent almost undreamt of by your predecessors as could be substantiated from the records.

This difficult task, dear Sir, you have been able to perform within so short a time that great confidence is being steadily developed in the illiterates for treatment in the Hospital. All these you have done with the greatest skill without the slightest arrogance. Your tenacity of purpose and high conception of duty which in every case have been your guiding principle have endeared you not only to the entire Staff but all patients who ever came under your treatment, and this you have carried on without a slur on your high and honourable profession.

The high esteem in which you are held to-day in Oshogbo could not have been so widefelt were it not for the kind and encouraging words of your amiable consort, Mrs Doherty, who has also been very generous to undertake the duty of beautifying the Hospital grounds with plants, shrubs, roses &c. most of which are blooming around now and making the Hospital look gayer. We extend to her through you our warmest thanks and appreciation.

In conclusion, we wish you both a safe journey home, a happy and enjoyable time, and a well-earned rest. In token of our love and appreciation, please receive, dear Sir, the accompanying Book as a souvenir from us.

We are,

Yours respectfully, (Sgd). J A P Marquis, Alex Onayemi Molokwu, Ben Ade Bex Adelaja, E J Bonus, J E Okeke, A O Cole, S F Phillips, S A Ojo, G O Obi, Olu Shodipo, P B G Thompson, M O Mosaku and others.

The address was presented with the souvenir by Miss A. Cole.

In appropriate words Dr Doherty responded to the address thanking the first speaker for the good words he had used about him and the members of the Medical and Health Staff for the elaborate send-off arranged in his honour and their flattering address. When he was transferred there some 16 months ago as the first African Officer in the district, he said, he had the advantage, being a Yoruba, of knowing the custom and idiosyncrasies of the natives among whom he worked and he was sure his success was due in no little measure to the co-operation, assistance and loyalty extended to him by the staff. He hoped the incoming officer, Dr McLetchin, would also receive the same loyal support and co-operation and that the work would continue to foster for the good of the country during his time.

After refreshments Dr McLetchin made a few remarks and a vote of thanks to the guests was moved by Mr J P Marquis. The chairman's closing address which was well-received ended the successful gathering.

Before the guests dispersed they all joined in singing lustily "For he's a jolly good fellow" before the National Anthem.

THE WOMEN OF NIGERIA

And Abyssinia

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Daily Times

To The League Of Nations

8-21-36

The news paragraph contained in our issue of yesterday in regard to the letter from the Chief Secretary to the Government to Mrs Shackleford has reference to the petition of the women of Nigeria addressed to the President of the League of Nations through His Excellency the Governor

In that petition the women said that they joined their voices with that of Princess Tsahai of Abyssinia most humbly and earnestly to implore The League of Nations to make definite pronouncement against the use of poison gas, laterite etc., in War, and to refuse to recognize the annexation of Abyssinia by Italy as a result of an aggressive war, waged in violation of all rules of civilized warfare.

The Representatives of the Women who signed the petition were:—

Gwendolyn Shackleford
C Olajumoke Obasa
E Modupe Moore
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The Basutoland Students' Association

Mochochonono
Nov 21st

In the "Mochochonono" of November 21st your readers, Mr Editor, saw an article entitled as above, and it is my hope that they enjoyed it. Let us glance at a few more facts. 10-28-36

The world must of necessity be peopled by different types of men —and women, or else it would be a lopsided affair. Amongst the myraids of 'classes' that inhabit this planet may be cited the dreamers and those who call themselves or are styled by others practical men. The casual observer— and this is the wrong type of observer—scurries away with the erroneous notion that these two 'classes' must, as a matter of course, be at variance. But on closer examination of daily happenings one finds that to dream is merely to draw up a scheme, in a manner of speaking, for the practical man.

Students are, as a general rule, young and inexperienced. Very often their ideas are poo-hooed on this score. This may be good, but I strongly suggest that quite as often as not it is a harmful attitude. Youth is estranged from age. It is made rebellious. On the other hand so much importance is placed on the knowledge and wisdom of the senile that everything they say is gospel truth whatever they do cannot but be right and just. This is the crux.

Our Students' Association would be sorry if this state of affairs were to endure a day longer than it must. We would like candid co-operation between the young and the old. Let the fiery spirits of youth be tempered by sedate age. When the old become tepid let them be inspired by the verve of the young.

This is our point. We would highly appreciate the visits of the older people to the sittings of our conference. Inasmuch as we are deeply interested in the development of education, and incidentally the amelioration of the lot of the people, it would help us very much to know what the exact position is in the village of Basutoland, and no source of information would be more reliable than the people who live there.

Our forthcoming conference well be opened by the Director of Education at 9 a.m. on Monday December 14th. On the same day the Principal Medical Officer will talk on "Diet as it affects the Health and Welfare of the many Basotho. On Tuesday, December 15th, the Director of Agriculture will address us on "General Agriculture and Livestock in Basutoland." Clearly this will be a unique chance to get first hand information on vital subjects.

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ANOTHER MEMBER.

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The Basutoland Students' Association

Morning Star
The Comet

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ANOTHER MEMBER,

Race Problem-1936
Africa

Tells How African Territory Was Stolen From Chief Lobengula By Avaricious White Spoilers

LONDON, England, Aug. 21—(By Our Special London Correspondent)—One of the most shameful stories in the annals of British Imperialism has been revealed to the British public by the Right Honourable Tom Johnston, Labour member of the British Privy Council, in the "Daily Herald."

Lying south of the Zambesi river there is a great territory of 150,000 square miles called Southern Rhodesia. Less than half a century ago it was "native" territory under a King-Chief called Lobengula.

But when news reached the British South African Company that gold was to be found there in paying quantities, the shareholders of that company marched north by proxy, and after some pretty work with Maxim guns over assegais, Lobengula was driven out, and the company's directors ruled in his place.

In the year 1923 the territory became a British Dominion with a parliament of white property owners. The only restriction placed upon them was that no legislation discriminating between Europeans and natives could become operative until it had received the assent of the Dominions Secretary in the imperial government at Westminster.

Discriminatory Legislation

In theory there is no color bar. In theory the promise of Cecil Rhodes that there would be equal right for all civilized men south of the Zambesi river still holds good.

In practice, however, the white property owners are taking jolly good care that the natives do not acquire the civilization qualification. Last year there was spent out of the public taxes 21-pound on every European child's education, and only 10 shillings per head on the education of such African children as attended a school.

Yet, when further discriminatory legislation is carried in the Parliament of Southern Rhodesia, the members of the British House of Commons are kept carefully in ignorance until such time as the Dominions Secretary has given his approval. The papers are not laid upon the table of the House of Commons. No intimation of any kind is given us.

If we learn of it at all it is by accident, or because someone like Mr. Creech Jones, M.P., or Mr. Noel Buxton, who takes an interest in the welfare of the disfranchised coloured subjects of the King, has been in touch with some missionary or returned traveler.

Licensed Concubines

In April of this year the Government of Southern Rhodesia got through a measure called the Natives Registration bill. Being discriminatory it had to be sent to London for Mr. Malcolm MacDonald's approval.

By section 14 (3) of this measure native women are to be licensed as concubines for the use of imported labourers on the locations. The licenses are to be issued by the superintendents of the locations.

The gold mining and other employers require imported labourers—largely from Nyasaland. These labourers are not encouraged to bring their wives and families or given facilities to make a home and a settlement. On the mines alone there are over 22,000 such importees, living separately from their wives and families, with the result that there has grown, and grown to an appalling extent, both prostitution and unnatural vice.

Instead of encouraging a family settlement system as a means of encountering these evils, the Government of Southern Rhodesia now proceeds to license concubines. That is (to use Mr. Malcolm MacDonald's delicate phraseology when answering my question on the subject, the other day) women are to live with the labourers, "although there has been no actual form of marriage contracted."

And the Secretary of State for the Dominions has approved of this scandalous and shameful legislation. He is "not prepared to advise His Majesty to disallow this Act." (Hansard, July 14.)

Women Enslaved

From the Official Report of Proceedings in the Parliament of Southern Rhodesia for last April 2, the Minister of Native Affairs, in defending his bill, declared that there would be "a large number of these women," and he added:

"As the honorable members know, the state of affairs in native life produced by white civilization is really shocking. The bulk of these boys in the location are not legitimately married, either under their customs or under Christian rules. It is quite impossible to keep these natives in the proximity of our towns unless certain facilities are provided."

The concubines will be attached to the labourer during his period of contract with his employer. When the contract is finished—usually for 270 shifts in the gold mines, and that takes about 11 months to fulfil, but there are shorter periods—and the labourer goes away back home to his tribe, the concubine and her children, if any, will be passed on to another labourer. And when his contract of service is concluded, to still another labourer.

At no period of her concubinage can the woman be said to be living in ecnomically comfortable conditions, since the wages of the man who is maintaining her appear to be on the average of 13-pound per annum, or five shillings per week. (Empire Parliamentary Association annual report, 1933, p. 224.)

But there is a food ration in addition, the value of which is not estimated. The gold mining companies, especially since the country went off the gold standard, and the price of gold rocketed from 4.5.0-pound to about 7-pound an ounce, would appear to be under no necessity of paying only celibate wages.

Gold mining shares in South Africa are standing at from five to 20 times their par value, and some concerns are paying very large dividends. One Rhodesian company paid 80 per cent in 1934 and 60 per cent in 1935.

Why, then, should we have this Jim Crow legislation in Rhodesia, and why these bestial sex regulations?

Flogging Legalized

In Uganda and West Africa, under the Colonial Office, we do at least attempt to administer affairs for the benefit of the Africans; we give them place and pride in our Commonwealth of Nations, so that they may desire to remain with us in the Empire under a common flag, and sharing the benefits of a great confederation.

But apparently at our Dominions Office there is no such conception of trusteeship; there we have swallowed, lock, stock and barrel, the Cape policy of segregation and treating the Africans as a helot race, now and forever.

In Southern Rhodesia under the Prisons Act, an African in jail for a pass port or any other offense can be given 12 cuts with the lash for 29 separate offenses against prison discipline.

Twelve cuts with the lash for:

"Being idle, careless or negligent in his work, or refusing to work.

"Swearing, cursing or using abusive, insulting or improper language. Conversing or holding intercourse with another prisoner not at authorized times.

"Singing, whistling or making an unnecessary noise or giving unnecessary trouble.

"Having in his cell any articles he should not have."

For these crimes, according to the Minister of Justice and Defense (Southern Rhodesia Parliamentary Report, April 27, 1936) the African may be lashed, to the extent of 12 cuts.

But this Prisons Act, since in theory it applies to Europeans and Africans alike, was not discriminatory legislation and so was not submitted for approval to the Dominions Office.

Appeal British Public

The "National" Government has, however, endorsed the shocking concubinage system, though how Mr. Malcolm MacDonald (who with his constituents in Ross and Cromarty stands so firmly opposed to the iniquities of Sunday golf) came to append his signature of approval to it, it is difficult to comprehend.

He may, perhaps, have inherited some pledge from his predecessor in office.

Anyhow, he did not sign inadvertently. He knew what he was doing. And I hope that public opinion, once the facts are known, will compel him to annual his signature.

The Present Position of Basutoland.

Some facts about our Chiefs.

(SENEL MODIBEDI)

These is so much to write about that at times one feels despondent to write on anything. Our weekly contributions, if anything, prove conclusively and beyond all measure of doubt that there is more noise in Basutoland to-day than ever before. The man who will keep in doors right through the night despite the constant alarm made by his dogs, is a man who lives with his soul dead. If such a one should rise in the morning to find his valuable property removed he has nobody else but himself to blame.

Noise, no matter of what nature is always a sure sign of alarm, either of the near or distant danger. The present position of Basutoland needs no authority to call it deplorable. Indeed it does not of necessity demand the qualities of celestial prophesy nor any standardised philosophical learning to roughly estimate what the future has in store for us. We are slowly but surely drifting and drifting to an irretrievable calamity. Whether our chiefs are fully in possession of all these truths, is a matter which goodness alone know. However the Basutoland Newspaper-men, like watch-men, even like a voice in the wilderness, are constantly and contiduously endeavouring to warn us against the seemingly approaching danger. Instead of attending immediately to the alarm, we are busy with our petty jealousies. Those half educated jealous pests are secretly busy working against those men who are endeavouring to warn us of the coming danger. At times one becomes lamentably despondent to read things such as: "Oh, So and So wants to be well known or he is showing off that he can write English." Until we are able to eradicate from amongst us such undesirable elements as these we have never been raised to be well known or he is men; I am afraid our future is a hopeless proposition.

The National Council. Men of all classes and diverse professions have given us an alarm in this matter. They have emphatically and repeatedly pointed out that it was time some change was made. Objections have never been raised why such a change should not be prosecuted. On the contrary our chiefs have

Race Problem-1936
Africa

Tells How African Territory Was Stolen From Chief Lobengula By Avaricious White Spoilers

LONDON, England, Aug. 21—(By Our Special London Correspondent)—One of the most shameful stories in the annals of British Imperialism has been revealed to the British public by the Right Honourable Tom Johnston, Labour member of the British Privy Council, in the "Daily Herald."

Lying south of the Zambesi river there is a great territory of 150,000 square miles called Southern Rhodesia. Less than half a century ago it was "native" territory under a King-Chief called Lobengula.

But when news reached the British South African Company that gold was to be found there in paying quantities, the shareholders of that company marched north by proxy, and after some pretty work with Maxim guns over assegais, Lobengula was driven out, and the company's directors ruled in his place.

In the year 1923 the territory became a British Dominion with a parliament of white property owners. The only restriction placed upon them was that no legislation discriminating between Europeans and natives could become operative until it had received the assent of the Dominions Secretary in the imperial government at Westminster.

Discriminatory Legislation

In theory there is no color bar. In theory the promise of Cecil Rhodes that there would be equal right for all civilized men south of the Zambesi river still holds good.

In practice, however, the white property owners are taking jolly good care that the natives do not acquire the civilization qualification. Last year there was spent out of the public taxes 21-pound on every European child's education, and only 10 shillings per head on the education of such African children as attended a school.

Yet, when further discriminatory legislation is carried in the Parliament of Southern Rhodesia, the members of the British House of Commons are kept carefully in ignorance until such time as the Dominions Secretary has given his approval. The papers are not laid upon the table of the House of Commons. No intimation of any kind is given us.

If we learn of it at all it is by accident, or because someone like Mr. Creech Jones, M.P., or Mr. Noel Buxton, who takes an interest in the welfare of the disfranchised coloured subjects of the King, has been in touch with some missionary or returned traveler.

Licensed Concubines

In April of this year the Government of Southern Rhodesia got through a measure called the Natives Registration bill. Being discriminatory it had to be sent to London for Mr. Malcolm MacDonald's approval.

By section 14 (3) of this measure native women are to be licensed as concubines for the use of imported labourers on the locations. The licenses are to be issued by the superintendents of the locations.

The gold mining and other employers require imported labourers—largely from Nyasaland. These labourers are not encouraged to bring their wives and families or given facilities to make a home and a settlement. On the mines alone there are over 22,000 such importees, living separately from their wives and families, with the result that there has grown, and grown to an appalling extent, both prostitution and unnatural vice.

Instead of encouraging a family settlement system as a means of encountering these evils, the Government of Southern Rhodesia now proceeds to license concubines. That is (to use Mr. Malcolm MacDonald's delicate phraseology when answering my question on the subject, the other day) women are to live with the labourers, "although there has been no actual form of marriage contracted."

And the Secretary of State for the Dominions has approved of this scandalous and shameful legislation. He is "not prepared to advise His Majesty to disallow this Act." (Hansard, July 14.)

Women Enslaved

From the Official Report of Proceedings in the Parliament of Southern Rhodesia for last April 2, the Minister of Native Affairs, in defending his bill, declared that there would be "a large number of these women," and he added:

"As the honorable members know, the state of affairs in native life produced by white civilization is really shocking. The bulk of these boys in the location are not legitimately married, either under their customs or under Christian rules. It is quite impossible to keep these natives in the proximity of our towns unless certain facilities are provided."

The concubines will be attached to the labourer during his period of contract with his employer. When the contract is finished—usually for 270 shifts in the gold mines, and that takes about 11 months to fulfil, but there are shorter periods—and the labourer goes away back home to his tribe, the concubine and her children, if any, will be passed on to another labourer. And when his contract of service is concluded, to still another labourer.

At no period of her concubinage can the woman be said to be living in ecnomically comfortable conditions, since the wages of the man who is maintaining her appear to be on the average of 13-pound per annum, or five shillings per week. (Empire Parliamentary Association annual report, 1933, p. 224.)

But there is a food ration in addition, the value of which is not estimated. The gold mining companies, especially since the country went off the gold standard, and the price of gold rocketed from 4.5.0-pound to about 7-pound an ounce, would appear to be under no necessity of paying only celibate wages.

Gold mining shares in South Africa are standing at from five to 20 times their par value, and some concerns are paying very large dividends. One Rhodesian company paid 80 per cent in 1934 and 60 per cent in 1935.

Why, then, should we have this Jim Crow legislation in Rhodesia, and why these bestial sex regulations?

Flogging Legalized

In Uganda and West Africa, under the Colonial Office, we do at least attempt to administer affairs for the benefit of the Africans; we give them place and pride in our Commonwealth of Nations, so that they may desire to remain with us in the Empire under a common flag, and sharing the benefits of a great confederation.

But apparently at our Dominions Office there is no such conception of trusteeship; there we have swallowed, lock, stock and barrel, the Cape policy of segregation and treating the Africans as a helot race, now and forever.

In Southern Rhodesia under the Prisons Act, an African in jail for a pass port or any other offense can be given 12 cuts with the lash for 29 separate offenses against prison discipline.

Twelve cuts with the lash for:

"Being idle, careless or negligent in his work, or refusing to work.

"Swearing, cursing or using abusive, insulting or improper language. Conversing or holding intercourse with another prisoner not at authorized times.

"Singing, whistling or making an unnecessary noise or giving unnecessary trouble.

"Having in his cell any articles he should not have."

For these crimes, according to the Minister of Justice and Defense (Southern Rhodesia Parliamentary Report, April 27, 1936) the African may be lashed, to the extent of 12 cuts.

But this Prisons Act, since in theory it applies to Europeans and Africans alike, was not discriminatory legislation and so was not submitted for approval to the Dominions Office.

Appeal British Public

The "National" Government has, however, endorsed the shocking concubinage system, though how Mr. Malcolm MacDonald (who with his constituents in Ross and Cromarty stands so firmly opposed to the iniquities of Sunday golf) came to append his signature of approval to it, it is difficult to comprehend.

He may, perhaps, have inherited some pledge from his predecessor in office.

Anyhow, he did not sign inadvertently. He knew what he was doing. And I hope that public opinion, once the facts are known, will compel him to annual his signature.

The Present Position of Basutoland.

Some facts about our Chiefs.

(SENEL MODIBEDI)

These is so much to write about that at times one feels despondent to write on anything. Our weekly contributions, if anything, prove conclusively and beyond all measure of doubt that there is more noise in Basutoland to-day than ever before. The man who will keep in doors right through the night despite the constant alarm made by his dogs, is a man who lives with his soul dead. If such a one should rise in the morning to find his valuable property removed he has nobody else but himself to blame.

Noise, no matter of what nature is always a sure sign of alarm, either of the near or distant danger. The present position of Basutoland needs no authority to call it deplorable. Indeed it does not of necessity demand the qualities of celestial prophesy nor any standardised philosophical learning to roughly estimate what the future has in store for us. We are slowly but surely drifting and drifting to an irretrievable calamity. Whether our chiefs are fully in possession of all these truths, is a matter which goodness alone know. However the Basutoland Newspaper-men, like watch-men, even like a voice in the wilderness, are constantly and contiduously endeavouring to warn us against the seemingly approaching danger. Instead of attending immediately to the alarm, we are busy with our petty jealousies. Those half educated jealous pests are secretly busy working against those men who are endeavouring to warn us of the coming danger. At times one becomes lamentably despondent to read things such as: "Oh, So and So wants to be well known or he is a hopeless proselytizer showing off that he can write English." Until we have repeatedly pointed out the contrary our chiefs have

The National Council. Men of all classes and diverse professions have given us an alarm in this matter. They have emphatically and repeatedly pointed out that it was time some change was made. Objections have never been raised why such a change should not be prosecuted. On the contrary our chiefs have

obstinately refused to listen to the just grievance of their people. With all that noise made, one would like to have seen a few of our leading chiefs voicing their opinions for or against such contemplated reorganisation. Instead you find them quite and even as dead as an immovable Egyptian Sphinx. I must again move a MOTION OF NO CONFIDENCE in the present National Council, and further I demand, by virtue of many grievances against them, that they should not sit in this year's Council. They have been proved once and again that they are the indirect public enemies of justice and secret enemies of their own people.

Indians Marry Basuto Women Freely.

I shall ask for an apology from my readers if I should appear rather tiresome in bringing those instances which may perhaps appear out of place, but I only hope that such instances will help further to substantiate my point about the noice which is not attended to by our chiefs. Having that amount of apology at my disposal from my reader, I shall then proceed to prove some facts again about our chiefs. The noise that is being made about this question here is sufficient to rouse any Ghost from its grave; yet our chiefs are sitting down and as quite as ever. Perhaps, like chief D. Q. J. Molapo they maintain that this question does not concern them. What are the chiefs concerned with then? Let my friends take a lesson to-day from me that it is the duty of every chief to concern himself with the general good and welfare of his people. It is his duty to attend to every grievance of his subjects He is a chief, not of himself but of his people.

FORCED MARRIAGES IN EAST AFRICA

Archdeacon Owen's Testimony

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir,—I have just seen the report in your columns of the question put by Miss Rathbone with regard to the forced marriages of African girls, and the reply given by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The latter said that "in most African tribes the old idea of coercion is now extremely rare." It is this conflict of evidence, that of men like myself who are brought into contact with this evil, year in and year out, and that of Governmental authorities, which constitutes one of the greatest obstacles to effective action. It is no wonder that some who have the desire to help ask, "What are we to believe?"

I have no personal knowledge of African tribes outside of Uganda, Tanganyika, and Kenya. Of these East African tribes I have most intimate knowledge of two races, the Bantu and the Nilote, of Kavirondo. Mr. Ormsby-Gore's phrase, "most African tribes," would include those of the west coast. I can only say of the west coast that my information is to the effect that there also forced marriages are common. I assert without any hesitation that, wherever in Africa you have the tribal "bride-price" system flourishing, there you have also the degradation of many of the girls through forced "marriages."

But to keep to the east coast. After Mr. Kenyatta had published his statement in your columns that tribal authorities did not sanction the forcing of girls, I made it my business to inquire from some of our experienced missionaries in the Kikuyu country. They confirmed what I had already been told, that cases of forced marriage are common in the Kikuyu tribe. In fact, it is notorious amongst us that the problem of these girls, who fled to them for refuge, as slaves of old fled to our mission stations on the coast, loomed large in the life of our women missionaries engaged in our educational work. I suggest that inquiry be made by the Secretary of State not only to Governors but to those whose functions bring them into daily contact with the common people.

It is only natural, of course, that the kind of evidence you get should depend, to a very large extent, upon the sources tapped during the inquiry. But this seems almost too obvious to need emphasis.

My next step was to raise this matter in the Synod of the Diocese of Mombasa last January. This is the Church's most informed body of opinion, and is overwhelmingly African in its composition. Delegates are drawn from all the tribes of Kenya. Not a single individual, European or African, disputed the fact of forced marriages with tribal sanction. No single delegate from any of the tribes protested that this condition of things did not apply to his tribe. On the contrary, the delegates unanimously resolved that the Standing Committee should take appropriate action in the matter. The Standing Committee referred the matter to the Christian Council on Race Relations. Again, there was no dispute as to the fact of forced marriages. But the council declined to take action on the ground that it was a purely African question, and, therefore, outside the scope of race relations. So I turned to the "secular" organs of English opinion, both in the colony and in England.

The editor of the "East African Standard," who cannot be accused of being uninformed, backed up my plea for the protection of these girls. The leader of June 30 says in conclusion, after an appeal to the Government of Tanganyika to reduce the sentence on Kekwe, that "beyond that there is the duty and responsibility to examine the existing law and custom, both European and African, to discover a method by which it is no longer possible for African girlhood to be defamed and enslaved in the name of tribal sanction."

Those who come into intimate contact with tribal marriage custom have no illusions about this matter. Let me quote from a letter in the "East African Standard" of July 24. It is from Colonel Stoneham, the founder of the scientific museum at Kitale: "A case was told me recently by a Luo native of a young girl who had fallen in love with a youth, but who without her knowledge was sold to an old man who already had three or more wives. The girl protested, without avail, and then ran away, only to be brought back and severely beaten by her father. Eventually she was claimed by the old man, who set out to tame her by continual beatings till in desperation the girl took her own life." But Colonel Stoneham's whole letter deserves wider publicity.

I could quote other letters on this subject in the colony's press, but this letter is already a long one. Just one current example. Last week I had two of these cases in one morning. The second, a girl just emerging from childhood, on whose behalf our woman educationist had intervened some months ago, told me that her father was resuming the negotiations for the "bride price" with the old man, who had already had three wives, all of whom had died. The girl alleged that resort was now being had to witchcraft, and that they were trying to introduce a love-potion into her food. Terrified lest by these foul means her resistance should be nullified, she appealed to me.

To quote again from the "Standard," Kekwe, "a girl who sought to defend her body and soul in a British territory, was sent to prison for fifteen months."—Yours, &c.,

W. E. OWEN.

Ng'iya, P.O. Yala, Kisumu,
Kenya, August 4.

P.S.—I had just signed my name to this letter when another case was brought to me.

Race Problem — 1936

Africa

Are Africans Related To Jews ?

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(BY JOSIAH MAPHUMVLO)

I quote further from the words of the great African explorer, Mr. Henry M. Stanley: "In Darkest Africa," he said: "The Wahuma are the most interesting people, next to the Pigmies in all Central Africa. The Wahuma are the exact opposite of the dwarfs. The latter are undersized nomads, adapted by their habits to forest life; the former are tall, finely-formed men, with almost European features, adapted from immemorial custom and second nature to life in pastoral lands only

The Wahuma are true descendants of the Semitic tribes, or communities, which emigrated from Asia across the Red Sea and settled on the coast, and in the uplands of Abyssinia, once known as Ethiopia. From this great centre more than a third of the inhabitants of Inner Africa have had their origin. As they pressed southward and conquered the Negro tribes, miscegenation produced a mixture of races; the Semitic because tainted with Negro blood, the half-caste tribes intermarried again with the primitive race, and became still more degraded in feature and form, and in the course of ages lost almost all traces of their extraction from the Asiatic people." The original home of the Zulus, to which tribe the writer belongs, was with the vicinity of Lake Tanganyika, and the Wahuma tribe appears to be pure Zulus Their dialect is the same that is spoken in Zulu and. Proceeding Mr. Stanley said in his book: "If a traveller only bears this fact in mind, and commences his researches from the Cape of Good Hope will be able easily, as he marches northward, to separate the less adulterated tribes from those who are so nearly allied to the true Negro type as to bear classification as Negroid. The kinky, woolly hair is common to all. The study of the hair may, however, be left; **the great and engrossing study being the Caucasian faces under the Negro hair!"** (The black type is mine). A chorus of Zulu voices exclaims Hawu! (Oh!) "From among the Kaffirs (Xosas of the Cape in this sense), Zulus, Matabele, Basuto, Bechuanas, or any other of the fierce South African tribes, select an ordinary specimen of those splendidly- formed tribes so ruthlessly denominated as Negroes, and plant him near a West African, or Congoese, or Gaonese type, and place Hindu between them, and having been once started on the right trail of discovery, you will at once perceive that the features of the Kaffir are a subtle amalgamation of the Hindu and West African types; but if we take a Mhuma of mature age, the relation to the Hindu will still more readily appear. If we go east a few days more enter Ubha, "and we are in the presence of twin-brothers of Zululand--tall, warlike creatures, with Caucasian heads and faces, but dyed darkly with the sable pigment." (The black type is again mine.") "If we go East a little further, we see a tall, graceful-looking herdsman with European features, but dark in colour. If we ask him what he is, he will tell us his occupation is herding cattle, and that he is a Mtusi, of the Watusi tribe. "Is there any country, then, called Utusi?" "And he will answer, "No," but he came from the North. Still advancing to the North we behold an immense snowy range. It is an impassable barrier. We deflect our march to the West, and find this Mtusi type numerous, and stretching up to the foot of the mountains, and to dense, impenetrable forests unfit for the herding of cattle; "and at once the Caucasian type ceases," and the negroid features, either coppery, black, or mixed complexion---the flat nose, the sunken ridge, and the projecting of the lower part of the face---"are dumb witnesses that here the wave of superior races (the descendants of the Lost Ten Tribes) was arrested." The Watusi tribe referred to above has its representatives in Zululand at the present day. Dr. J. Tyler, Missionary of the American Board, in his book entitled "Forty Years Among the Zulus," wrote: "Zulu Christians often exclaim, "We understand the Old Testament better than the New; it describes so perfectly our home life." He said further: "Some of their (Zulus) customs are quite Jewish as, for instance, the practice of circumcision; and, till a late date, rejection of swine's flesh; the fear to step on a newly made grave lest they contract a disease of the feet; the custom of widows marrying the brothers of their former husbands; the naming of children after some circumstance connected with their birth; their sacrifical offerings; the observance of the feast of firstfruits; the purchase of wives; the ceremony of attaching to a cock the diseases of the people, and sending it by a fit person into the wilderness, like the Jewish scapegoat; the punishment of the slayer of a king with death; the cursing of an enemy before going to war; the custom in the kraals of having water poured on their hands before or after a meal by servants; the eating with a spoon from one dish; the sprinkling of the doorway of a hut with medicinal water to keep away disease; the piling up of memorial stones, etc." Israel's code of laws provided for the poor, home-born and foreigner. None need starve; the fields must not be gleaned closely. but the corners must be left for the poor to glean. The hungry might enter an orchard, a vineyard or a field and eat on the spot to satisfaction. A similar law exists in Zululand today. The lost tribes of Israel have been sought for in almost every quarter of the globe, and in almost every case the investingators have failed to find the trail because there were lacking among those nations such peculiar and persistent Jewish customs as are now identified among the Bantu family. All evidence goes to show the impossibility of such peculiar customs among the English and it hardly enough for the opponents of a theory that sets at defiance all ethnological and linguistic evidence. Dr. Astrup, a Norwegian missionary in Zululand, writes: "Of all Bantu languages that have come under my observation, I consider the Zulu tongue to be the most interesting and most complete. The Latin grammar has always been considered as a guide to all grammars, and, truly, in defiance of all modern innovations, it deserves that distinction to this day. The Zulu grammar deserves a similar position. The rules governing the composition of the language are as clear and precise as that of Latin, its flexibility and adaptability as exquisite as that of Greek, its grandeur and figure of style (a point closely to be noted) **reminding one of Hebrew,** its musical rhythm and cadence as charming as that of Latin and Greek combined."

The Rev. A. T. Bryant, a Roman Catholic missionary, a deep Zulu scholar and author of serveral works, offers his quota of testimony in these words:

"Nor does the language show any structural inferiority; indeed, in this respect it absolutely outclasses many of our European languages, and, it been planned by one of our most modern inventive geniuses, it could scarcely have been better modelled. Indeed, in certain respects it is probable that no living European language, if left only to its own resources and unable to borrow from other languages, could even compare with it. The Zulu

language, then, is eminetly well-stocked and vividly expressive, is resourceful and plastic to all demands. It luxuriates in swe t, mel'ow vowel-sou ds, and the quai t musical cadence of its flow riv ls the most silvery-toned Italian."

In conclusion I quot an extract from Chamb rs's Euc clop edi which cannot compare with my own theory.

"Anglo-Israelite Theory, an opinion as to the historical origin of the English held by a considerable number of persons in Britain and America. They contend that the English are descended from the Isra lites who were carried in o captivity by the Assyrians under Sargon in 721 B C The Israelit s were carried into Media, where they are identified with the Sacae or Scythians, who appeared as a conquering horde there about the same time. They next swarmed westwards into Northern Europe, and became the progenitors in particul r of the Saxon invaders of England. Unfortunately for the conclusion, the premises must both be questioned; and we have not yet been presented with any satisfactory proof either that the Anglo-Saxous are the Sacal, or that the Sacae are the Israelites. On such feeble arguments as these, we are gravely asked to believe that prophecies which appply to all Israel relate to ten tribes only, to the complete exclusion of the two tribes represented by the Jews throughout the world at the present day. When we ask for any survivals among the English of such peculiar and persistent customs as circumcision, Sezenth-day observance, legal uncleanness, and the like, we are told that the identity was to be lost, **and that our ignorance is the best proof of the theory's being true.** (The black type is mine, and I exclaim, Haw!) Of course, all evidence goes to show the impossibility of such peculiar customs and the language of a nation being so completely forgotten; and it is hardly enough for the opponents of a theory that sets at defiance all ethnological and linguistic evidence to be assured that nevertheless it is proved by a particular interpretation of Scripture assumed to be as infallible as its own authority" Mr. Robert Russell, the Natal historian, among other things, says:

"The Kaffirs of Natal and of Cape Colony belong to the great lingual Bantu family, whose numerous tribes are found all through South Africa from a few degrees north of the Equator. The Bantu traditions seem to indicate that they originally came from the north and north-east of Africa, and were driven south by Hamitic tribes from Western Asia. The Kaffirs are tall handsome men, dark brown, and sometimes almost black, in colour. While some have the flat nose and thick lips of the Negro, others have regular features suggestive of an Asiatic origin."

Mr. Russell's statement corroborates what Mr. Stanley said that the Wahuma are true descendants of the Semitic tribes, which emigrated from Asia.

The missing link of the lost Ten Tribes of Israel has lsat been unearthed, I have presented satisfactory proof to convince the civilised world of the correctness of my theory. The black Israelites have been no less tenacious of life than their white brethern. The Bantu, unlike most other dark races when brought into contact with whites, are increasing in number and prosperity. Instead of dying off before civilis tion they grow stronger as they come within its best influences. Proud and haughty, as becomes the descendants of a race of warriors whose military genius secured the ascendancy in South Africa until its conquest by white civilisation, the Zulus are a people from whom Europeans might learn a good deal. Physically they are superb, with intelligent faces and a Native dignity that marks them as true aristocrats in their proper state and own environment. Zulu women are magnificent creatures physically, muscularly strong, erect in carriage, graceful in movement, and statuesque in pose. The Zulus owe m ch of their bravery, their love of liberty, and their love of pastoral and agricultural pursuits to Jewish ancestry.

JOSIAH MAPHUMULO.

Another Pin-Prick

(Ilanga Lase Natal) The Bantu Mirror 7-25-26

YET another pin-prick has been thrust upon Natives in the recent decision to throw out twenty-four Native labourers in the Government tugs.

These were given one day to consider what step they intended to take, whether they will accept half their present pay in another and inferior job, or whether they will be agreeable to receive two months' full pay and then consider themselves dismissed from Government employ. We are given to understand this is the effect of the Administration's White Labour Policy which, in name, is not a differentiation as against the Native, but that its resu t will be, first and last, the choice of a white labourer to the Native.

On many occasions, when Natives pleaded for more pay, the answer has been evasively given that there were no funds to meet their plea for more pay but, after the adoption of the Government's White Labour Policy, th s cannot be claimed. The truth has now to be admitted that the Native is not a citizen of the country and therefore he is not the child of the family, but a sort of unwanted child who has only to be borne with as long as he is alive.

The case which occasions these remarks suggests that these men, all of whom have rendered good and faithful service for over ten years, deserved all consideration even if they were employees of an individual, not to think of their having given service to an Administration which is in the place of the father of all The ten and more years to the Powers that be, mean nothing on a Native African even down to cutting his wages by half, action that would be unthinkable if perpetrated upon any other section of the population. Gen. Smuts gave them this 'tribute' some years ago in a speech in the United States of America that their patience was similar to that of the donkey. We admit the patience, but not that of the donkey, although we have it on record that one of this class spoke on one occasion in reply to a persecutor and ill-wisher of God's people.

The root cause of our relegation to an inferior place is the troundless fear of us as a menace to our rulers who therefore must do all they can to oust us from any participation in the fruits of peace in our common country. Ever since the white rulers have assumed control of the country, the Native Africans have not entertained feelings of insubordination on as large a scale as to justify all this fear and discrimination. To our, simple minds it wou'd appear that the "menace" is not on the Native Africans' side, but from that of their own people. A rising which will disturb this country to any extent will be that which will come from the members of the ruling race, as we have just seen His Majesty King Edward being nearly attacked by one of his subjects.

The Durban incident is a shameless affair when it proposes to cut down the wages by half when money is so plentiful in the country, whereas, in the identic l case of the Indian labourers it was not suggested to interf re with their wages because they had an Agent-General for the Government of India to plead their case. We often wonder why those at the head of the ative Department do not take our part in the same way that the Indian Agent-General takes the cause of Indians in this country. We have no one to look to for the defence of our cause. We are thus left helpless if these officers do not consider it their duty and are not expected to shoulder our complaints.

We now entertain hopes that, as the result of the deputation which went to see Mr. White, some modification of the decision to the alleviation of the labourer's plight will be made. They are now threatened with unemployment unless they accept half the wage they get at the present moment earned by their faithfulness over ten years, which wage they may no longer enjoy because they belong to an ostracised race which it is the Government's policy to single out for neglect and relegation to a debasing inferiority.

Race Problem - 1936
Africa

THE NIGERIAN UNION OF TEACHERS

Federal Council Meeting

DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION ADDRESSES DELEGATES

Hon. Dr. Adeniyi-Jones' on "Vernacular Education

The Council of the Nigeria Union of Teachers which had been in session for three days comes to a close to-day after the presidential address had been delivered yesterday by the Rev. I O Ransome-Kuti, B.A., L.TH (Federal President) who presided over the council's deliberations throughout the four days, ably supported by the Rev J O Lucas, M.A., B.D. etc. and the Rev A Efunkoya, B.A., DIP., TH.

When the Council was opened on Tuesday the Hon. E R J Hussey, C M G, Director of Education attended and addressed the delegates.

Another outstanding and important item in the Council's programme of work was the remarkable lecture delivered by the Hon. Dr. C C Adeniyi-Jones (Second Lagos Member) on "Vernacular Education". Dr. Jones held the delegates spell bound for one hour in a lecture which was received with general satisfaction.

The following centres were represented: Abeokuta (Rev Ransome-Kuti, Messrs J F Odunjo, J O Fagbemi); Asaba (Mr J I G Onyia); Calabar (Messrs E Ndiyo, E A Ekanem); Ibadan (Mr J A Oduneye, Mr J B Ogunbunmi); Ijebu (the Rev A Efunkoya, Mr M O Okeowo, Mr J O Ajibola); Lagos (the Rev J O Lucas, Messrs T J O Sanyade, E E Esua, E Bassey); Ogbomosho (Mr E Ita, Mr D O Ajao); Ondo (Messrs E A Olukoya, E O Alayande).

Council Meeting

The President declared the meeting open at 9.15 and the Rev J O Lucas led in the opening prayers. The reading of the minutes followed immediately and during the reading the Director of Education arrived and was escorted to the platform by the President and his supporters.

For a short while business was temporarily suspended. The Director then shook hands and had lively chat with all the delegates among whom he recognised many familiar faces. In a short but interesting speech the President welcomed the Director on behalf of the Nigeria Union of Teachers whose branches, he said, had spread all over the Southern Provinces of Nigeria.

After reciprocating the good wishes expressed by the President the Hon. Mr Hussey remarked that in order to attend the Council that morning he had to delay his departure on tour till a day later. He then proceeded to address the delegates.

Among the subjects he touched in his address were (a) The First School leaving examination and the Representation of the Teaching elements in the Board of Examination created for that Examination (b) Education and Evolution (c) Universal Education (d) The Teachers Training.

The Director favoured School leaving examination but refused to accept any idea of the teaching element being represented on the Board of Examination created for that examination. He explained that such thing was never done elsewhere.

Continuing on Education and Evolution he said, that conditions in the country were rapidly changing and education in this respect should be such as would supply the demands of those conditions. He advocated a universal education, that is, education of the mass and proceeded to lay out systems under which teachers should be trained to meet up such universal education.

Mr Lucas, the first Vice-President, expressed the thanks of the union to the Director for a highly instructive address he had delivered to the Conference. In referring to the universal Education he said he hoped that the education of the mass would not be encouraged at the expense of the existing schools. He thanked the Director for the Government's action in granting exemption to the school boys from the payment of taxes.

Mr Esua in a powerful speech dwelt at length on the First School Leaving Examination, and disagreed with the award of scholarships from the results of that examination. In regard to the teachers' training he admitted that refresher courses were good but the economic plight of the teachers would militate against an effective co-operation of the teachers in that respect.

Mr E Ita, M.A., etc, expressed thanks to the Director for his great interest in the Union and said he was deeply interested in the Universal Education. He also brought to the notice of the Director the subject of adult education.

After many delegates had spoken the Director in a short speech summed up and gave answers to the important points raised. He then left the meeting.

After the reading of the minutes the Provident Fund Scheme was discussed and the reports from the different branches showed the self-sacrificing efforts made by the members all over the country. The Ijebu Union gave a fine lead in being the first to organise successfully a Provident Fund Scheme on a unilateral basis.

The Council authorised the payment of the necessary fees for the affiliation of the Nigeria Union of Teachers with the National Union of Teachers in England.

The following day Dr. C C Adeniyi Jones held the Delegates spell bound for one hour in a lecture on Vernacular Education fuller report of which will be published later.

ASABA UNION OF TEACHERS

Fr. Donaghy's Lecture on Education

(*Continued from yesterday's issue*)

Fall Of The Roman Empire

The Roman Empire in the West fell before the attacks of the Barbarians and with it was threatened the entire edifice of civilisation and culture. But if the Empire gave way, the Church found a new field of activity among the barbaric tribes. To these she brought not only Christianity and civilisation but also the best elements of classical culture. Through her missionaries she became the teacher of Germany, France, England and Ireland. The principal feature of the Middle Ages is the co-operation of Church and State for the development of schools.

Theodoric in Italy, Alfred in England, and Charlemagne in the Frankish Kingdom are illustrious examples of princes who joined their authority with the bishops and councils to secure adequate instruction for clergy and people.

By their united efforts a love of learning was aroused amongst peoples that had just emerged from barbarism, and the foundation was laid of Western culture and science. One of the chief factors in this movement was the monasteries. During the so-called Dark Ages the monasteries were the sole schools for teaching; they offered the only professional training; they were the only universities; they were the only libraries for the preservation of learning; they produced the only scholars; they were the sole educational institutions of this period. The Popes and secular rulers combined in founding the universities which are defined by Samuel Johnson in his famous dictionary as "schools wont to refer with contempt where all arts and faculties are taught".

After the Reformation came the rupture between Church and States, and the secularisation of the schools. The most serious result was the separation of moral and religious from purely intellectual education. This was due in great part to erroneous views concerning the nature and the need of moral training. These views are derived from a denial of the supernatural order and of its meaning for human life in its relation to God. For the past three hundred years the main endeavour outside the Catholic Church has been to establish education on a purely naturalistic basis, with no reference to God or final end of man. The educational work of the Catholic Church in modern times may be described as the steadfast maintenance of the union between the natural and the supernatural.

The Noblest Aim of Education

In this little talk it may not be out of place to state briefly where the Catholic Church differs from those Rationalistic teachers who would banish religion from education and relegate it to the home and the Church. Pope Pius XI in his Apostolic Letter on Education says of this and other false philosophies: "What is intended by not a few is the withdrawal of education from every sort of dependence on the Divine Law. To-day we see a strange sight indeed. Educators and philosophers spend their lives in searching for a Universal Moral Code of Education, as if there existed no Decalogue, no Gospel Law, no Law even of nature stamped by God on the hearts of men, promulgated by right reason, and codified in positive revelation by God Himself in the Ten Commandments. These innovators are wont to refer with contempt to Christian Education as 'heteronomous', 'passive', 'obsolete', because founded upon the authority of God and on Holy Law."

To impart knowledge or to develop mental efficiency without building up moral character is not only contrary to psychological law, which requires that all the faculties should be trained, but is also fatal both to the individual and to society. Hence religion should be an essential part of education. It should be the centre around which all the other subjects are grouped. The fact that religious truth finds no place in the school curriculum is, of itself, sufficient to warp the pupil's mind in such a way and to such extent that he will feel little concern in his school days or later for religion in any form. Sound moral instruction is impossible apart from religious education. The child may be drilled in habits of neatness, courtesy and punctuality; he may be imbued with a spirit of honour, industry and truthfulness; but if these duties towards self and the neighbour are sacred, duty towards God is immeasurably more sacred. Training in religion furnishes the best motives for conduct and the noblest ideals for imitation. These are principles to which any Christian, no matter to what denomination he belongs, must agree. The most effectual preparation for citizenship is that schooling in virtue which habituates a man to decide and to act not with a view to personal gain nor simply in deference to public opinion, but in accordance with the standards of right that are fixed by the Law of God. The welfare of the State therefore demands that the child be trained in the practice of virtue and religion no less than in the pursuit of knowledge.

European Sets Fire to Native

HE ONLY GETS SIX CUTS.

In the Juvenile Court in Port Elizabeth last Wednesdy week, the Magistrate, Mr. Van Zyl Visser, ordered a 16-year-old European boy, employed in a boot factory, to receive six cuts with a cane fore setting fire to a Native.

The evidence showed that the Native, when working in a dairy, upset a tin of petrol over one of his legs, whereupon the accused applied a lighted match to the petrol, and the Native severely burnt and spent some weeks in hospital. He is still unable to walk normally.

Asked by the Magistrate, "How on earth he came to do such a foolish act?" the accused replied that the Native asked him to burn him.

The Magistrate: "That is ridiculous. If he gave you a gun and asked you to shoot him, would you have done so?"

The probation officer, Mr. J. de Kock, who was asked by the Magistrate what punishment he would suggest, recommended the cane, so that the accused might feel some of the pain he had made the other boy to suffer.

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THE NIGERIAN TEACHERS CONFERENCE

Hon Dr Jones's Lecture

(*Continued from Thursday's issue*)

However, with the outset of the *Cliffordian* administration a new world was called into existence to redress the balance of the old; English which had been rigorously prescribed from the Education Curriculum of the Northern Provinces was more or less freely taught and to-day we are witnesses of the amazing result of educated Mallams writing tolerable English in the Press and in Educational Magazines, and of educated young Hausas proceeding to England to take up professional studies.

In the current Christmas Number of the *Nigerian Daily Times* Dr Miller of Zaria published the photograph of a young Hausa boy, Musa by name, who started with him at the Zaria Mission in 1922 and who is now an undergraduate of Birmingham University. Hausa youths, who have acquired more than a passing acquaintance with the English language, are now filling posts in the Civil Service. Emirs are travelling freely, not only within the Colony, but abroad as witness the Sultan of Sokoto, the Emirs of Katsina, Kano, Gwando, Ilorin, and so on and so forth; and some of the Secretaries of these Emirs can now converse and write freely in the English language; with the result that English is fast becoming the *lingua franca* destined to link together the diversified tribes of United Nigeria.

Prior to the introduction of English into the Schools in the Northern Provinces vernacular manuscripts of Hausaland had very limited patronage, being restricted to that circle of linguistic scholars who manifested a predilection for Hausa language. Within the area in which Hausa was spoken, English was a sealed book; through its limited medium the Hausa youth could not communicate his thoughts to the outside world, nor partake of the world's literary treasures; his intellectual, or mental horizon, was therefore greatly circumscribed. But with his knowledge of the English, his horizon became considerably widened, in so much that areas with which, hitherto, he had found it difficult to communicate are now free of access to him.

This history of the Northern Provinces seems to prove conclusively that after King Vernacular's unbroken rule for 21 years, i.e. from the incorporation of the Northern Provinces within the British Empire in 1900, and up to 1921, his house tumbled down like a pack of cards, and English which, before the present-day vernacular education policy, was the foundation, or the key-position, of the Education System of the Southern Provinces, has had to be introduced into the schools of the Northern Provinces to re-build the ruins of King Vernacular's house. And there can be no question whatsoever that the same remarks will more or less apply to the Southern Provinces, especially in the Eastern districts where there is a diversity of vernaculars as unlike the Western side with its diversity of dialects, if the vernacular stunt be permitted to over-ride the wisdom of the Old Missionary System of Education with English as its pivot basis *from the Kindergarten classes upwards*

The advantages derivable by every member of the British Empire, be he a subject-member or a citizen, in the ability to converse freely in the English language, are so outstanding that the policy of restricted facilities which appears now to be obtaining for acquiring that knowledge, has been a puzzle to almost every right thinking African.

Only the other day I was reminded of the fact, by a member of the Lagos Union of Teachers, that whereas in accordance with the Old Education Policy an Inspector would view with considerable disfavour a teacher found conversing in school with a pupil in the vernacular, or giving instructions through that medium, the situation to-day is quite the opposite.

What then, may I ask, is the reason for this complete somersault? That a person will be able to think much better if educated through the medium of his vernacular, than if educated with English as a medium has not appeared to me to have withstood the crucial test of experience. That safeguards, by restricting communications only to people using the same vernacular, are desirable to avert, in the North, the possibility of a holy Jehad and, in the South, that of a wholesale insurrection, is to my thinking too far-fetched to be worthy of any serious consideration.

But I must not forget that an enquiry into the reasons for this change of policy, interesting though it is, is not within the purview of to-day's "talk" although I honestly hope that the subject would come up for discussion some day or other.

In the *Nigerian Teacher* for 1935, vol. 1, No. 4, Mr E A Ukong-Ibekwe writing on "The Study of Vernacular languages" and, apparently, in defence of the System at present obtaining, tells us that

> When the Education Code first announced that the foundation of a child's education in the early stages should begin in the child's own vernacular language people were much alarmed at the change; and false rumour was spread throughout the country that the intention of Government was to lower the educational standard of the country; and there still exists this opinion among a great number of people who without sufficient reason to advance, have plunged into argument with the educationists.

I wish to assure Mr Ukong-Ibekwe, if ever my utterances do reach him, that I have no fault whatsoever to find with his article in so far as it is a plea for a better method of teaching the vernacular languages in the schools; although how the present-day teaching is likely to be improved is not in my province to determine, especially when one realises the outstanding difficulty which he himself indicates in the penultimate paragraph of his article but I wish also to assure him that I belong to that large army of unrepentant and unconvinced sceptics who still believe that the vernacular policy now obtaining is destined, and has already started to lower the educational standard of the country. Indeed, Mr Ukong-Ibekwe's admissions in the article

seem to support my own convictions.

As regards the story quoted by him, in his article, of the European Principal of a certain Secondary School who had engaged a native African Teacher to instruct him in the vernacular of the area in which he was residing, but who discovered after many months' tuition that this teacher's instruction was worthless, and that the services of another instructor had to be requisitioned, I think the story should be accepted with some degree of mental reserve. For one would wish to know whether the fault did not actually lie with the European Principal himself or in his judgment.

I have myself been told of the case of a European Missioner who was for many years a resident in Lagos and had travelled extensively in the Yoruba country. Without doubt, this Missioner had some of the best Yoruba Scholars, Ministers of his own denomination, to put him through the study of the Yoruba language; and though he acquired a tolerable knowledge of the language and could even venture to write same, yet in oral expression he affected a peculiar mannerism of his own of putting wrong accents and modulations on Yoruba words; and this, in spite of the fact that his tutors did all that was possible to cure him of the defect. Now, this Missioner has retired, and will in all probability regard himself an authority in the Yoruba language. And yet whenever he opens his mouth, in an attempt to speak to anyone who understands the Yoruba language, his teachers will no doubt be blamed for his affectation, or mannerism.

Again, one would also like to know whether the European Principal of the Secondary School referred to in the foregoing did, at any time, during his instruction by his former tutor, test his progress in the vernacular by general converse with the boys in the school or the outside public, so as to judge thereby whether that instruction was worthless or not; or, on the other hand, it might be that that particular teacher was a product of the present vernacular policy, and therefore his knowledge of the English language seriously defective. For how could a teacher be expected to teach vernacular successfully to a European Principal when he himself did not understand English perfectly? Suppose, for instance, that in their readings they had come across phrases such as "it beggars one's imagination"; "it argues a reasonable conviction"; "it goes against the grain," etc., and the teacher did not himself understand their import even in the English language, how then could he interprete same in the vernacular language for a European pupil?

Mr Ukong-Ibekwe bewails the inefficiency of the Africans who are now clerks and teachers in various departments, and observes that (to quote his own words) "their knowledge of the English language in which they were taught in schools for many years and which has much to do with their proper understanding of their business career, is not even developed by them." I feel sure that these remarks can only apply to those students who were educated under the vernacular stunt, and I am not surprised; because how could they develop their knowledge of English when almost the best period of their lives for acquiring that knowledge is being unprofitably spent on vernacular?

Mr. Ukong-Ibekwe, further, praises the West Indian System of National Education and he admires their efficiency, being ignorant, very likely, that West Indians are acquainted with the English language from their cradle, and that West Indians speak no other language than English, or "broken" English.

We are all very proud, and rightly too, of Professor Azikwe for his brilliant achievements in many branches of Science both in the English and in the American Universities. We are proud of Miss Kofo Moore who recently graduated in Arts at Oxford University and also of Miss Stella Thomas of the Middle Temple, a Solicitor and Advocate of the Sierra Leone and the Lagos Bar. These, and several others, I can assure Mr. Ukong-Ibekwe, are not products of the Vernacular Policy. They are not even exceptions which may be said to prove the rule in favour of that policy.

WEST AFRICAN VITAL STATISTICS.

Further Decrease in Death and Invaliding Rates.

The annual returns of "Vital Statistics of Non-Native Officials" in West Africa for 1935 (published by the Crown Agents for the Colonies, 4, Millbank, S.W.1, price 6d.) show that a remarkable all-round improvement has taken place during the past thirty years.

In 1905 the number of Europeans in service in Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria was 1,491. In 1935 the number was more than doubled—2,995, including 134 women officials—yet the number of deaths during the year was only fifteen as compared with forty-two in 1905. The death-rate per 1,000 fell in the thirty years from 28.1 to 5.1, and the average length of service of those who died increased from three and a-half years to ten years and eight months.

The number of persons invalided in 1905 was ninety-three. With more than double the number in the service in 1935, only thirty-seven persons were invalided. The rate per 1,000 fell from 62.3 to 12.4. The average length of service of those invalided rose from two years and seven months to ten years.

During 1905 300 officials left the service after serving an average of three years and one month. Last year 255 left, with an average service of nine and a-half years. The average service of the women officials who left during 1935 was six years. Their average was less than in the case of the men because seven of them resigned in order to be married after short periods of service.

Of the fifteen deaths in 1935 only two were due to tropical diseases. Four were the result of accidents. The 1935 figures also show an improvement over those for 1934. The death-rate per 1,000 was 1.4 lower, and there were four fewer invalidings.

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ASABA UNION OF TEACHERS

First Anniversary Celebration

Fr. DONAGHY'S LECTURE ON EDUCATION

On the occasion of the first anniversary celebration of Asaba Union of Teachers on Saturday, November 3rd, report of which has already been published in these columns, the text of the able lecture on Education delivered by the Rev. Father J Donaghy, A.M., Principal, St. Thomas's Training College, Igbuzo, is given below. His Lordship Dr. Leo Taylor, Bishop of Asaba, was in the chair.

EDUCATION

In the broadest sense education includes all those experiences by which intelligence is developed, knowledge acquired and character formed. In a narrower sense it is the work done by the home and the school in training immature minds. Every child born into this world, possesses latent powers or capabilities which must be developed to fit him for his future responsibilities in life. Education aims at an ideal and this ideal depends on the view that is taken of man and his destiny, of his relations to God, and to his fellow men.

Literature, science and art as well as moral, social and religious principles form the subject matter of education.

The work of education begins normally in the home but for obvious reasons is continued in the schools, where the teachers take the place of the parents. To secure efficiency each school must be properly organised, the teacher should be qualified and the subjects of instruction wisely chosen. The school is largely responsible for the intellectual and moral formation of future members of society who will either be useful or harmful. Every child is entitled not only to take his place in the life of the State, but also to participate in the rewards of a future life. Hence it follows that a higher ideal than that of the individual is necessary if education is to realise its purpose. Hence both the Church and State have their obligations. The latter must see that the child of today becomes the useful citizen of tomorrow, the former that that same child fulfils the end for which it was destined by the Creator, namely, to know, love and serve God here on earth, and afterwards to see and enjoy Him for ever in Heaven. That both ends may be accomplished it is obviously essential that both Church and State must co-operate in this most important work—Education.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF EDUCATION

Let us make a brief survey of the history of education. Primitive man knew nothing of education as we understand the term. Children were merely taught those rude arts which enabled them to procure the necessaries of life, whilst tribal customs and traditions were also handed down from father to son.

The invention of writing was of the utmost importance for the keeping of records, and it is from this time onward that we have definite information as regards, the intellectual, social and religious activities of man. The earliest writings of antiquity were of a religious nature, for example, the writings of Confucius, the Vidas in India, the Vesta of the Persians and the Egyptain Book of the Dead. These contained minute prescriptions for conduct in every circumstance and station in life, which had to be memorised whether he understood them or not. He was not even allowed to think for himself. Personality was not allowed to develop; and hence there could be no progress and Oriental Education remained stationary as is evidenced by the state of Asiatic peoples such as the Indians and Chinese.

In the West the story is different. The Greeks, the first European peoples to attain a high degree of culture and civilisation had as the purpose of education the training of youth for future citizenship. The Spartans as the Athenians aimed at the same goal, by different methods. The former gave the youth a purely military training, whilst little or no attention was paid to intellectual development. The latter looked upon the intellectual training of youth as of permanent importance whilst physical training though necessary was of secondary importance. The Greeks, especially the Athenians, had reached a high degree of civilisation and culture centuries before the coming of Christ.

In the story of the rise and spread of the Mighty Roman Empire, we find Greece losing her liberty and being reduced to the status of a mere province. Still she did not lose her culture. On the contrary although Rome conquered Greece, Greece in return conquered Rome, in as much as her culture and learning permeated Roman culture and Roman Society. Greek culture and civilisation were purely pagan and were influenced by no higher motive than human perfection.

CHRIST AND CHRISTIANITY

The Jews alone of all Pre-christian peoples, were Monotheists. They alone believed in the existence of one God. They were far above the Greek or the Romans in their conception of life and morality. God Himself was their teacher and their model. "You shall be holy because I am Holy" They are called the chosen people, because from them came Jesus Christ the Divine Redeemer, and He was the perfect teacher. "I am the way, the truth and the life". (John XIV, 6).

"He began to do and to teach".

(Acts 1, 1) The truths which He taught were supernatural and were diametrically opposed to pagan maxims. He came to prepare man for the great end for which God had created him. "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His Justice, and all these things shall be added unto you". (Matt. VI.33).

Before He ascended into Heaven, Jesus Christ commanded His Apostles "Going therefore teach ye all nations, and behold I am with you all days even to the consummation of the world". (Matt.XXVIII 19-20). These words are the Charter of the Christian Church as a teaching Institution. Next in importance to Christ's personal teaching was the establishment of a teaching body whose Mission was identical with his own. "As the Father hath sent Me. I also send

you". (John XX.21). "He that heareth you heareth Me". (Luke X. 16). He entrusted the spread of His doctrine to an organisation that spoke and still speaks in His name and with His Authority. With the spread of Christianity through the Roman World, a clash between the doctrines of Christ and Pagan Polytheism was inevitable. Pagan education as a whole shows how much and how little human reason can accomplish when it seeks no guidance higher than itself and strives for no purposes other than those which find, or may find their realisation in the present phase of existence. Christianity made its appeal not to the sophisticated and sterile mind of cultivated society but to the fundamental needs of the human soul, and to the religious experience of the common man. The early Christians were for the most part men of little education and culture. Hence it was natural that educated pagans should look on Christianity as the enemy of culture. As early as the second century educated converts began to address the cultivated public in their own language and attempted to show that the doctrines of Christianity were in harmony with the national ideals of the ancient philosophy. By the end of the fourth century, classical culture had gained a sure foothold within the Church, and the establishment of the Christian Empire was followed by a considerable literary revival.

Advisory Boards' Conference

Resolutions Passed

At Kroonstad the Union Advisory Boards' Congress on 19th December 1935 passed the following resolutions :—

(1) That this joint sitting of Location Advisory Boards is of opinion that the time has arrived for representations by the Location Advisory Boards Congress to the Government, requesting that Location Advisory Boards be vested with some powers in the administration of urban areas.

(2) That the Congress of the Location Advisory Boards representing Advisory Boards in urban locations is of a strong conviction that the prohibition of further registration of Africans as Parliamentary Voters is a degradation of the manhood of Africans as citizens of this country ; further to deprive one section of the community of the decencies of life and the right which they enjoyed since 1854, and which right was never abused is surely a sin before God, and is bound to wreck the confidence of the Blackman in the White man of this country. This Congress humbly requests the Government to extend the Cape Native Franchise to the other provinces of the Union.

(3) (a) This National Conference of Native Advisory Boards assembled in annual session at Kroonstad humbly prays that the Government will re-consider its decision to employ European Interpreters only in the Courts of Justice. Understanding the psychology of their own people, it is felt that Bantu Interpreters will give greater satisfaction and renew the confidence of the Bantu generally in the administration of Justice in the Union of South Africa.

(b) That experienced Native Commissioners be appointed in large rural areas.

(4) That this Congress of the Location Advisory Boards in session assembled at Kroonstad this 19th day of December 1935, finds after careful enquiry that African teachers in the Orange Free State are placed at a great disadvantage as leaders of their people, the refusal of the Education Department to allow them to represent their fellow-men on Advisory Boards. This Congress respectfully requests the O. F. State Education Department to remove this restriction placed on the leading people of the Bantu race.

(5) That this Congress of Advisory Boards submits for the favourable consideration of the Union Government the extension of the privileges of Old Age Pensions to Bantu people in urban areas, and in rural areas on similar lines as the privileges recently extended to Indians.

(6) That local authorities be urged to provide accommodation for Native schools in urban areas. That under no circumstances should children be refused admission who are under the age of 18 years.

(7) This Congress of Native Advisory Boards assembled in annual session at Kroonstad on Dec. 19, 20 and 21, 1935, unanimously and respectfully begs to draw the attention of the Union Government to the terrible plight of over 100 natives cast adrift on the Oudtshoorn commonage. We respectfully submit that in terms of the law, the Oudtshoorn Municipality is obliged to make residential provision for the Native community domiciled within its area.

For these reasons, this Congress respectfully requests the Government to take immediate action with a view to compel the Oudtshoorn Municipality to provide for the housing of these Natives. Further this Congress is well aware that the Government has ordered these Natives to remove to the Peddie District. We humbly wish to point out that as these Natives have been domiciled at Oudtshoorn for upwards of 30 years, it will be a hardship to them to make their homes in Peddie without Government assistance in the way of obtaining agricultural implements and transport thereto. This Congress respectfully urges the Government to institute a departmental enquiry into the matter.

(8) That Congress shall vote estimates for the ensuing year in order to guide the Executive so that the executive may know how much money they are expected to spend during their year of office.

The Congress was favoured by the presence of Messrs. Bloom, Superintendent of Location in Klerksdorp ; J. H. Cloete, also Supt. of Natives in Bethulie, Councillor Connor, Chairman of Native Affairs in Bloemfontein, and by Mesdames Hilda Godlo, Frances Mqubuli and Mrs. Smouse.

After the usual votes of thanks to the Kroonstad Municipality and Location resident, Congress concluded its sittings at 1 p.m. on Dec. 21 and several delegates entrained for their various destinations later in the afternoon and in the evening.

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GURNEY MONTACUTE CAMPBELL THOMPSON M.A., B.C.L., L.L.B., BARRISTER-AT-LAW

AN APPRECIATION

By O. A.

GURNEY MONTACUTE CAMPBELL THOMPSON was born on the 5th day of December, 1890, off Freetown on board a steamer between Sherbro and Freetown. He was one of the younger sons of the late Mr and Mrs Max Thompson, his father being a very wealthy Merchant who carried on business in partnership with his brothers under the name and style of Thompson Brothers. The business flourished under the able management of his father who had his Offices in London, his uncles being in charge of the business in West Africa.

At an early age, Montacute was sent to Leopold School in Freetown, Sierra Leone where he stamped the impress of his personality on that famous educational institution. At home, he was the idol of his parents and to the members of his family, he was an object of passionate love and devotion. He was an infant prodigy.

On leaving Leopold School, Montacute entered upon his University career at Fourah Bay College, Freetown, Sierra Leone. At this period he was the youngest Undergraduate at the College. Of the senior Students, mention should be made of the Reverend James A. Cole, M.A., late Pastor of St. Peter's Church, Faji—the great Hebrew Scholar; the late Mr Ephraim Michael Ekundayo Agbebi, M.A., B.C.L., LL.B., the great Classical Scholar: and Mr Mordecai Pratt, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

At the College, Montacute Thompson proved himself a Scholar of singular capacity; he had a faultless academic career and was acknowledged by his College friends as the foremost of his generation. He was indeed an all-round man of his time whose quick, versatile, brilliant mind was to give him a splendid start over others at the Bar.

He left the College with the degrees in Arts and Theology—Bachelor of Arts and a Licentiate in Theology.

For some years after his College days, the family business claimed his attention and he came to Nigeria with his brothers and cousins to look after the business under the able management of his uncles Holman and Colombus Thompson.

The Bar was Thompson's profession which had attracted him from his College days. He proceeded to England in the summer of 1913 and entered the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple as a Student. He gained several distinctions in his Bar Examinations and had the rare honour of being the first full blooded West African to win a First Class Honour's Certificate at the Bar Final Examinations in 1919 awarded by the Council of Legal Education.

The Mastership in Arts of Durham University was conferred upon him

The Late Mr. Montacute Thompson

and the degree of Bachelor of Laws (Honours) was conferred upon him by the London University.

He was called to the Bar by his Inn on the 17th day of November 1921 and had the distinction as the Senior Student called to the Bar on that evening to give an address to the Masters of the Bench in the name of all the Students called to the Bar. The Treasurer of his Inn said to him "Mr Thompson, I prophesy that you will one day sit in the seat of the Lord Chief Justice of Sierra Leone"; to which Mr Thompson replied 'I doubt it very much; as such a post is reserved for Barristers of European descent and not for an African, whatever may be his merits."

Returning to Nigeria in 1922, he rapidly built up the finest practice at the Bar. Acknowledged its most brilliant pleader, his services were always in general demand. Few Causes Celebres occurred in which he was not briefed. He was the pattern of eloquence, the incarnation of intelligence, the soul of chivalrous good fellowship. Up till the time of his death, his practice steadily increased, not as a nominal practice, but as substantial and lucrative practice.

In private life, he was the soul of courtesy. His unruffled sweetness of temper, his unfailing flow of spirits, his amusing talk, all made his presence so delightful that his wishes and his tastes were law to his friends.

He had been snatched away in what people thought was the full tide of a bouyant life, still full of promise and of hope.

Those who loved him—and there are many—in all ranks and walks of life when they think of him will say to themselves:

"This was the happy warrior; This was he
"That every man in arms should wish to be."

Congress Versus Convention.

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(By P. kal. Seme.)

The Congress is not against the Convention. The Convention is a 'Special Meeting' of the whole nation which was convened irrespective of parties, in order to deal with a serious national problem. The Convention is like "uMakoti" (a new bride). It has no enemies. All the leaders of the nation meet on neutral ground and select a chairman for the Convention and other officers to take charge of the programme of the Convention as was done at Bloemfontein, at the last Convention. These offices all cease to exist after the Convention rises

If we try to make the Convention into a permanent organisation, as my friends advocate should be done, we shall lose the power of bringing the whole nation together again, as a nation, under one full Convention, because every permanent organisation soon makes friends as well as enemies and opponents. What is the Constitution of the Convention and what is its declared policy? Answer first these questions and you immediately get enemies or opponents of your constitution and policies Moreover, we are going to Bloemfontein, on the 29th. June to receive the Report of the deputation to Capetown. The officers of the Convention have to tell us what they did with our mandate in Capetown last February.

I wish to point out once more that the Africans have the African National Congress entirely in their own hands today. You may elect new officers and do whatever they please with it as their own national organisation which has served the Africans well during all these years. I have suggested that the Constitution of the Congress should be that of a Parliament or National Assembly, as in the days of our forefathers and as they still have it in Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland Protectorates; the African leaders meet together with their Chiefs so as properly to represent the whole nation.

I never like to mention the names of my distinguished critics in the press, but I ask the leaders of the I.C.U. to please remember that their Organisation too was started under the auspices of the African National Congress." This Congress is the mother of the Unity Movement among the Africans in this country and we are waiting for the return of the African Workers back into the fold. I ask my critics not to maintain that intolerable indifference and behold their own house "falling down." I ask all African leaders to join hands and help to build up the African National Congress. All African organisations and parties can take their seats in the Congress and group themselves according to their political or economic faith. A sort of party government could constitutionally run the Congress Government and thus give a definite lead in Native opinion and affairs in this country, and to correct certain dangerous tendencies. For instance, these "Native Bills" put up the African leaders against the Chiefs, but the African National Congress unites them both under one governing body and teaches them to work together and to respect one another as leaders of one nation. The African workers need the full co-operation of the nation under the Congress in order to fight against the iniquitous "White Labour Policy" and to win the fair wage for the Africans all round. Come back into the fold! "Unity is Strength." Don't break away and start new organisation as you have done before.

Land Purchase Funds.

During the week Parliament passed the Treasury's Loan Estimates for 1936-37 amounting to over £20,000,000. Of this huge amount, the Land and Trust Bill—a measure generally acknowledged as among the most important dealt with by the present session of Parliament, for it is the bedrock of segregation of the black population from the white—received a paltry £1,036,000 as a first instalment to purchase seven million morgen of released land for Africans. When it is recalled that the overtures made by Mr. Heaton Nicholls, the stepfather of the Native Bills, to some Native delegates at a Pretoria conference, overtures which indicated the white population's preparedness to vote £30,000,000 for the purchase of land for Cape Natives if they gave up their vote the current instalment of one million pounds towards a settlement is a bare trifle.

In the earlier stages of this Bill, it was stated in Parliament by the Ministers responsible for its pilotage that £15,000,000 would be voted by the legislature in five year's time. By skilful manouvre in replying to the debates, the figure of £10,000,000 came to be regarded as adequate for expenditure for land purchase within the next five years. Beyond five years the Prime Minister has definitely stated that it is not intended by the Government to purchase any more land for Bantu occupation.

Judging by the foregoing strides of retrogression from initial promises, and the comparatively molecular vote of one million for Native land purchase against twenty million pounds for expenditure among Europeans during 1936-37, by the end of five years Parliament will have voted about £5,000,000 out of the ten or fifteen millions promised. This estimate we regard as liberally optimistic, for there are several factors which may likely militate against the five million itself being appropriated in that time. With an overflowing treasury as at present, and a ratio of 20 to 1 for European and Native expenditure, the question arises: can this financial stability be consistently maintained for the next half decade? The question of land values must also be considered in view of the changing of ownership to be brought about by the new legislation.

The Land and Trust Bill is on the point of being placed in the statute book, through the herculean efforts of Minister Grobler, who put his foot down on all amendments brought forward in the committee stage. The amendments were pressed by members of the Government Party itself; but the impenetrable defence of the Minister on the score that the Bill would be wrecked if he acceded to them, won him the day.

The sponsors of the objections to European-owned land being parcelled out to Natives sank sullenly into their seats; but showed signs of possible and early retaliation against their leaders. To avoid a cleavage in its ranks, the Government succumbed to pressure by promising to detail the Native Affairs Commission to tour the country for the purpose of taking objections to released areas. So, what Minister Grobler won in the committee stage of Parliament on this legislation, he again arranged to lose within a few months' time when the Commission will report, indeed a repetition of the Beaumont Commission fiasco in 1916 which led to the appointment of local committees. It is highly problematical in the circumstances whether within the next five years the funds for Native land purchase will be available as promised; and much more so if the land scheduled as released areas will be given up by European farmers.

Race Problem - 1936
Africa

EUROPEANS AND AFRICANS IN CO-OPERATION

DEAR SIR,—I have just read the columns of your issue of October 3. Mr Akufo Addo asks, in his "African Thought on African Education," "To what degree, if one may ask, and in what sense can the European claim to possess qualities that make him a more reliable friend of illiterate Africans?"

West Africa 10-10-36

Speaking as an Englishman I venture to answer him, and not in a spirit of antagonism. Many of us possess the quality of being able to do the right thing regardless of consequences to ourselves, a quality which cannot be acquired in a few years of transition. It is a slow process, extending over centuries. By the "right thing" I mean that which would be considered the right thing by all men and women of a reasonable understanding. Not an easy thing to achieve when surrounded by family and other influences, traditions and customs still lingering in the blood and in the land.

Broadcast Comments

In his last paragraph Mr. Addo says, speaking of the African, "That no matter what they say, good or bad, their views have no chance whatever of serious consideration." That statement is not true. Notwithstanding all our faults we are the straightest people in the world, and under the British flag the African receives justice and fair play, not in the full measure, perhaps, one would desire were all the circumstances perfect, but in better measure than under any other flag.

Mr. C. D. Hotobah During in a letter to you states ". . . . unsatisfactory state of affairs which does not meet with the approval of the people of the four British West African Colonies?" What do the "people" know of the West African Court of Appeal? Do they spend their lives in litigation? Of course they don't. The people of British West Africa (and by the "people" I mean the mass, as apart from the well-to-do and the educated), are like the people of any other country, no matter what the colour, they are sound at heart. All they need is sound leadership, mingled with justice and fair play, and this is what men of these Islands have striven for (ever since we entered Africa) in some shape or form.

I have lived with the African for nearly 30 years in different parts of the world, and I know that he has brains and fine qualities. I am speaking mainly of the "people." Given the right kind of guidance by those of his own race in a position to guide, and under the British flag, I can see a prosperous future for my African friends (and I say "African friends" in no patronising manner). But it will be slow. A baby must crawl before it can walk, and walk before it can run. British West African humanity, taken as a whole, is still in its babyhood. We are trying to teach it and help it to rise, and I know we welcome any suggestion from the African man or woman which will help us to help them; and anybody who says anything different is not telling the truth.

Let the African copy the best that is in the men of these Islands, casting aside all that is unclean and crafty, and he will be a magnificent fellow using every advantage he will gradually acquire to help the world along a stony path. I know it. Given this condition, he cannot, neither can the African woman, be anything less fine. I have seen it. There is a risk, of course, that my prophesy may not come true. Internecine war among the nations may destroy civilisation, and with the European is mixed the fate of the African. We must stick together. He has the brains and other qualities, and so have we. Let the best of us strive for that which is good for all of us. It is possible that some African man or woman of British West Africa may show the European the way to peace for everybody, with comfort, prosperity, and happiness. I have met African men and women who are capable of it, given the experience, knowledge of facts and circumstances attending each of the difficulties of the European.

Colour and race-prejudice has no space in the minds of African and European men and women striving to reach a happy, true, wise, mutual understanding. We can each do our best for our own people, acting together for the benefit of both, refraining from overstepping the social and other conventions of our respective races, and helping the Great Spirit (known to all, whether Animist, Christian, Moslem, Jew or any other belief) to help us. He, the Controller of the destinies of nations, will help us if we help Him, but we must use, rightly, to the best of our ability, the gifts He has given us. It is the only way.

Yours faithfully,

W. ADDISON.

(Formerly Acting Provincial Commissioner, Central Province, Sierra Leone.)

October 3.

Owing to great pressure on our space, further letters by "W.F.B." on "Prisoners and Captives" and Dr Jeffreys on the recent reference to King Jaja in "Fifty Years Back" are held over.

Protectors Or Persecutors?

Natal Witness 9-10-36

EVER since that April incident in Durban, the treatment of Natives by the members of the Police has been frequently brought to the fore and seriously discussed by many in South Africa from the lowest to the highest. It is quite an open question whether the police are protectors or persecutors of Natives. We are of the same opine that were a debate arranged for Natives only, the arguments for the latter side would be three fourths against the former. It is not an exaggeration to allege that the sight of a policeman by a Native African does not inspire confidence but a fear that he will be accosted in a manner that may lead to an arrest.

In the olden days there was a sergeant in the charge of the Congella Station, then an out-post of the Durban Borough. This man with his too aggressive Native policemen and equally severe European superior officers were so much feared by the travelling public that many were too ready and felt safe to make a detour in their journey of about three miles in order to escape the fierceness of "Mpunzana," his Native name, with his police force. This fact proves that they were more afraid of this police force than they were of the wild beasts of the forest.

This subject has been very much in the limelight before the public as shown by the articles, reports and correspondence columns of the daily press. Masters and mistresses of some Native servants have boldly written of incidents which conclusively proved that the Natives in this country were far from being given a square deal and are hunted like game by the members of the police who seem to enjoy the fact of a Native under arrest, with no feeling of correcting a fellow human being but as an enjoyable outing with no satisfaction if an explanation is given which results in the release of the Native African. Some magistrates are of the same trend of thought and mentality as has been shown in the correspondence columns recently published.

We understand that it has been decided that there shall be appointed a commission to go into the whole of this subject, the least of which will be the mode of treatment meted out by the police force towards the Natives. We hope this Commission of Enquiry will be very representative, that is, composed so as to include men who hold opinions that the Native is a human being and appreciates good treatment as well as resents unfair treatment. There seems to be a good case here for reformation which will bring about legislation for the removal of such flagrant abuses of justice.

There comes on top the age at which Native youths are required to pay the general tax. In spite of the opinions of a good number of M.P's. and the fair public, the Native begins to pay at the age of 18, an unthinkable proposition for the European and the Indians, both classes of population who can well afford such payment. It has been denied to the Native that he be profitably employed and paid, by legislation in this country and yet it has been on many occasions proved that his is the most heavily taxed class of the country. The effect of requiring Native youths to pay their personal tax militates against the peaceful and obedient attitude of the young towards their seniors for if one is in a position

of paying his own tax, rightly or wrongly he assumes that he is no longer a minor to be given orders, but that he is a man and can do as he likes. This is very bad policy for a race which has for ages given their respect to their elders even when one has a family of his own. This is one of the factors which have done havoc to our peaceful family life.

One other factor which calls for repeal is that in the case of the Native a defaulter is attacked on sight as a criminal unlike what is done to the European or Indian. The gaols in South Africa seem to be built for Natives and they are incarcerated there in such numbers that it is quite true to say gaol is no longer a place to be feared by the Natives since the laws of the land have a tendency to habituate them to that life, thus lowering their moral and ethic sense of rectitude.

Another thorn in the flesh is the arduous methods of collecting this tax. The other day Native leaders met Mr. H. C. Lugg, the Chief Native Commissioner, and proved to him that it took more than one day to succeed to pay the taxes owing to the insufficiency of clerks in the Durban Court. This is in spite of the fact that there are many Native young men who can discharge this duty for £5 or £6 per month, but will not be appointed because they are Natives, this being reserved only for white youths. One thing pleases us now that the Native is getting articulate enough to give expression to his needs. The whole Native population is deeply indebted to Mr. D. G. Shepstone for boldly espousing the cause of the downtrodden Natives in this and other matters as also those Europeans who did not shrink to voice the Natives grievances.

The report that the chief officer commanding the Police in Natal thinks these complaints are unfounded reminds us of the fable of the boys and the frogs. What is game to the "boys" is death to the "frogs." Our experience is that the more a Native African proves to be educated the more he is made a target for Police persecution especially if he can speak English and no Dutch. The Police enjoy humiliating this class.

AN AFRICAN EMERGES

Kobina had no complaint against life until he went to the town. He had eaten, played, and slept at will as other African boys did, helping willingly at harvest-time and in the building of huts. He did not have the kind of mental measles that most young white men have, there was nothing to puzzle him, nothing to daunt him. He laughed and danced and believed that the witch-doctor could cure all ills—the Chief put an end to all injustice. He was a personable youth with a shining black skin and merry eyes, tall and lean; ignorant, superstitious, polite, and kind. He lied if he thought it would please; had a strong sense of property. His father's cattle would never be his, they belonged to the female side of the family. The idea of going to the town to make some money lay about in his mind for a long time.

He roused himself one day at the end of the rainy season and set off. His relations loaded him with presents of food; he put all in his canoe. He paddled, pushed, and sometimes carried his craft to the coast. He was happy on the water.

He knew but little English. "Boy wanted" was intelligible. He tried several offices near the shore. There was plenty going on. Surf boats laden with bags of cocoa were being rowed out to a ship which seemed to him to be of monstrous size. There were people, too, who wanted to go to the ship. A harassed man said "Hi you! What's-your-name, jump in, row for your life." Kobina did so. There was no trade union.

He went with the others later in the day to be paid. They told him that the man whose place he had taken had suddenly gone sick. Kobina handed back the wages. "Give to him," he said.

He subsisted miserably for a time on odd jobs. He learned how to ask for work and stood, patiently waiting. Another man told him to take his money to the missionary to be taken care of. The priest was a young Englishman who had rebelled against the petty tyranny of his vicar. He had solved the problem of what to do with his life. It was Africa's. He took Kobina as a specimen; and patiently probed his pagan mind. He taught him, gave him of his best. And his best was very good; he was a scholar and a thinker. "You should send a message to your mother to say that you are well," he told Kobina. "It will make her happy."

"I will go when I can, it is far away; in six moons, perhaps." But the thought of sending a message stayed in his mind. The only method of conveying information he understood was by drumming. He considered what he wished to say. "The crocodiles did not get me. I come soon." The priest sent the message by a trader who was going to Kobina's village.

Meanwhile Kobina learned of the enslavement of many of his race, of great and cruel injustices in many lands. "It is no wonder that you pray from battle and murder and sudden death deliver us," he said, hearing of bombing 'planes—not realising that the petition was thought of long before the 'plane.

He taught the priest his language—painfully, slowly, using gesture, mimicry, artful patience.

His job improved, he was taken into the cocoa store, and worked long weary hours. The hoard of money grew, but he had changed his mind about buying cattle so that he might get himself a wife. He worked as white men work—hard and continuously. "I will be," he said, "a voice crying in the wilderness 'Africans, listen! We will sleep no more; let us be up and doing, righting the wrong, caring for the oppressed'." He was full of zest, his fellows followed him. Together they thought and planned. "We shall die before we see any results. All that is in the lap of the gods," they said in their own idiom. They were very eloquent. "Breathes there a man," Kobina began an oration from a broken-down lorry.

In a land where few grow old, where enthusiasm is hard to sustain and effort of all kinds means reaction, where apathy and slothfulness are engendered by heat and the lack of incentive, Kobina, upheld by the Englishman, held on. Knowing the mentality of his own people, he used his very considerable powers to encourage their pride of race and to implant again a love of freedom which had been lost. The white man called him brother. "That's a better word than slave," Kobina said. "But I will call you father. There is much to learn." The priest held out his hand. "It is thought that the African civilisation may be the oldest in the world," he said. "Much has disappeared. It will come again, maybe."

Kobina talked with his friends on the veranda. They all wore clothes of European cut, spoke without difficulty in English, their mellow voices and expressive faces and the pretty gestures of their slim hands were all typically African.

"We are emerging," Kobina said. "We don't look in the least like butterflies," another answered; "hard brown chrysalis, that's me. I doubt if I shall ever 'emerge.'" They all laughed gleefully. "My son shall go to Cambridge—if I ever have a son," Kobina boasted. And they went out into the sunlight, all talking at once—friendly, childlike.

But only Kobina felt strongly a racial resentment—a sense of the sorrows of his people.

The Englishman, answering their polite farewell salutes, was thinking: "Kobina doesn't know it yet; his disciples, some of them, will betray him. His honest mind searches them out. They will go back to their ease—and superstitions. It is bound to be so. Kobina will beat against the door in vain—for a long time."

M YEULETT.

Race Problem - 1936
Africa

IN CATHOLIC CHURCH

The Nigerian Daily Times

Solemn Ceremonies At Ss. Peter And Pauls'

8 - 10 - 36

BISHOP O'ROURKE PRESIDES AT CHURCH AND RECEPTION

Lagos, British West Africa

Mr. Williams' Speech Of Welcome

(Daily Times Special Report)

Abeokuta, Aug. 4

When we look back upon our own personal history, or on that of the Church of Christ, how continually do we find that our heavenly Father, in his providential dealings with us, has brought about some important result by indirect and perhaps, unlikely means. ... It has been so in the case of Yoruba; the circumstances that have worked together for her good appeared at the time to have no connection with each other, though we now see they were all linked together by the golden chain of God's sovereign will and determinate counsel.—Miss Tucker in "Abeokuta: or Sunrise Within The Tropics."

WHEN Oba Alaiyeluwa, Ademola II, C.B.E., went round the Churches of Abeokuta in October of 1920 and rendered thanks to God for the favour He had bestowed upon him by being chosen unanimously by his people as their ruler, The Alake was not only performing an act of worship but caused it to be known publicly that he was not King over a section only of Egbaland but that he belonged to all the Christian denominations of the land over which he had been called upon to rule.

The Rt. Rev. Bishop F. O'Rourke Vicar Apostolic of the Bight of Benin, who presided at the High Mass on Sunday the 2nd of August at which the Christians of Abeokuta, led by their Balogun Councillor D Sowemimo, worshipped

When it was announced in the columns of the "Daily Times" not long ago that the Christians of Abeokuta guided and directed by their popular and wise leader Councillor the Balogun Durojaiye Sowemimo intended to worship in the Catholic Church in thanksgiving for attaining the 25th anniversary of the restoration of Christian titles and organisations in Abeokuta there were not wanting critics and diehards who queried the wisdom of the decision. They also showed it in some measure by abstaining from participation at any rate in the act of worship.

The Balogun Sowemimo, a great leader of men, a disciplinarian who, once convinced of a step and its correctness or justice, never looked back, carried with him the support and pleasure of sufficient of the members of the Christians of the community to make the impressive and spectacular act of worship of Sunday the 2nd of August possible at the Ites Catholic Church.

The Catholic Bishop, Dr Francis O'Rourke, as soon as he was apprised of the decision, signified his intention to be present, and the well-known Principal of St. Gregory's College at Ikoyi, the Rev. Father J Saul was announced as the celebrant of the High Mass which duly took place at 8.30 in the morning of the day in the presence of His Lordship. The Revds Fathers M Kenny and O'Dohertyacted as Deacon and Sub-deacon respectively the former of these preaching a sermon not only appropriate to the occasion but of great historical interest whilst paying deserved tributes to the Balogun's qualities as a leader and worthy successor to John Alexander Okenla whose memory has been fittingly perpetuated as every Egba knows at the instance of the present Balogun.

Bishop O'Rourke's entry into the Church was the signal for all the worshippers to kneel reverently following the arrival of the Balogun, his supporting Chiefs as well as the Iyalode (Mrs Modupe Moore) who was also accompanied by her supporting Chiefs including one who had been chosen and installed from the ranks of the Catholic community.

A touch of the Church's beautiful rubric and liturgy was provided by the Bishop's presence and this aspect of the service was not without its humour when the Balogun at the reception which followed stated that the day's Mass had been "higher", he was assured by a friend, because of the Bishop's presence.

Father Kenny's historical sermon ought to be reproduced in its full beauty to do justice to it but in the course of it he showed himself a student of not only Abeokuta Christian annals but also of the personality of the leader and his band of worshippers at Ss. Peter and Paul's that day.

THE RECEPTION

Adjourning to St Augustine's Schoolroom after the Service—the historic ground which Mr C A A Titcombe stated in the course of his introductory speech about Mr Williams had produced more men than he cared to name who were making their marks in the

world—Bishop O'Rourke and the clergy present joined the community in offering their congratulations to all present from other Churches and a warmhearted welcome to the Balogun of the Christians of whom the Bishop said in the course of his brief speech he had heard much in the life time of the late Rev Father Coquard, O.B.E.

Mr I Ab Williams in offering the welcome of the fellow Christians of the Catholic Church laid stress on the significance of the act which they were performing that day in the Protestants joining them in worship. The preacher of the day's sermon had said that the doors of the Catholic Church were always widely open to receive her children from outside. Who knew or could say whether the Balogun was not being guided or inspired with the same inspiration which was responsible for the Malines Conversations? (Cheers by the Catholics). Who could tell that he (the Balogun) was not sowing the seeds of fresh efforts whereby erring souls would see and follow the beacon which was being set ablaze that day by one who cared for nothing else but that Christians might be united? (Renewed cheers). Proceeding, Mr Williams said that the spirit of Father Coquard, his work for Abeokuta and his love for all undenominationally demanded that he (the speaker) should remind the Balogun and all present not to forget that great Missionary and he hoped that at no distant date something in concrete shape would be done to perpetuate his name.

In memory of that day he asked the Balogun to accept along with the poor refreshment provided by the Catholic community a copy of Cardinal Gibbon's world-famous book "Faith of Our Fathers."

The Balogun's Response

The Balogun Sowemimo was received with tremendous applause as he rose to respond. He expressed the thanks of himself and followers for the hearty and wonderful reception which they had received. He did not think that they could do enough for the cause which they stood for, namely, Christianity. He had not done much and they thought he had done a lot. True Christian spirit and Charity could accomplish much. He remembered an instance of real humility on the part of Bishop O'Rourke. He had arrived late at the ceremony of the naming or blessing of the Engine "Jean Marie Coquard" at Lafenwa and found a vacant chair on the platform which he was desired to sit on with a select few. He unconsciously occupied that solitary vacant seat not thinking of the Bishop who in the meantime was performing the ceremony of the day. He however noticed that the Bishop stood aside on returning from the engine instead of claiming his seat as he might have done. He received a lesson there and then he was not likely to forget about the Bishop. (Cheers). In regard to the worshipping of the Christian sects on that day they had only come to perform an act which was necessary and in that connection he was glad to see his old friend Rev. Father Keohean who did so much to weld the Christians of Abeokuta together when he was Superior of the Mission. The glory of that day really belonged to Father Keohean and he desired to thank him and also for their gift.

The Bishop's Speech

Bishop O'Rourke spoke words of welcome to the Balogun and all who had come to worship that day in the Catholic Church and emphasized the fact that he had heard much about the Balogun before meeting him in person. That was from the late Rev. Father Coquard. He had no doubt but that, as hinted again that morning, the memory of that great Missionary priest would be fittingly honoured before long in Egbaland.

After the reception in the Schoolroom the congregation sat to a group photograph with the Bishop and Clergy before dispersal.

The observation made by a number of those present and who took part in the day's ceremonies fully justify the quotation made above from Miss Tucker's well-known book on Abeokuta.

Segregation Impossible.

LIBERAL-MINDED Mr. HOFMEYR TALKS.

That constructive segregation was no longer possible was one of the points made by Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, Minister of Education, in an address on "A new approach to the Native Problem," when he spoke to the Bantu Study Circle at the Rand University last Friday. 8-22-36

Three million Natives living outside the reserves would have to be repatriated for perfect segregation, he said. "That could not be done, because not enough land had been set aside to accommodate them. Nor could educated and semi-educated Natives be forced back into tribal life. Nothing could turn them back from the path of civilisation."

Mr. Hofmeyr doubted, too, whether the white man would not pay the price of segregation in higher wages to Natives and in land now profitably exploited by whites. He rejected the continued repressing of the Native as perilous, and complete equality between white and black as revolting.

History would laugh at the present generation if it claimed to have solved the Native Problem, he added.

He suggested the following ideas to which the white man has to adapt himself:

(1) The recognition of the distinctive Native development of a South African nation, "white as well as black" as a commission had put it;

(2) The recognition of the detribalised Native as a permanent factor, as a co-worker, in the country's life, and of helping him to better living conditions;

(3) To conceive of the Native

Problem of white and black living in a single community and as an effort to overcome the psychological and economic obstacles to this state of things.

Whether these things would make the white man's position safe in South Africa, Mr. Hofmeyr said, it was impossible to predict. - Reuter.

Race Problem – 1936

Africa

The Bantu Trained Nurses Association

(DURBAN BRANCH.)

The above Association held its second annual meeting on the afternoon of the 5th September at the McCord Zulu Hospital. Unfortunately the weather caused a slight change in the arrangements of the session, the meeting would have been held in the beautiful lawn lying between the Hospital and the Superintendent's House, as a consequence the meeting was held indoors. 11-21-36

While the rain was welcome to break the continued spell of dry weather yet it accounted for the absence of half the numb r of our usual enrolment.

In this 2nd annual meeting and social gathering, Rev. F.M. Caluza who presided opened the meeting by prayer and was folowed by a hymn. After making a few fitting remarks he wished the Association godspeed. Telegrams wishing the Association success were read from Sister Cowles and the B.T.N.A. (Johannesburg Branch.)

In the absence of the President Mrs. E. Setaba and her vice-president the duties of these two were undertaken by the Secretary Sister Langeni. She read the presidential address and the Secretary's report both of which were concise.

We were unfortunate that on the morning of our meeting, Dr. Taylor who takes such a keen interest in the welfare of the Bantu people and does so much in the training of Bantu Nurses was unavoidably called away, his absence made a gap in our programme and we were deprived of his address.

Miss B. Lazarus, Matron of the King Edward VIII Hospital by order of Nurses spoke very aptly on the objects and aims of the Association and emphasised the incalculable good that is deprived from co-operation especially in a country so vast in its extent with Nurses so few and apart. The rest of the programme was interpersed by musical items rendered by Nurses. Matron Miss Cooper thanked all those who had come in spite of the weather to make the meeting a success.

At the conclusion of a short but interesting meeting tea was served. The beautiful birthday cake was iced with a blue and silver icing, and had two birthday candles; the tea-cloths, napkins and flowers were also blue and silver, the colour of the Nurses badge.

Among those present were: Rev. Caluza, Sister B. Lazarus, Sister Scott, Miss Cooper, Sister Burger, Drs. McGregor, Osborne and Dlamini, Sister Langeni, Nurses Madi, Mbambo, Kumalo, Dlamini, Mpondo and the probationers who formed the choirs.

The results of the elections for the ensuing year were:

Mrs. G. Dlamini: President.
Mrs. E. Mkwanazi: Vice-President.
Miss E. Kumalo: Secretary.
Mrs. E. Setaba: Treasurer.

COMMITTEE:

Mrs. C. Makhanya, Sister Langeni, and Miss L. Mpondo.

Basutoland Council

The Cornet

During the sitting of the Council Dr. Dyke, the Principal Medical Officer for Basutoland was asked to address it by His Honour the Resident Commissioner. He addressed the chiefs and members on health and the diet of the Basuto, and explained certain schemes in connection with this matter, referred to in His Honour's opening address. 10-28-36

In dealing with the health of the Territory the Principal Medical Officer reminded the Council that when he addressed them during the last session, on this matter, there had been no outbreak of plague and was only urging them to take precautions against such an outbreak owing to the abnormal increase of rodents at the time which were not only destroying their crops in the lands but, as carriers of fleas that caused the plague, threatened their life. Soon after the session of the Council an outbreak of plague at certain villages in Chief Lerotholi Mojale's ward on the border and at Sephapos occurred. With the assistance of the Union Health Department steps were promptly taken to localise the outbreak and stamp it out. They succeeded, though it was not before a few deaths had taken place in the former area. A successful campaign of rat poisoning with the co-operation of the chiefs and people resulted in reducing the number of rodents in the Territory, but a few that escaped rapidly multiplied and once more threatened the life and crops of the people. This necessitated starting another campaign and with the assistance of the chiefs and people poison baits were laid in the holes and thousands of them were thus destroyed. He hoped the chiefs and the people would continue to co-operate with the Health Department in this matter and cleanse the Territory of this danger. 10-28-36

The Principal Medical Officer then referred to Typhus fever which had been prevalent in Basutoland and was at its worst in 1933 and 1934 when it resulted in great mortality among the Basuto. Strong measures had been taken against this disease at the villages where it occurred by means of fumigating the huts, blankets and beds of the patients thus preventing its spread in the villages. There were a few cases of this disease in 1935 and still less in 1936 and they are hoping that before long the Territory will be absolutely free of it.

Diet

The question of diet was a very important one. Formerly the Basuto were very strong of physique resulting from their very nourishing diet. Their food was mealie-meal bread, plenty of sour milk, fresh milk and meat. Times have changed and the Basuto can no longer provide these foods owing to their poverty and other circumstances under which they have come to bear. Their constitution has greatly suffered as a result of lack of nourishment. To be free from disease is not enough. The people must have such a strong constitution as will resist disease. In the place of their former diet they should take in addition to mealie-meal porridge, fat, beans, peas, ground nuts, and plenty of vegetables. They should grow vegetables and ground nuts in their gardens and peas and beans in their lands and use them as food and they will not easily take ill.

The advice was listened to with great interest by the chiefs and councillors who though admitting that the present Basuto were not as strong in constitution as their forbears yet are unable to find the cause of the defect. The Principal Medical Officer went on to explain that a nursing school had already been started at the Maseru hospital and four Basuto girls were already undergoing training. They receive instructions from the Matron and as they advance in knowledge the Medical Officer will also instruct them on other subjects. After a three years training as nurses they will be given a year's training in midwivery after which certificates will be issued to them with the authority of the High Commissioner.

Dispensaries

During the year a dispensary will be started at Morija and placed in charge of a Mosuto dispensar, to be visited every week. by a Medical Officer. He hoped that as time goes on further such dispensaries will be started at other places in the country.

A Call to Unity.

If there is any trait in the African's character it is the patent lack of unity. When one goes back to the first attempts by our grandfathers and fathers to bring about organization for their common uplift it will be found that many have met shipwreck on this fatal rock of disunion and intolerance. Our people are divided into districts and communities not to mention the devastating quality of racialism. A Xhosa may possess the wisdom of a Socrates or the leadership of a Julius Caesar but his wisdom and leadership will be attacked by the ruinous activities of racial bias and incoherence from the other racial groups. How many otherwise good organisations have come to an abrupt end in the smoke of purposeless quarrels and fruitless debates which finally land the whole African race on a dismal shore! Strangest of facts is that all are agreed that this is the chief stumbling block to our National progress. But why not make honest attempts at finding the remedy for this prevalent ill? Evidence of this national illness is to be seen in the African press which breathes of these perennial jealousies. To our humble mind the present conditions of our people in this country calls for unity as never before. The continuation of this condition means driving back our clock of progress for another period of years, may be a decade or a score which means wastage to that extent. It is a great pity that just now when unity above all else should be the watchword the elements of discord should be still so evident. This has always been the bane to any real progress among our people.

We suggest: Would it be impossible for Professor Jabavu, Dr. J. L. Dube and Doctor Seme, Rev. Mahabane and all leaders of Provincial organisations to come together and discuss a modus vivendi for a unified Native African Party? In our opinion the Convention at this stage is too big to be practical. If the leaders could come to some agreement off the platform there might be more hope for unity. Unless unity is achieved 75 per cent of our energy is lost and development dissipated.

We are faced with great problems which may provide a means up to or mar our national progress. Every thing will depend upon whether we pull together or separately and in opposition to other groups and here will be necessary for all groups to make sacrifices for the common good in order to achieve success. The January meetings of the All-Africa Convention and the National Congress should meet after the leaders have consulted together and are in a mood and position to issue unitedly the marching orders which will inspire the whole people with hope and faith in their leaders and the African cause. This is a crucial period of our National existence.

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

MEETING OF THE FOURTEENTH SESSION

Legislative Times 5-7-19-36

His Excellency The Governor Indisposed

Lagos Nigeria

THE HON. CHIEF SECRETARY PRESIDES

Twelve Bills Before The House

DEBATE ON BILL FOR SUPPLIES TO ESCORTS

Passed By A Majority of Eleven

A MEETING of the Fourteenth Session of the Legislative Council of Nigeria opened yesterday in the Council Chamber under the Presidency of the Hon. Chief Secretary to the Government in the unavoidable absence of His Excellency the Governor who is slightly indisposed.

After the opening formalities, Oaths were administered to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr H. L. Bayles and the Hon. Resident, Ilorin Province, Mr F de F. Daniel. Thirteen Papers were laid on the Table of the Council, and the Hon. Attorney-General moved a Resolution and Order under section 12 of the Customs Tariff Ordinance, 1924, (No. 20 of 1924).

Under this Regulation and Order the duty on Sparkling Wine and Vermouth, plus 10 per cent of the duty payable has been amended to read 10/- per imperial gallon, and that on still wine (other than Vermouth) not exceeding 20 per cent by volume 6/- per imperial gallon; Exceeding 20 per cent by volume but not exceeding 21.7 per cent., 12/- and exceeding 21.7 by volume but not exceeding 24 per cent 18/- per imperial gallon, in all cases plus 10 per cent of the duty payable.

The Regulation and Order was passed unopposed.

Six Financial Resolutions moved by the Hon. Treasurer were referred to the Finance Committee which sat yesterday afternoon. The Hon. Attorney General's motion that the Supplementary Estimates 1936-37 laid on the Council's table be referred to the Finance Committee was also unanimously adopted.

Of the twelve Bills before the House, seven were dealt with and passed at yesterday's session, the majority of those passed meeting with no opposition.

On the Building Lines Regulation Bill three Unofficial members spoke in opposition. The object of the Bill is to increase the free zone on either side of roads to which the existing Bill applies and to apply the provisions of the Bill to obstructions other than buildings only.

The Hon. Member for Egba Division, Mr A Alakija observed that as the Bill stood there was nothing provided to protect those who had created obstructions such as those forbidden in the new Bill, prior to the passage into law of that Bill. At the end of the debate on the Bill, the Hon. Attorney-General inserted an additional clause making the provision requested by the Hon. Mr. Alakija.

Other speakers on the Bill were the Hon. Member Representing the Niger African Traders, Mr B O E Amobi and the Hon. Second Lagos Member, Dr C C Adeniyi-Jones. The Hon. Mr Amobi sought to impress the Council on the great importance attached to land by the African, especially the Ibo Community which he represented. He said quite a lot of money was spent on litigation over landed property, and in view of the fact that the main roads in the Division he represented were originally constructed voluntarily by free labour provided by the people themselves, the 100 feet free zone on either side of the roads would be looked upon as a hardship, and he as Member of Council representing the interests of the people of the Division would be held responsible for allowing this further encroachment on their rights.

The Hon. Member, on the direction of the President moved the Council on the lines indicated in his speech, but the motion was lost without a division. The Bill was afterwards passed unanimously.

The principal debate of the day took place on the Escorts (Requisition of Supplies) Ordinance which is designed to allow of seizure of food and other supplies belonging to the inhabitants of a village by the Escort in charge of an Administrative Officer where these supplies have been refused on a request for sale. The supplies, however, are to be paid for afterwards at a price not less than that generally prevailing in the neighbourhood.

This Bill was opposed by a number of Unofficial Members, including the Hon Mr N D Oyerinde the Hon Mr L A McCormack, the Hon Mr A Alakija, the Hon Mr A Egbe, the Hon Mr B O E Amobi and the Hon Dr C C Adeniyi Jones.

The Hon Mr Eric Moore said while serving on the Aba Commission he had occasion to realise that provisions such as those made in the Bill were necessary and was not, therefore, opposing the Bill as a whole, while commenting on certain points in it.

The Hon Mr Rhodes observed that Hon Members who spoke against the Bill seemed to forget that the Colony and other Divisions such as Egba and Oyo were not Nigeria. He happened to know that the difficulties which the Bill sought to provide against were very much likely to occur in such parts of Nigeria as the Ogoja Province and in view of that fact he was not opposing the Bill.

The Hon. Mr Oyerinde thought that the difficulties visualised in the Bill could not arise if the Native Authorities concerned were informed beforehand, so that the

necessary supplies could be arranged. He was supported by the Hon Mr McCormack who also suggested that the requisition be made in writing, so that the items of the supplies might be determined later on in case the requisition was refused. The Hon Member also observed that request should be made by the Administrative Officer or a person *actually* authorised by him, in order to provide against requisitions being made by persons purporting to act on behalf of the Adminstrative Officer but not in fact authorised so to do.

The Hon. Mr. Alakija said he could not imagine supplies being refused to escorts as suggested in the Bill in such Divisions as the Egba and Oyo, and he thought that in view of the present stage of enlightenment which the country had reached it would be a slur on Nigeria if such a Bill had to be passed. He thought that with the co-operation of Native Authorities there should be no difficulty in securing neceseary supplies for escorts.

The Hon. Mr. Amobi also objected to the passage of the Bill, pointing out that if the requirements of escorts were communicated to the Native Authorities concerned in advance, there should be no necessity for legalising seizure which, he feared, might be followed by serious consequencesg such as riots. The Hon. Mr. Egbe also spoke against the Bill; so also did the Hon. Dr. Adeniyi-Jones who asked that the Bill be suspended until more consideration had been given to it.

After the Government reply to the debate a division was taken and the Bill was passed by 19 votes against eight. All the unofficial members except five—the Hon. Member for Shipping, Mr. H S Feggetter, the Hon. Provisional Commercial Member for Lagos, Mr R M Williams, the Hon. First Lagos Member, Mr Eric O Moore, the Hon. Member for the Rivers Division, Mr S B Rhodes and the Hon. Provisional Banking Member, Mr D D Gibb—voted against the Bill.

The Bill having been passed, Council adjourned until 10 o'clock this morning.

Native Congress and I.C.U. Policies in Open Debate.

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Public meeting to be addressed by the well-known Native Leaders of Natal, the Rev. J.L. Dube and Mr. A.W. Geo. Champion General Secy. I. C. U. at the Bantu Social Centre June 2.

Resolved that the interest of the Bantu public would be better served by the Bantu following the policy of the Natal Native Congress as against that that of the I. C. U.

Admission: 1s. for all.

Incidence of Tuberculosis Among Natives.

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IT has been for some time commonly and professionally believed that tuberculosis has a greater hold on Natives than on other sections of the population. This is so generally admitted that a conference of the Natal Anti-Tuberculosis Association has been in session in the city of Durban.

We c nnot contradict this general belief. All we can assert is that it did not use to be thus. This position is a concomitant of civilized life without its necessary guards against susceptibility to attacks of such diseases as tuberculosis. The reason why we make this assertion is due to the fact that before the advent of civilization tuberculosis had not such a hold on Natives as it has now. Many have taken to the white man's mode of apparel but without the necessary knowledge of its use. Formerly children were advised or commanded to go and play out in the rain without any bad results. The reason was that they had no clothes on, and as soon as they were warm in the huts nothing ulterior happened, whereas now playing in the rain and returning to the hut to sit with the same clothes till they dried on their bodies a basis had been laid for such troubles as tuberculosis

The many-doored houses and windows have resulted in graves being dug for victims of tuberculosis. The inmates often sit against a draught without realizing the harm that may accrue from that careless exposure to danger of attack.

One other cause of the prevalence of this disease among Natives not less than those few mentioned above is an economic one. Why is tuberculosis so prevalent among the poorest poor section of the population? Is there no remedy and that economical? We daresaythere is, and that the relief may easily come from some of those who are deliberating upon the problem in this conference. The Native is very sadly underpaid, a fact which needs no proof Formerly Natives had milk food, and nowadays that is denied many because they cannot afford it. The conditions are now such that a milk diet in the case of Natives in the labour areas is considered a luxury. If this disease continues its ravages among our people it will not be wholly the fault of the Natives alone but that of the European masters and Chambers of Commerce and the Administration who, having a remedy in their hands, are not willing or prepared to apply it in the case of the suffering thousands of the Native population.

We heartily agree with the suggestion of Dr. C.C.P. Anning of Pietermaritzburg who said, Tuberculosis among Natives can most effectively be checked by a staff of Native Health assistants or visitors in conjunction with various health departments to influence all responsible to give the Native an equal chance to live comfortably, and ability to prevail as to combat disease by means obtainable by all in the country. What the Native wants is assistance in the way of advice and knowledge of the causes of disease as well as economic competence to be in a condition of life where the incidence of this and other diseases will be as remote as possible.

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

SAVE MOTHERS AND BABIES

Dr. Oluwole's Valuable Lecture

THE IMPORTANCE OF EARLY CARE OF A PREGNANT WOMAN

The following is the text of Dr. Oluwole's address at Fathers' Clinic last Friday. Daily Times

This evening it is my privilege once again to welcome you to our Fathers' Clinic, and I do so with great pleasure. You will remember we had two meetings of fathers in 1934 at Massey Street Dispensary, at the first of which our Medical Officer of Health, Dr J Cauchi, addressed you. I am very sorry to tell you that we have lost Dr Cauchi's services; he has been transferred to Kaduna. His interest in all that concerned the welfare of Lagos was deep and sincere, and his good work amongst us can never be forgotten. I wrote to him last week to let him know we shall be meeting here this evening, and I am sure he will be thinking of us at this time.

It is hoped that these meetings with you fathers will be of some help to you and your families, and that the lessons we try to teach you from time to time will be taken to heart and carried out in your homes.

In Public Health work our aim is to follow the good old maxim, "Prevention is better than cure."

The first aim of public health, therefore, is to prevent disease rather than to cure it. This evening we wish to apply this aim to childbirth, and you are therefore requested to be very attentive.

The lesson I want you to learn this evening is that it is possible to prevent most of the complications of pregnancy and actual child-birth, and that we can therefore by prevent most of the deaths, injuries and diseases which follow childbirth,—not only those affecting the mother but also those which the newly-born infant is liable. For many years now this lesson has been taught in countries more advanced than ours, and, in consequence, the people of those countries have been greatly benefited. Our object tonight, therefore, should be to gain from their experience.

In order to make childbirth less difficult and dangerous for both mother and child we should commence our care right from the moment the woman becomes pregnant, throughout the entire period of pregnancy, during delivery, and until mother and child are out of danger; thus alone can we have healthy mothers in possession of healthy children.

Lagos is very fortunate in the facilities available for the care of a pregnant woman from the start right up till after her delivery, more fortunate indeed than most other places in Nigeria. Nowhere else in Nigeria can you find as large an army of experienced general medical practitioners as in Lagos, each well equipped for the care of a woman and her unborn child during pregnany, delivery and afterwards; nowhere else in Nigeria is there a better equipped public maternity hospital than at Massey Street, with its efficient staff of medical practitioners, nurses and midwives. Such a good midwifery service is available to only a few in Nigeria outside Lagos. Let us realise this fact, and count our blessings in this respect. In Lagos we have at our disposal a well-organised maternity department for the care of pregnant women who cannot afford to engage private medical practitioners at the time of their delivery; the labour rooms are clean and delivery is followed by careful nursing in well-appointed wards.

In some other places a great many of our sisters are left to muddle through pregnancy and delivery as best as they can; or as best as their circumstances allow and afford. In recent years local training for midwives has been provided all over Nigeria; there are two grades—those whose standard of education is such that they can take a full course of training, both theoretical and practical, and those who are almost illiterate but are taught practical midwifery in a way that will make their care of woman in labour far better than the methods employed by those untrained women who usually assist at delivery. A few of our own daughters have received training as midwives in England and are doing valuable work in their own line.

With the provisions at our disposal for the care of woman during pregnancy and childbirth we should be able to reduce the bad results both to the mother and her unborn baby, that may occur during pregnancy and childbirth.

Four important evils may result if a pregnant woman is not well cared-for, or if some complication sets in—often, a preventable complication or one that can be controlled or remedied:—

(1) The death of the pregnant woman.

(2) The ill-health of the pregnant woman.

(3) The death, while still in the womb, of the baby expected and before the time of delivery is due.

(4) The illness of the newly-born infant finally ending in its death in early life.

Let us now very briefly review each of these evils:—

(1) THE DEATH OF THE PREGNANT WOMAN

Is there any person here who cannot remember the loss of some useful woman who died as a result of some complication of her pregnancy? It may be a mother, a wife, a sister or some other relation! Only this month I had the painful duty of making a post-mortem examination of the body of a woman who died rather suddenly: she was pregnant, and, in my opinion, in about a month from the time of her death she should have been the happy mother of twins; but—she died; she sacrificed her life in fulfilling the duty of her sex, motherhood.

Only yesterday I approved the death certificate of a woman who died from bleeding due to a complication of pregnancy. The toll of child-bearing on maternal life is really great. A large number of these deaths is due to germs getting into the blood of the woman, often during her delivery. Some of us use the worst room in our houses, and the bare ground for the delivery of an expectant mother just because we do not wish to have our better rooms soiled. In a maternity hospital or under the care of a medical practitioner clean conditions will be aimed at as far as possible. Many women have died after childbirth as a result of fever coming on afterwards. In other cases bleeding has been the cause of death, the bleeding coming on before, during or after delivery; at other times some poisoning of the body occurs due to diseased kidneys. Various other forms of accidents may occur during pregnancy, such as, abortion, severe vomiting etc. Deaths occur from the causes accompanying pregnancy, such as heart disease, convulsions, insanity, etc.

Other causes of death of a pregnant woman cannot be directly attributed to pregnancy, but they endanger the life of a pregnant woman, such as heart disease, other acute diseases, tuberculosis and malaria, etc.

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

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ria. Let me again remind you that many deaths are due to germs getting into the woman's blood.

A good many of the causes of the death of a pregnant woman are preventable, and, in order that they may be prevented, a wise father, a wise husband, a wise brother, will place his daughter, wife or sister under proper and experienced medical supervision as soon as she becomes pregnant so that any complication which may likely interfere with the future well-being or life of the mother or child may be recognised in time and prevented in time.

Remember—delay is dangerous!!!

The Ill Health of the Pregnant Woman

It is not sufficiently recognised how large is the number of women who become ill as the result of delivery; I refer to all the forms of chronic ill-health or disease which may result from childbirth. These diseases may be placed in two large groups:-

(1) Affections of the parts of the body associated with child-birth.

(2) Other general disease not specially due to pregnancy or child-birth.

Let us briefly learn more of these two groups.

Of the affections of the parts of the body associated with child-birth one may mention the following:- various degrees of tearing of these parts during delivery, followed by the entrance of germs into the wounds thus produced and consequent fever, and, possibly, death; the falling down of the womb in various degrees and into different positions due to either bad care at delivery or to the newly delivered mother leaving her bed for her ordinary duties too soon. Some men think their wives are lazy if they remain a week in bed after delivery; other men make no provision for their wives to have home help at the time of their delivery so that the women have to get up as soon as possible after delivery in order to pursue their domestic duties: such practices result in a falling down of the womb with its bad consequences. You see, when the womb is not in a pregnant state it is only 2 1/2 inches long; it is this same womb which becomes so enlarged by pregnancy that it is able to contain a full time living child, or, in some cases, even two or three children. It is easy to imagine how such a womb, just emptied at delivery, will tend to swing to and fro with every movement of the body, and how a severe or constant movement will tend to make it fall. The moral, therefore, is—do not allow your wives to get up too soon after delivery.

None of these conditions may be said to give rise to serious illness they cause chronic disablement or make the women become invalids. They are an important cause of childlessness, abortion, disorders of the monthly periods, discharges from the womb, backaches and pains around the womb. They prevent many women from doing their work properly, whether such work be house duties or work of earning some money.

Of the other group we may mention disease of the kidneys which may lead to convulsions associated with pregnancy and delivery, swollen legs and feet, etc.

3. Death of the Baby while still in the Womb

There are many abortions taking place year after year. These unborn babies die during pregnancy from some cause or disease either in the mother, in themselves or in the after birth to which they are attached so closely; some of them die and remain in the womb for some time before they are born. In other cases the babies are killed at the time of delivery from pressure or injury received during some accident or complication of delivery. Daily Times

If a qualified medical practitioner is called to attend a woman during her period of pregnancy up till the time of her delivery, he will be able to recognise these complications in time and try to prevent them from doing harm to his patient and her unborn babe. 7-2-36

The chief causes of the death of a child before delivery can only be mentioned this evening: they include, in the mother, syphilis, convulsion, kidney disease, pneumonia, tuberculosis of the lungs or consumption. At the time of delivery trouble may set in from the wrong position of the after-birth, bad formation of the bones around the womb, the head not coming down first, prolonged delivery, coiling of the cord around the neck of the baby which thus cuts off its blood supply from the mother if there is much pressure on the cord etc. Lagos, Nigeria

We now come to the last of the four important evils which may result if a pregnant woman is not well cared-for, or if some complication sets in; this evil is:

4. The illness of the newly-born infant with, perhaps, a fatal ending.

The baby may acquire disease during pregnancy, or may suffer injury during delivery. There is no doubt that many infants die soon after birth as the result of head injuries **ecelved** during a difficult delivery.

Syphilis is an important example of a disease which may be acquired during the time the baby is still in the womb, and be retained by the child after it is born. With a qualified medical man in attendance in time, the syphilis in the mother is treated and some effort made to save the life of the child. Syphilis has been dealt with a little more fully at our two previous meetings, and, I hope to deal with the venereal diseases primarily on another occasion of our meeting. I wish also to emphasise the importance of injuries to the head on the fate of the infant.

Just as, after a battle, there are a large number of killed and a larger number of wounded, so after delivery the large number of babies killed as the result of injury to the head must be accompanied by a larger number of wounded. Some of these wounded babies die within a few hours, days, or weeks.

I must now stop. I have said enough to show why it is important to place a pregnant woman under the care of a qualified medical practitioner in time. It is for you to think on these things, and having considered them, to follow the advice given. If your wife, sister or any other relative or friend is pregnant and is not now under a qualified medical practitioner, take her tomorrow to one. If you have no money, go to Massey Street Maternity Hospital.

Race Problem - 1936

Africa.

WEST AFRICAN METHODIST CHURCH.

Weekly News

FIRST ANNUAL CELEBRATIONS.

2-29-36

It would appear to be an incredibly short time ago, since the inaugural services and meetings of the West African Methodist Church took place. But times fly, and we have received a pleasant surprise in the receipt of the handbill, announcing the several religious functions which will mark the first anniversary celebrations of the new church, under the General Superintendency of the Rev. J. Brown Nichols, ably supported by his erudite Vice-Chairman, Secretaries, and other officers.

Freetown

Sierra Leone

A very interesting programme has been arranged in order to carry out the work of the District. We observe that the designation of the Annual Gathering has been changed from District Meeting, to District Assembly. This is going back to early history, for we can recall that the Annual Gathering of the United Methodist Free Churches, to which the first West African Methodist Church, became amalgamated in 1859, was called Annual Assembly.

This is rightly in keeping, not only in the sense of distinctiveness from the designation of the Annual Gatherings of other Denominations, but also in keeping with the sense of loyalty to the heritage handed down, by the Fathers and Founders of the first W.A.M. Church.

The first of March, to-morrow, (Sunday,) will find the Preachers, Ministerial and lay, interchanging Pulpits in the City and Wilberforce Circuits.

The first note in the celebrations, is being struck by the Women's District Auxiliary, that August body of workers, who have done so much, financially, to stabilise the work of the District in supporting the Home Churches and the work of Missions in Lower Mende Land.

The contribution of Women to the support of the Churches in Sierra Leone, is becoming more pronounced every year.

The problem of the paucity of Ministers available, owing to so many of the ex-U.M.C. Ministers remaining in the now unsettled Methodist Church, is being met by receiving two Catechist into the probationary Ministry

According to the names of the brethren announced to preach Trial Sermons on Monday and Wednesday next, it should be surmised that this is an initial step to meet present, and urgent exigencies of the Church.

We believe that in due course of time, efforts will be made to resusitate the once ornate Ministry of the United Methodist Church.

Other Services and Meetings like the Annual Sermon which will be preached at Centenary Tabernacle, Circular Road, at 7 p.m., on Tuesday by Rev. G. O. Gabbidon, the Ministerial District Secretary, and the Great Public Meetiug on Thursday evening, in Samaria Church, are items worthy of notice, large attendances, and generous support.

We beg to remind our readers, that the West African Methodist Church, is inevitably in the lime-light, because it stands for race-consciousness, and a refutal of those effusions of Negrophobists, and disciples of Negro inferiority complex.

We trust therefore, that, the delibrations of the Assembly, as it sits from day to day next week, will result in the stablishing and extension of the work of the Church, both in the Colony and Protectorate.

We plead for the financial support of all lovers of race and country.

HEALTH AND BABY WEEK 1936

Weekly News

The educative campaign inaugurated not too many years ago by the Medical and Sanitary Department of this Colony, for dissemination of instructions and suggestions for the maintenance and improvement of health amongst adults and children of the population promises continuity in the range of its scope and interest. The programme of the 1936 campaign is a big and laudable one.

2-29-36

A systematic demonstration of the aims and objects of the Health and Baby Week campaign by attractive and instructive posters has been carried out preparatory to the commencement of Health and Baby Week, which begins to-morrow, Sunday, March 1,—Health Sunday—when sermons on Health and Child Welfare are suggested to be preached in all the Churches.

We strongly hopo the Preachers at all Religious Services, to-morrow morning or evening, will make it a duty, at least to refer to the need of keeping a healthy body by hygenic methods. It is not an unscriptural doctrine, and interesting demonstrations of the healing art may be found in the Old and New Testaments, in the form of various diseases and sickness. The fevered frame, the aching brow, the leper with his tainted life, the palsied and the lame, may be referred to in relation to the advance of Medical science of to-day, which by preventative measures are reducing to an almost absolute minimum, the growth and spread of the ills to which human flesh is heir to.

A healthy congregation will be better able to pay their church dues. Health Week is of interest to the churches.

To make this Health Week go down to posterity as a remarkable one, we would suggest that Government, henceforth and for hwith take up the subject so often advocated for a home for destitute and diseased persons, who at present are allowed to roam about the city at their sweet will, begging alms and jostling with pedestrians on the streets and market places. It is no use preaching health when disease is allowed to perambulate the streets of the city. Now that Tourists of distinguished ancestry and stations in life come to Freetown in large numbers, even, for the sake of elementary propriety, they should be saved the revolting spectacle, to which citizens of Freetown are more or less subjected to, every day, not only in the streets, but when these unfortunate ones, invade the privacy of households as beggars. It is time that some definite scheme be set on foot to relieve the situation, or in the interim, let them be forced to go back to the Asylum at Kissy.

Baby Week has come to stay if one were to judge from the interest manifested by young mothers who carry their babies to the Show at the Victoria Park.

About three years ago, a thrilling and lively spectacle was witnessed at the Park, when the Band of the "Waffs," under Bandmaster McEwen, struck up the "Pea-nut Vendor," and the mother's took up their babies, and had such a lively dance, to the delight of every one. The Band is therefore a necessary adjunct to the Show, and the Public are grateful to the Military Authorities, for their kind permission, in allowing the Band to be in attendance.

One of the Posters announces that there will be *a prize for every baby*. This would be very interesting and save the disappointment of fond mothers, who think their baby the best. The Child Welfare Section of the Work of the Medical Department, can never be over-estimated. The care of expectant and nursing mothers, has considerably helped to decrease Infant Mortality, to the benefit of all concerned, whether Government or People. That the lives of the future generation should be conserved and preserved from disease, should be the first care of every community, and those responsible for its health.

The celebrated Author and Humourist, Mark Twain, once proposed a toast at a banquet given in his honour, a toast which he said vitally concerned everyone, and that is, "The Babies." He pointed out, that of all the different things that we may have been, or likely to be, there is none like the certainty of all, at one time or other, having been a Baby. It is the most universal condition in human life.

President Roosevelt, some years ago, during his tour of the great European cities, visited Paris and delivered a lecture to the Students of the University of that great City. *inter alia*, he said: "If there is any legacy that a nation can leave for posterity, it is this, that its seed should inherit the earth."

In those classic references, we have our responsibility to the children, pointed out to us, in simple and unacademic language and ideas.

The Mass Meeting at the Wilberforce Hall on Wednesday 4th March, at 4 30 p.m., promises to be a very interesting and instructive one judging from the number of distinguished gentlemen who will speak, on the subject—"Health and Baby Week—its aims and objects." We bespeak for this unique gathering a large and interested attendance of all sections of the community, who at one time or another, was *a Baby*.

BROWN PEOPLE.

OR SELF EXPRESSION BY MEANS OF MIXED SEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS.

Weekly News

By J. M. Stuart-Young of Onitsha.

When I began to call attention to the invidious position held in Nigerian Society by the half-caste, I had in my mind very seriously how much better he is treated in the French colonies. My readers must not think that I have, even for a moment, overlooked the achievements of the Dumas in France; nor am I unaware of many great half-castes in West Africa generally.

But it is really somewhat unfair to continue the attitude that, because a man writes rhymes, he cannot write reason. Continually I am told "stick to your dreams, and leave realities alone!" As reasonable as to tell a man; "don't trouble to eat, so long as you have enough to drink!" Life is made up of Matter and Spirit!

2-29-36

Let us come to a few hard steel-hard facts, without any personalities, by doing our utmost not to hurt any reader's feelings, be he White, Black or a mingling of both colours. Is the Brown man, as he exists at present, and in the hypocritical social atmosphere of British West Africa, capable of mastering the problems raised by his own position—a position half way between two races—and in an emerging civilization?

The Brown man has necessarily two diametrically opposed mental out looks. By reason of his Black ancesstry he envisages the Cosmic Centre as a Blind Force, an unknown Something called *Cuku*, which is a "god," hidden behind the many inimicable forces of Nature—behind Lightning, Thunder, and Pestilence, as well as behind the beneficent forces of Harvest and Bounty. He may not by heredity regard man as anything save a weak little creature: a sort of puppet in the dallying hands of an Unknown

play-wright. Essentially, for him as an African, the same power that produced Man produced everything else—and without partiality. He is *afraid* of this unknown God, as of someone or something eternally to be propitiated. He can only hope for anything resembling happiness by endlessly "making sacrifices." *Human* sacrifices are the most efficacious! Nature is no more in love with *him* than she is in love with a worm. So he has to "kow-tow"

That is the primitive and forest-bred Black. On the other hand, even where the White parent is in no great degree religious or cultured, there is infused into the blood stream of the half-caste something incalculably different—an outlook upon Life and Destiny that has hundreds of years of a totally different Ethic at its base.

It is all very well for contemporary Europeans or Africans to push all these considerations aside as extraneous and irrelevant to my original argument in the story "Black Man's Cradle." Be bothered to that pseudo-scientific thought! that critic says: "here *is* the half-caste! Take him for what he is, If he is inevitable, then he is just as good Brown as he would be Black, or just as good Brown as he would be White. He is there necessary to the European's comfort on the sexual plane and an inevitable result of his sex-play Let him go his way; and—don't talk! In the words of George Robey: *Shur-r-up-*"

All very nice! But critics of this kind, to whom an evil does not exist *so long as it is not discussed*, apt to forget that written history goes back nearly seven thousand years. Recorded history that is!—not myth and legend! Seven thousand years is a breath in the ethpological history of mankind. It took over a million years, remember, for ape-man, pre-historic man, cave-man to advance to the lowest stages of what we now recognise as *homo sapiens*. Perhaps the 7,000 years of recorded history is too insignificant for us to see much *basic* difference between Black and White, between Brown and Red, between Yellow and Forgotten Gray! The experiment of "merging" those colours together still goes on, as it has been going on for the whole million years; and yet that ten times ten-times ten milleniums (10x10x10x1,000) has *not been enough* for the experiment to have worked itself out, even from the letter A to B. What pencil it will take in time from B to Z, nobody dares dream!

How many 7,000 and 7,000 and 7,000 years more must therefore elapse before we shall be able (if we have the good luck not to go down, and all our historic achievements with us?) to see a fore short-and evolutionary perspective that will allow us to estimate where man is drifting—toward an Analgam, or a new Family?—or a new series of Families?—or even toward a new Spacies?

My critics have retorted upon me, against what I quoted from Shaw and Mussolini, that Science holds a quite strong brief for the Brown Man. Granted! Given right and proper social conditions (they tell me) the Mulato (half-caste Nordic and African) could and would breed very effectively and healthily. But there's a way for to one like myself, who desire only properly-applied eugenics, and healthy and happy people, beautiful in form and feature, and sane and well-balanced in psychic nature, no matter *what* their shade of complexion, *the end of the world would not be the result of the extermination of* the *White Man*. I never flattered myself we mattered so much nor would it even be the result of the triumph and exaltation of the Black! It has higher and infinitely nobler issues at stake.

To be Continued.

All-African Convention

The following final statement was passed at Cape Town on Friday, 14th February by the Executive of the above body. It reads:—

"Whereas the All-African Convention, held at Bloemfontein on December 16, 1935, had resolved that it was opposed to the abolition of the Cape Native franchise and had reiterated its firm conviction that the Cape Native franchise was a matter of such vital importance to all the African people of South Africa that it could not bargain nor compromise with the political citizenship of the African people by sacrificing the franchise as is proposed in Clause 1 of the Representation of Natives Bill.

"And, whereas the said Convention had appointed a fully representative executive committee, inclusive of Africans from the four Provinces of the Union, and had empowered this body to investigate and to use all possible methods of persuading the Government and the Hon Prime Minister and the House of Assembly to refrain from passing this clause of the Bill;

"And, whereas the members of the executive committee of the Convention had assembled in Cape Town since the opening of Parliament in January to initiate and negotiate with the Hon. the Prime Minister, the members of the Senate and the parliamentary representatives most concerned with the Native vote;

"And, whereas the result of the interview of the All-African Convention executive with the Hon. the Prime Minister on February 13. 1936, was the absolute refusal of the Prime Minister to withdraw Clause 1 of the Bill and the substitution of an offer by him to retain the Cape franchise in an atrophied form of separate rolls for Native voters and the right to elect three members for the Assembly, two European members for the Cape Provincial Council, and an additional two European senators;

"Whereas the honourable the Prime Minister has refused our pressing request to refer the Prime Minister's new proposals to our people in convention;

"Now, therefore, we have had no alternative but to assume the responsibility and adhere to our mandate, to oppose any alteration of the present Cape Native franchise.

"The All-African convention committee feels that the blame for the deadlock thus created must not be placed on them for any national repercussions that may result from the indiscretion of ill-conceived and one-sided legislation.

"The executive committee is convinced that the fundamental principle of full political equality hitherto entrenched in the Cape Native franchise will be wilfully and unjustly violated by the passage in Parliament of Clause 1 of the Bill, a violation that would perpetuate the discrimination against Natives of South Africa by reason of their colour throughout all future legislation by Parliament.

"Further the executive committee is convinced that this differentiation in electing the lawmakers of the country, of which Natives form an integral and inseparable part, cannot in any circumstances whatsoever receive their support, sanction or ratification.

The committee is firmly convinced that the policy of common citizenship as expressed in the Cape Native franchise is the only one that would ensure harmony between the races and make South Africa the palladium of racial peace in Africa.

"The committee further considers that the proposal embodied in clause 1 of the Bill constitutes a departure from the spirit of the Treaty of Vereeniging, in which provision was made for the consideration of the granting of the franchise to Natives in the North after the introduction of self-government to the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

"The committee is convinced that the only safe form of franchise would be one which, regardless of race or colour, was based upon a common form of qualification."

'The Bantu Mirror'

We gratefully acknowledge receipt and heartily congratulate the production of a new weekly Bantu newspaper in Rhodesia styled "The Bantu Mirror". Produced in Bulawayo, it circulates throughout the whole of South Central Africa. It is interesting to note that the Governments of Southern and Northern Rhodesia will send the last issue in every month to all Native school teachers, and many Native officials. As there is a large number of Natives from South Central Africa working in the Union or learning at our institutions, the availability of this newspaper to them should be a boon.

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

DIVORCE IN NATIVE COURTS

(By Civis)

While arranging last year's copies of the "Nigerian Daily Times" I discovered that the issue of the 29th July last recorded a proposal that the best deterrent to frivolous cases of divorce now rampant in Egbaland would be an arbitrary addition of some £5 to £10 to the adjudged 'dowry'. While I fully appreciate the good motive behind this suggestion I presume that I am not alone in regarding such a step as inequitable and unfair to the new husband.

It would appear that a substantial increase in the amount of damages payable for adultery, together with a proviso that until the full adjudged dowry, paid is the woman remains the lawful wife of the former husband and every proved case of adultery with her is punishable, would more fairly meet the situation.

In some cases couples are clearly ill-matched due to various causes, but particularly to the greed of parents who make chattels of their daughters and sell to the highest bidder. and sometimes also to lack of vision on the part of the wooer and/or the wooed.

A dissatisfied wife will never make a happy home, and will circumvent her husband one way or another until she frees herself from the man she has learnt to hate. There are cases, however, of inexperienced and misguided young women whom a rigorous cross examination by the Court, or exhortations and admonitions by the hamlet, village or township elders may set right and win over.

Frivolous divorce is a novelty in Egbaland, and dates just from the introduction of the Native Courts system which seemed to have been interpreted, unwittingly perhaps, wide of the noble intentions that animated its sponsors, undue emphasis having been laid on every case being taken to Court, with penalty attaching even to traditional arbitration by elders in certain cases. Nothing less serious than sexual impotence, insanity or incurable diseases could, in pre-native Court days, successfully be pleaded for divorce before the Council of Elders that once functioned in every hamlet, village and township in Egbaland, whose influence was wholesome and leavening and whose methods of discipline were as strict as they were effective.

Now that the policy of Government to encourage such councils to function on civilised lines has been restated, there seems to be no doubt that the ineptitude of Native Courts to arrest the spread of social evils will soon be removed.

Permit me a little digression while yet on the subject of village councils. In the halcyon days gone by every pater-familia was responsible to the hamlet head, the latter to the village head, the village head to the township head (the 'Ilu') and the last-named to the Central Administration for the peace and good order of his charge. Village councils invariably included highly talented men versed in native law and custom who thoroughly understood the psychology and idiosyncrasies of the young, the middle-aged and the old to a degree that few of the present native court members can claim. The 'speakers', with their powerful oratory enriched with touching anecdotes and telling proverbs of which they seemed to possess an inexhaustible stock, never failed to strike effectively responsive chords in the hearts of both parties in any dispute. Always resourceful, they never were baffled, knowing exactly what to do and how to do it with Solomonic wisdom. They received no fees, and their remuneration (if such a term were proper) for restoring peace, happiness and contentment to many a home and community was the traditional bottle or two of gin from well-to-do parties, drunk there and then with the plaintiff and the defendant in an atmosphere of perfect amity.

Personally, I have always regarded the efficiency of the hamlet and village organisations as a 'sine qua non' in the successful operation of the Native Administration machinery, it being obviously impossible to control effectively from the 'Afin' the details of administration in the many 'Oriles' and 'Igbos', the District Head system recently introduced notwithstanding.

To return to divorce, yet another cause is the betrothal of minors and even children. As, however, this practice still lingers only among unsophisticated pagans (Ifa mi gba a, etc.) whose ranks rapidly deplete with the advance of Mohammedanism and Christianity, much now depends on the careful and intensive training of our daughters in the importance and sacredness of marriage and the proper and correct outlook on life.

Unjustified Expenditure.

(Lagos Weekly Record)

During the Native Affairs Vote debate at its committee stage in Parliament questions were asked by a Nationalist member of Parliament. The Native Affairs Commission was the target of closest scrutiny in the manner of appointments to it, but the Minister of Native Affairs triumphed in his evasion of a direct reply.

Since the passing of the Representation of Natives in Parliament Act the erstwhile champions of Bantu interests —notably the Border and Eastern Province members of Parliament—have entirely forsaken their trust towards those black electors who helped to return them to Parliament. Even the vital matter of the Native Affairs Commission, which supposedly exists to serve the interests of the black population, is no more regarded by M. P's. from Native constituencies as one of their concern. For purposes of debate in Parliament, the Native Affairs vote, and the lucrative positions of membership of the N.A. Commission have become the monopoly of the Transvaal Whips of the United Party. The reward for "services rendered," as Mr. Erasmus bluntly expressed it, is conveniently offered in a member-

Conroy was to be appointed in view of the political services rendered to the country he could understand it"—"but his services on the Commission are certainly not justified on any other ground."

So much for the aspect of 'jobs for pals.' But there is the more serious aspect of justifying expenditure on Native Affairs; and this is where the Minister of Native Affairs appears to have 'got away with it' when his £9,000 vote was agreed to. In his reply to the debate, Mr. Grobler told the critics of the Native Affairs Commission that £3,500 of the £9,000 shown in respect of functions of the Commission were prescribed by law, and it carried very necessary and important functions. "This year for instance," stated the Minister, "the Commission had met repeatedly, and had been charged with important duties" He was satisfied that the Commission was a highly important body.

It is known that the £3,500 referred to by Mr. Grobler was the expenditure on the Native Affairs Commission when it was detailed to hold regional Native Conferences on the Native Bills, in Pretoria, Maritzburg, Umtata, King William's Town and Mafeking last September. The Commission was charged with the important duty of collating the views of Natives in the Union on the legislation which Parliament was to deal with at an early date (now already disposed of). These Native views were taken, recorded and subsequently laid before the Government at this huge expense.

The question arises: did the Government take precautions to cite any of these Native views when introducing the Natives Representation Bill or the Land Bill in Parliament, or even table them for the information of parliamentary members? The answer is ofcourse in the negative. If the Native voters of the Cape had a single member of Parliament who could command enough courage to ask the Minister why all the reports of the Native Affairs Commission of the regional Native Conferences were shelved in Pretoria, it would have certainly disproved Mr. Grobler's assertion that it was very necessary to spend £3,500 on such a fruitless tour. No sane man will agree that the pigeon-holes of the Native Affairs Department at the administrative capital were archives to hold £3,000 worth of never-to-be-used reports.

As we have pointed out, there was no one in Parliament to stress this view in behalf of the poor Natives. The two Bills have been enacted with the Bantu opinions placed in the hip-pocket of the Government. The injustice of the State evading a straight political battle with its Natives redounds to the discredit of the white race, which invariably boasts of superior intellectual endowment.

ship of the Commission which carries an exclusive salary of £1,000 a year.

Somehow, the Cape supporters of the United Party in Parliament, even though generally acknowledged as experts in Native affairs, carry very little or no weight with the Prime Minister when the time comes to fill a vacancy The chief Whips of the Party are domiciled in the Transvaal, and evidently, so far as the Prime Minister is concerned, they come first in order of merit for a reward. What services are being acknowledged in these appointments are not likely ever to be disclosed for public information. We have the broad suggestion by Mr. Erasmus, Nationalist member Moorreesburg that "if General

HIGHER APPOINTMENTS FOR AFRICANS

Weekly News 7-4-36

NIGERIAN COMMITTE TO INVESTIGATE.

Freetown, Sierra Leone

In fulfilment of a promise made by the Nigerian Government at the last session of the Legislative Council, the Governor has appointed a committe to go into the question of higher appointment for Africans in the Civil Service and conditions of service in connection therewith.

The Committe is composed of the treasurer, Mr. H. S. Bayles (chairman), the Director of Medical and Sanitary Service, Sir Walter Johnson, C.M.G., the Director of Public Works, Mr. F. D. Evans, the Deputy Chief Secretary, Mr. L. H. Shelton, the Hon. Eric O. Moore, the Hon Dr. C. C. Adeniyi-Jones, and Mr H. S. A. Thomas, President of the Nigerian Civil Service Union.

The Committe's terms of reference are:—To consider and make recomendations in regard to: (1) the initial salaries which should be offered to African candidates for employment in Government service who have obtained academic or professional qualifications abroad, during a period of trial for the purpose of establishing their fitness for employment, and the length of such period; (2) the salaries which should be paid to such candidates as are accepted as suitable for Government employment, but in respect of whom it is not possible to certify that they are fitted to assume the complete duties and responsibilities of a post normally held by a European officer; (3) the salaries which should be paid to such candidates as are accepted as suitable for Government employment and prove their fitness to assume the complete duties and responsibilities of a post normally held by a European officer.—*The African World.*

Challenging Representation of Natives Act.

Natal Sun

Test Case in Cape Supreme Court.

The Sun of Natal

The Natives Representation Act is again to be challenged in the Supreme Court, says the 'Times' correspondent.

8-22-36

Mr. Justice Watermeyer on Saturday, in chambers, ordered that a temporary interdict should be given restraining anyone from including the applicant's name, Mr. Albert Ndlwana, in the Cape Voters' Roll or from removing his name from the list on which it now appears of persons qualified to vote at election for members of the House of Assembly or Provincial Council pending an application by the applicant against the proper parties for an interdict.

The application on behalf of Mr. Ndlawana was made by Mr. D. M. Buchanan with whom was Mr. Molteno and attached to the petition was the applicant's certificate of the registration, dated, April 18, 1936, and the notice by the registering officer that if the petitioner's name is to be included in the Cape Native Voter's Roll it will simultaneously or thereafter be removed from the Voter's list, on which it now appears. under the Act as passed by the joint session of both Houses of Parliament by the necessary two-thirds majority.

The petitioner submitted that the Act, No. 12 of 1936, was ultra vires the provisions of the South Africa Act of 1909 and did not justify the removal of petitioner's name from the Voter's list on which it now appears.

Race Problem — 1936
Africa

Nana Tsibu Darku IX, one of the many progressive leaders in the Gold Coast, is the Omanhene of Asin Atandasu, in the Central Province, and is the member elected by the Provincial Council to represent his colleagues on the Gold Coast Legislative Council

Folk Lore Competition

AN OPPORTUNITY TO WIN TWO GUINEAS.

AN OPPORTUNITY TO PRESERVE AFRICAN STORIES FOR COMING GENERATIONS.

For hundreds of years from father to son, from mother and to daughter, our people have been story tellers. Around the fire at night, folk lore stories of the Zulu, Sesuto and Xosa people have been passed on by the old people to their young listeners.

These African stories took the place of the books and newspapers which we have with us to-day. The stories belong to the African people, a part of the old Africa which is passing, and they should be preserved for those who come after us. Yet are rapidly disappearing because with few exceptions they are not recorded in books, and the old story telling round the fire at night is a habit which is fast disappearing. Unless something is done, many of our folk stories will have been forgotten beyond recall.

Now through the kind offer of Mr Leo Hodson, the South African Representative of the British Firm, Messrs. A. Wander, Ltd., makers of the famous "OVALTINE" HEALTH DRINK, we offer to our readers a Competition which will help us to preserve many of these folk lore stories.

Three prizes are being given.

Each prize is two guineas, and they are to be divid d as follows:—

One prize for the best Xosa folk lore story;

One prize for the best Zulu folk lore story;

and

One prize for the best Sesuto folk lore story.

These stories may be written in English or in the vernacular. The competition is open to all our readers, and the rules governing this Competition are simple and straightforward.

COMPETITION RULES.

1. Stories to be not more than 1,200 words in length;

2. Stories to be written on one side of the paper only;

3. The decision of the judges is fina ;

4. All stories submitted are sent in on the understanding that whether they are prize winners or not, the stories may be published by the Organisers of the Competition in any form which the Organisers may choose.

5. Print your name and address clearly when submitting your folk lore story.

CLOSING DATE. All entries to be in by November 30th, 1936.

Address your story to:—

Folk Lore Competition,
P.O Box 6663,
Johannesburg.

More Injustice To South African Natives.

Ever since the Durban Harbour was built by black labour, all the hard work on the various harbour craft as deck hands, has been performed by Natives. Later, Indians were taken on as stokers.

Three weeks ago, whilst the Governor-General (Earl of Clarendon) was actually in Durban, all the Native employees on the two harbour tugs were displaced by white labour, and told to work as wharf labourers at 45s. per mensem. Their pay on the tugs had been from £4 5s. to £4 15s per mensem.

They had from 10 to 36 years' service.

The Indian stokers were also displaced by white labour, but are to have the same pay on shore as they had on the tugs Why this differentiation ?

Because India has an Agent-General, resident in Durban, who looks after the interests of its people

The Natives have no one to look after theirs.

No one seems to care.

But why did the Governor-General, not throw in his weight to stop this injustice?

Without hesitation I sign my name.

R. A. L. BRANDON.

'From a letter to the Sunday Critic, London".

WITCHCRAFT IN TOGOLAND

The dangers of destroying tribal institutions, which might result in the "detribalisation" of the native and the complete loss of all African atmosphere, is pointed out in the annual report on Togoland (which is under British mandate) presented to the League of Nations and published by the Stationery Office at 2s. 6d.

The report states that the first principle of the Gold Coast Government has been to adopt, for the purpose of local government, the institutions which the people themselves have evolved through the ages, modified where necessity demands it, but moulded so that the people may develop on their own lines and stand in due course on their own feet. This policy is carried out in both spheres, and there has been no variation from it.

"Much," it is added, "has been said of the harm done by the colonising European, who divides and upsets those lands on which his shadow falls. That saying, however, did not apply to Dagomba where for a hundred years before the coming of the European civil war had followed the death of each chief. "Dagomba to-day is more closely knit than it has been for a century—and for that it has to thank the European.

"Belief in witchcraft is so deep-rooted in the African mind that any fetish which can establish a reputation for detecting the person who, consciously or unconsciously, may be casting a spell upon a sick person is certain to reap a good harvest," the report says.

"An interesting feature of the Konkomba village is the old woman's compound—a single room with a miniature wall on a six-foot radius round the door of the room. The area enclosed in this tiny wall is beautifully beaten and polished and the doorway often elaborately decorated.

"This concern for old women is caused by genuine consideration for the aged, but partly also by fear. The lonely old woman almost inevitably earns the title of a witch—and a witch must have her own compound, so that she may not 'eat' the other inmates of a compound in order to prolong her own life."

At B'moba there is a secret society named Kwani to which only young men just passed the age of puberty are admitted. Little was known of the initiation ceremonies until recently, when the Commissioner of the district was given an opportunity of entering the hut where four young men were in training. Following is a description of the society and its strange rites:—

"The introduction of the cult is ascribed to one Kambi Bonlari, after whom a magic horn is named, by means of which the four young men had been first 'killed' and reborn seven days later completely ignorant of their past life and language.

"They are treated as infants during the fifty days' period of training, being washed, fed, massaged, and taught the Kwani tongue by three or four old members. They are not permitted to uncover their eyes, before which each novitiate clasps a thonged whip with both fists.

"Drums are played frequently and Kwani songs rendered in a curious growl.

"The training over, each new member leaves the hut with Kwani markings on both thighs, a Kwani name, and a horse-tail. He will behave in a strange manner, growl, shade his eyes, and generally inspire terror.

"Gradually he will become normal, but is accorded considerable respect by the uninitiated. The rites are a mental and physical trial to the noviatiates, and though now the object of the society is to-day described as mere play, it probably has a deeper origin."

An amusing story of how an aged chief "took on a new lease of life" is told.

In the Krachi division there had been for some time an unofficial treasury and court, with a cash balance of £13 6s. 7d. at the end of 1934. The main item of expenditure was £6 a month, which was given to the Krachiwura to divide between himself, his seven elders, and his Kviami. This meant that the Krachiwura drew "the princely salary of 13s. a month, the remainder being divided between the others in accordance with native custom.

In January, 1935, the informal Treasury was reorganised on the lines of the properly established treasuries, and the revenue increased from £7 7s. 2d. in December to £82 7s. 7d. in the first month, reaching the peak of £166 2s. 2d. in June.

"This sudden access of wealth so surprised the old chief and the older elders that they took on a new lease of life and developed an intelligent interest in the affairs of their State. The Krachiwura and all his elders were put on to regular salaries, the Krachiwura receiving £5 a month and all the elders £1 a month."

The story of the origin of Mfam juju, a powerful and widely disseminated form of magic, is told in the 1935 report on the Cameroons, British mandated territory, which is issued by the Colonial Office.

Mfam, it is stated, can only be effectively sworn against another person when the person swearing is actually in possession of the Mfam horns. The juju is not immediately fatal in its effects but causes a premonitory illness.

If the person affected fails to approach the Mfam juju society to have it revoked, it is believed that death will inevitably ensue; nor can the course of Mfam be stayed by any other means than by revocation by the society. Every revocation is made before the main juju of the particular society

Still used primarily as a protection against witchcraft, the Mfam juju was at the root of the so-called witchcraft cases which came before the courts.

It is the employment of this juju in the form of magic that is treated as a criminal offence.

The swearing of the juju occurs frequently in matrimonial disputes. A man's wife leaves him and he swears Mfam against her that, if she goes to another man before dowry has been refunded, Mfam will kill her.

Mfam is also used in many courts for the swearing of witnesses. In many cases a witness gives his evidence unsworn, and if there is any doubt as to his veracity he is required to swear to the truth of his statements on Mfam. Such is the fear of the juju and the belief in its powers that it acts as a very effective deterrent to perjury.

"The increasing frequency with which the assistance of administrative officers is invoked in cases involving the practice of magic is a sign, if only a small sign, that some progress is being made," comments the report.

MIGRATION OF NATIVE LABOUR

The migration of native labour from agricultural to mining areas in Africa constitutes a problem which within recent years has begun to assume serious dimensions. The rapid development and expansion of the gold-mining industry contrasted with the comparative lag in the recovery of agriculture from the effects of the depression has aggravated a tendency already apparent previously in the drift townwards of educated or semi-educated natives seeking more remunerative employment and a higher standard of living. In Nyasaland, essentially an agricultural territory, the emigration of able-bodied natives to seek work on the goldfields in neighbouring territories has reached a stage where it is causing considerable anxiety, as was evidenced by the suggestions for drastic restriction and detailed control made recently by the Committee appointed to examine the question. From the very nature of the problem, however, it must be obvious that isolated action in Nyasaland could be of little avail in checking the excessive emigration, and, in fact, as was pointed out by the Colonial Secretary in his dispatch last month, efforts at controlling the movements of Nyasaland natives in the past do not suggest that similar measures would effectively meet the present case. The situation is clearly one which calls for the application of those principles of co-operation and collaboration of which several examples have been afforded in Southern Africa this year, a fact recognised in the provisional agreement between the Governments of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland, the text of which was published this week. Under this agreement the three Governments propose to ascertain the amount of labour available in each of their respective territories for wage-earning employment and to make reciprocal arrangements whereby male natives leaving their home in search of employment in neighbouring territories will be armed with an identity certificate bearing an endorsement to that effect and showing that they are physically fitted for work. Other clauses cover such matters as repatriation, family remittances, and tax collection, as well as housing and feeding of immigrant labourers. The terms of the agreement indicate that, while recognising that immediate steps for the regulation of emigrant native labour are essential, the contracting parties have been actuated by the desire to keep restrictions down to the minimum and to safeguard, in so far as possible, the economic development of their respective territories without unduly infringing the liberty of the native populations.

CAPE NATIVE VOTER AND THE NEW ACT.

Application Dismissed By the Supreme Court.

CAPE TOWN, November 4.

A full Bench in the Cape Supreme Court to-day dismissed an application by a local native voter challenging the validity of the Native Representation Act passed last Session. The application was for an order restraining the Minister of the Interior, the Minister for Native Affairs, and the relevant officials from removing the applicant's name from the voters' roll and putting him on the new native voters' roll provided in the Act. It was argued that the Act was *ultra vires* and irregular in several respects.—"The Times."

Race Problem - 1936
Africa

THE MEDICAL SCHOOL

Nigerian Daily Times
3-10-36

Successful Candidates Receive Certificates

Lagos, Nigeria

PRESENTATION CEREMONY

Sir Walter Johnson Presides

THE Medical School presented the four successful candidates in the recent Medical Examination with certificates in a pleasant and inspiring function which took place on Saturday at the Pharmacy lecture-room, Broad Street as briefly reported yesterday.

Sir Walter Johnson, C.M.G., Director of Medical and Sanitary Services presided and there was an array of eminent Medical practitioners, Hospital staff and many others.

DR TAYLOR'S SPEECH

Opening the function Dr Gordon Taylor, Superintendent of Medical School, addressed the gathering on the subject which necessitated the gathering there. He said. This ceremony makes another mile-stone in the history of the School of Medicine of Nigeria. No doubt, many of those who last year witnessed a similar ceremony wondered to what extent the school would achieve its purpose because at that time there was a strong element of scepticism in the public mind induced by the non-too-favourable criticisms in the local press.

However, any person visiting the African Hospital to-day must be impressed by the increasingly large attendances in all Departments, it is not for a moment suggested that this is due to the employment of Medical Assistants, but it is, nevertheless, gratifying to note that three of those who qualified as Medical Assistants last year are playing their part quite satisfactorily in the team work which is responsible for such a satisfactory state of affairs. The rest, from all accounts, are equally doing good work at their stations.

Although the larger and more central towns and cities are well provided with modern hospital facilities and highly skilled personnel yet it cannot be denied that the more distant parts of the country are not nearly so fortunate.

'It is the mission of the Medical Department to extend these advantages to the remotest parts of the country and it is mainly to fulfil this purpose that the Medical School was established. It has been explained on more than one occasion that financial and economic reasons make it impossible to meet these entirely by the appointment, of doctors who have qualified overseas. Further, it was considered desirable that the people should receive medical treatment at the hands of their own countrymen. The standard of training is kept at a very high level and only those who give definite promise of ultimately becoming dependable practitioners are likely to pass the final professional Examination for the Medical Assistants Certificates. It may not be generally known that after registration each Medical Assistant is required to perform for two years the duties of eithe House Surgeon or House Physician under the supervision of a Government Medical Officer. This constitutes a further part of his training, the value of it cannot be overestimated, for he is afforded every opportunity of putting into practice all the theoretical knowledge acquired in lecture-rooms, and laboratories. Moreover, he sees, and assists in, the treatment of a large number of cases, most of which are peculiar to the tropics. In this respect, the local product has his overseas colleague at a decided advantage.

"Another stage in the training of Medical Practitioners will be reached next year when those Medical Assistants who obtained their certificates in 1935 return to the school to attend further courses of instruction to qualify for the Licentiate of the School of Medicine. Those who succeed in obtaining the Diploma will become eligible for registration as Medical Practitioners. Dr Oluwole, the Acting Medical Officer of Health, for Lagos, in the course of his speech at the Annual Prize Giving at King's College last week, referred to the desirability of appointing External Examiners to conduct the Examination for the Diploma of the School of Medicine. This is a suggestion with which, as Superintendent of the Medical Schools, I am in agreement and which is receiving the attention of the Board of Examiners.

The success so far attained is, in a large measure, due to the willing and loyal co-operation of the teachers and lecturers in the school, who, apart from teaching, have the normal duties of their substantive offices to perform.

It is perhaps only fitting on this occasion that a vote of thanks to our Director for kindly consenting to present the Certificates and Prizes be moved by one, who himself has passed through the School of Medicine and who only last year was the happy recipient of the Director's First Prize, Mr M A Solanke has therefore been requested to make the necessary motion at the conclusion of these proceedings.

Finally, it must be mentioned that the sad news of the tragic death of Dr A Blair Aitken was received with profound regret by both the staff and students of the school. Dr Aitken had, from the earliest days of the School history, identified himself with almost every step which had been taken to make the local training of Medical Practitioners a success. His services both as a member of the Board of Medical Examiners and Consultant to the School of Medicine were invaluable. It is desired to take this opportunity to make public acknowledgment of Mrs Aitken's kindness in presenting to the School the large collection of Medical text-books belonging to the late Dr Aitken.

The following candidates who were successful in the Final Professional Examination held in January, will now be presented by the chairman with certificates :— Messrs L C Uwechia, J St G Warmann, S A Adeleye, E O Ayalogu. All received the certificates and

prizes with congratulation from the Director who himself was one of the donors of the prizes.

Moving a vote of thanks to the Hon the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services, Mr M A Solanke, Medical Assistant, modestly discharged his pleasant duty much to the satisfaction of all present.

To him, Mr Solanke began, there could not be anything more pleasant than thanking the Hon the D M & S S for the honour he had conferred on this gathering by being present among them. They all knew what a busy time his was.

The Hon the Director of Medical and Sanitary Service had taken more than an official interest in the working of the School of Medicine. His was a life of service that others might live.

A year ago he (the speaker) was one of the candidates to receive certificates. He listened to the words of advice of the Director. To-day he could testify that those advices were worth their weight in gold. He could not but also thank those officers with whom they had come in contact during the year. They had all done what they could to help them when "we might have met with stark failure", in this connection mention was made of Dr Moore, Senior Medical Officer and various members of the laboratory and Nursing Sections.

Speaking of the African Hospital Mr Solanke remarked, that the hospital afforded unique opportunities to Medical Assistants for acquiring ample experience in the practice of Medicine. Apart from the very large varieties of Medical cases seen treated daily in the Out-Patient Department and Wards, any cases of special interest in any of the local dispensaries could be seen also.

Modesty, however, prevented his mentioning the good acts of Dr Savage, F.R.C.S., and Dr Innes; theirs, he said, was a life interest in the School and success of its products.

Mr Solanke further took the opportunity to make a public declaration of the deep sense of loss felt by all connected with the School at the tragic death of the late Dr Blair Aitken.

Dr Aitken, he said, was a great friend indeed. He did his utmost to raise the standard of the School. Every Monday and Wednesday brought back sweet memories of his swift and yet impressive personality.

"We have learnt to love and to honour him. We cannot forget his clinical lectures. Advanced though he was in age he worked and moved faster than others half his age. The gap he had left will be well nigh impossible to fill in our hearts".

Concluding, Mr Solanke "most heartily and sincerely" thanked the Hon. Sir Walter Johnson.

"Italian East Africa"

On Monday the new Constitution for "Italian East Africa," which in future will be the official name for Eritrea, Abyssinia, and Italian Somaliland, came into force. It divides the whole area into five districts under separate governors, partly with a view to making the task of administration easier, partly, it would seem, to weaken national feeling by a skilful partition into racial and religious groups. The Government is to consist of the Viceroy, at present General (now Marshal) Graziani, a Governing Council, and a Consultative Council which is to include some native chiefs though it is not possible to say what influence they will be allowed to exercise. So much for the framework; as to the real conditions in Italy's new Empire nothing is known, for all foreign journalists have been expelled and the flow of refugees to Jibuti has now dried up. Marshal Graziani appears to be in no hurry to complete the occupation of the country (the whole of one of the five districts has yet to be entered), and the armed forces are at present used chiefly in constructing roads. For the present the whole Italian army is being maintained in Abyssinia. Ruthless, sometimes brutal, methods have been used to restore order and to cow the population into subservience, and there are likely to be many mass executions which we shall never hear of if the possession of arms remains a capital offence. Of the better-known Abyssinian leaders in the war, only two have neither fled nor surrendered, but there are many wandering bands which would fight the Italians if they caught them at a disadvantage. There is, however, no sign of any organised resistance nor of any Government holding out in the west, but so long as the censorship continues Italian Abyssinia will be as little known as it has always been.

Was The World Made For Only White People?

THIS question widely suggests itself to many people in many lands especially since the collapse of Abyssinia during the last few days. Civilization as illustrated by the way the war was conducted by Italy in Abyssinia is nothing but a devil's weapon. The full story will be told in a future time but enough has been given to the world to prove that civilization is not an unmixed blessing. Is it the will of God that the world shall be owned and ruled by the white nations and all others to live or be suffered to live as vassals and tribute payers as well as the modern children of Gibeon? The great continent of Africa which was capable of supporting millions of its people has been taken possession of by various European nations so that as the last one has recently been wrested by Italy, there remains nothing of the former kingdoms of Africa. The millions of Native Africans now live as subjects of one or other of the European Powers.

The mode of conquest made use of by Italy has been most patent to the world because of quick communications and the news of the world being not so slow as heretofore. There are, to be sure, many accounts of cruel warfare carried on by Spaniards in the early centuries in their conquest of America especially the Incas, a mighty Empire in America, which was cruelly destroyed in spite of its noted advance in civilization. The same is claimed for Abyssinia in whose ruler, the Emperor Haile Selassie, the country was destined to take its place among the civilized nations of the world. Italy forbade this possibility, and had the desire to crush all her efforts so that she my wrest the country for herself by riding roughshod over its inhabitants.

Africa's tears will one day be heard by God. The war was an unjustified one and the Abyssinians had to defend their country although it was apparent from the outset that her resources could not cope with the mighty power of a great European Power. We understand that an American Missionary who returned from Abyssinia blamed the Emperor for the disaster to his country in going to war with a great Power when his country was so ill-equipped for the successful conduct of the war. We do not blame the Ethiopians at all. They would not have been men had they docilely surrendered their country because its invasion was by a mighty Power. The world today thinks more of the Emperor than it does of Mussolini as a fighter and not simply a schemer.

The country has unceremoniously been annexed without even any consideration of the fact that Italy was declared the aggressor and that Abyssinia's part in the war was to defend her country, the right of every men who should defend his family and property with all his strength and resources even if the attacker is a giant. We still hope that the attitude assumed by South Africa will be adopted by other countries and that Italy will not be allowed to go away with the spoils without protest and resistance. We do not believe God has forsaken us because of our colour but Justice will still prevail and that at least part of the country of Abyssinia will be restored to its rightful owners.

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Race Problem – 1936

Africa.

NATIVE BILLS LEGISLATION BECOMES BEDROCK OF PERMANENT FUTURE RELATIONS BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Native Opinion (Imvo Zabantsundu) 2-8-36

The far-reaching repercussions of the Native Bills now introduced by the Government into Parliament are guaged by the momentous decision of the National European-Bantu Conference (Capetown) when a suggestion that objections to the Representation of Natives Bill might be presented at the Bar of the House of Assembly.

The conference appointed a committee the duty of which shall be to take steps at all stages of the Representation of Natives Bill and the Native Trust and Land Bill to press the views of the conference. It is a special instruction to this committee, acting in co-operation with the committee of the All-African Conference at Bloemfontein, to investigate the possibility of Native interests being presented at the Bar of the House of Parliament, and if found possible to take the necessary steps to secure representation.

The committee will consist of Sir Clarkson Tredgold, who will act as convener, Sir James Rose-Innes, Adv. D.B. Molteno, Adv. T. Reay, Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones, Mrs. Rheinallt Jones, the Rev. S. Mvambo, Father Bull, Professor Raeburn, Mr. Allan Davis and three representatives of the National Council of Women.

The delegates decided to send copies of all resolutions passed at the conference to Cabinet Ministers and all members of Parliament.

Price of Native Bills.

Native Opinion (Imvo Zabantsundu)

The deputation that presented the decisions of the All-African Convention (Bloemfontein) on the Native Bills to the Prime Minister at Cape Town this week obviously did not meet with success. What the Native Affairs Commission told the September Bantu conferences in equivocal terms regarding the Native Bills, the Prime Minister candidly confessed to the deputation. Particularly was General Hertzog outspoken on the dependency of all the clauses embodied in the Bills, on the disfranchisement of the Cape Africans. The Premier assured the deputation that it was not intended to proceed with the Land Bill until the Representation of Natives Bill had been disposed of, when, and only when, there would be ample time for further consultation. From this reply, the critics who have maintained all along that the Cape Bantu have pressed the franchise clause to the forefront with undue and irrational fervour, and to the detriment of the Land and Council clauses, will immediately be disillusioned. We have it from the lips of the Native Bills' author that the clause abolishing the Native vote is fundamental to the whole scheme, and that it is only after this massacre of our vote that he is prepared to consider possible alternative suggestions with regard to the rest of the Bill. In brief, NO DISFRANCHISEMENT, NO LAND, AND NO COUNCIL for the Union Bantu, is the Premier's curt rejoinder.

Further representations by the delegation left the Premier unmoved, for, in his words, it was the desire of Parliament to proceed with the Bill. By now we know that it is the desire of the members of the northern provinces to impose their traditions of political non-equality in the ertswhile liberal Cape province, and it is the support of the northern M.P's to disfranchise our people that the Prime Minister describes as "the desire of Parliament."

Undaunted by the Prime Minister's hostile attitude, the deputation must be congratulated in their success when they finally pursuaded him to open the way for further consultation between the All-African Convention executive and the Department of Native Affairs. In all probability such a conference, in which we can safely anticipate that the N. A. Department will not be averse to defraying its expenses (this occasion incidentally is the most momentous one of any other Government Native Conference that was ever convoked), will meet during Easter, and we trust the fullest representation shall be accorded. If the Native Bills receive the sanction of Parliament, there will be more reason, we submit, for such a conference being called, even it be to placate, but never to compensate, the susceptibilities of those who will feel politically outraged. We see no reason why the decision of the Speaker of the Assembly should not be permissive to a representative of the Bantu people pleading the Native cause at the bar of the House. The situation is a first rate constitutional problem involving the rights of persons who are not directly represented in the only Parliament of the country.

Cape Native Franchise Must Be Abolished Says General Hertzog

The Cape Times (Monday 3 Feb 1936)

The deputation of the All-African Convention, led by Professor D. D. T. Jabavu, met the Prime Minister, General J. B. Hertzog on Monday 3rd inst, and concluded its deliberations on Tuesday, 4th inst. The purpose of the deputation was to present to the Prime Minister the findings of the All-African National Convention held at Bloemfontein on December 16 on the Native Bills.

The deputation stressed the question of time and pleaded for the postponement of the introduction of the Representation of Natives Bill pending the possibility of further consultation by means of a combined Union conference.

The deputations made lengthy statements amplifying the views of the convention on the land and franchise questions.

The Prime Minister assured the deputation that it was not intended to proceed with the Land Bill until the Representation of Natives Bill had been disposed of and that there would be ample time for further consultation on the principle of the abolition of the Native vote.

THE VOTE TO GO.

Further discussion ensued, the Prime Minister insisting on the abolition clause as being fundamental to the whole scheme. He expressed his willingness to consider other possible alternative suggestions that could be offered by the deputation with regard to the rest of the Bill.

At this stage the meeting adjourned until Tuesday to enable the deputation to deliberate on the position created by the Prime Minister's concession.

On Tuesday the deputation submitted a statement expressing appreciation of the reception extended to them by the Prime Minister and earnestly requesting him to defer the introduction of the Representation of the Natives Bill into Parliament until it had reported to the convention during the Easter holidays. It might then be in a position by reason of the facts already stated and particularly the new conception of the attitude of the Government as explained by the Prime Minister, which concedes the reconsideration of the remaining provisions of the Bills, to suggest either an alternative or a compromise.

DELAY IMPOSSIBLE.

The Prime Minister stated in reply that it was impossible for him to defer the introduction of the Bill because he had already announced in the House that the sitting of the joint session was due to commence on February 13 and that it was the desire of Parliament to proceed with the Bill. The deputation further asked for a postponement after the first reading or at any other stage to allow them time to summon a conference of the convention executive in the interim, and asked that the Government assist in convening the conference during Easter under the auspices of the Native Affairs Department.

The Prime Minister pointed out that that could be best left to their own consideration and that of the department.

"FESTINA LENTE"

The deputation urged a policy of "festina lente" insisting upon the necessity for ample time being to their consideration of a matter so momentous to the future of racial goodwill in South Africa. The deputation decided to take up the matter with the Native Affairs Department. The question of a deputation to plead at the bar of the House was referred to the Speaker.

What Does A Native Want And Expect?

The Sun of Natal (Always Save Natal)

ASK a white man in the street the above question. His answer will be evasive and unintelligible, but still he will inform you that what "Jim" wants is to be kept in his own place. 2-9-36

In the first instance the Native feels that he is not regarded as a constituent part of South African democracy. As long as the black man is excluded from participation in the government of the nation, so long will he be the victim of cruelty and outrage on the part of his white fellow citizens who assume lordship over him. The Native thefore wants the right of a voice in the affairs of the country in which he lives, pays taxes and has to obey the laws.

The Native wants educational facilities because he recognises education as the lever by which people are lifted up. He meets every requirement in the way of taxation for the establishment and maintenance of all classes of institutions. He says advantage is taken of his ignorance, and hardships are imposed to the point of suffering.

The Native does not condone crime, nor does he ask that it be winked at or excused, but he does expect a fair and impartial administration of the law. In too many cases the fact that the culprit is a Native seems to outweigh the outstanding feature---the perpetration of the crime. He complains that young Native boys and girls, except in certain centres, are sent to prison for long terms and placed with hardened criminals under such conditions as make it hard for them to reform, while for like offences white youths are placed in some well regulated refortmatories. He resents this race discrimination. He further complains that the only time the white press (there are, of course some exceptions) cares to gather news concerning the Native is when some kind of crime has been committed, or at least when the Native is suspected of a crime. He asserts that rape, termed in South Africa "The Black Peril," commands ten times more space than news about scholastic or business achievement of a Native. His weakness is emphasized, his virtue minimised.

The Native wants Liquor Laws amended and revised for they tend to make him a criminal. The Monday shimeyana parades of handcuffed men and women herded about the streets by the police, the Sunday pick-ups of decent law-abiding Natives in centres like Johannesburg, only serve to estrange the races and create feeling of bitterness, and these industrial centres do not offer sufficient recreation facilities to keep the Native away from drinking places.

The Native wants land, and recognises that his salvation lies in the soil. He is not wanted in urban areas, and has no sufficient place in rural districts. His reserve are congested and he is denied the right of acquiring land anywhere he pleases.

Race Problem – 1936

Africa

Re Native Bills.

Ilanga Lase Natal

The General Secretary of the last All African Convention (1935) probably acting in concert with some of the members of the Executive Committee of the said Convention, is busy trying to turn the Convention into a permanent national political organisation. Such a course is obviously an effort to undermine the African National Congress, which claims to have convened the said Convention as of right and as successor of the Great All African Convention of 1912. The delegates to that Convention of 1912, included the representatives of the Paramount Chiefs of the whole of South Africa and they definitely established the African National Congress. We should seek no greater foundation upon which to build up our national pride as Africans in this country.

I certainly know that there has been a strong desire among certain officers of the last Convention to get the chance to lead Africans generally and probably their turn has come today. Nevertheless I think that it would be wrong to provoke division among Africans by adopting the doubtful manoeuvres which Congress will certainly oppose. The officers of the African National Congress on the other hand, have no desire to stand in the way of more popular leadership. But the only right course for any ambitious men is to seek office at the General Election of officers of the Congress, which shall take place at the end of the year. The officers of the last Convention were only elected for the purpose of carrying out the mandate which was specially given by all African Organisations at the last Convention, namely:-To negotiate with the Government in connection with the "Native Bills." This mandate should include the Amended Native Bills as well.

We have the desired unity of our people today, achieved through the "Native Bills." Let African leaders be wise and retain that unity, and let each leader direct his followers to bow respectfully to the will of the majority of his own people, which shall be expressed at the General Election of Officers at the end of the year. We have a golden opportunity today to break down tribalism as well as provincialism by openly seeking one general election of national officers, under the African National Congress at the end of the year. "United we stand but divided we fall." The African National Congress should be the acknowledged parliament or National Political Assembly for all Africans in South Africa. It is constituted with the Upper House for the hereditary Chiefs and the lower House to be composed of delegetes elected by their own constituents for a period of three years. Let every leader be elected by his own people at an open general election. This will end personal strifes between leaders and create a new leadership for the Africans, on the same lines as the Europeans and other nations.

Yours faithfully,

P. kal. SEME,

(President General African National Congress.)

Health Among Natives.

(By Chas. L. Dube)

Ilanga Lase Natal

I have seen reports in the papers, where Doctors Ross and Aning were addressing meetings at Capetown. It was a good thing for these gentlemen to enlighten the public as to what has been done to prevent Malaria from spreading all over the Union. Many Natives died without any medical aid during the influenza epidemic. The Government has rendered valuable aid in attempting to prevent the spread of contagious disease, such as Small pox, Leprosy, etc. 4-4-36

Dr. Park Ross has succeeded wonderfully in his plans by obtaining the services of educated Natives and have them trained so as to be able to treat their people in the kraals and villages. He had Mr. Rodseth, who was well known to the Natives in Natal and especially in Zululand to go round with a Native assistant to address meetings of Chiefs and people and also to visit Mission Stations. The Native Malaria assistants were sent all over the coutry to visit the Locations and Native Reserves. The work was very hard in the beginning. This was about 1929 up to the end of 1931. The Malaria Epidemic was worse in 1931. The Witch Doctors and others who were preaching against the use of European medicine died and those who were attended by European Doctors and Native Malaria Assistants were curd. Since that time most Natives have come up readily to be treated, and more than that, they are prepared to travel miles in order to get quinine and salt from Govt. Depots. It was also difficult to convince them to allow the N. M. A.'s to use insecticide in their huts, now, nearly all the kraals welcome sprayers to enter their kraals and do this work. A good number have bought their own spray pumps and use them regularly. In some places the work of organising Native Malaria Health Boards has been started.

It can be said that Natives all over Malaria affected districts are now prepared to accept and use preventative measures and cures when affected by Malaria.

Natives from the Cape Province and Basutoland have more or less been the cause of introducing Typhus Fever in Natal. Dr. Ross has also drafted Government Inspectors and Native Assistants to deal with this most dangerous disease. The Natives especially under the Drakensberg and across the uMzimkulu suffer from this disease. Typhus being a disease introduced by lice, seems to have found a good field among the Natives. People in these cold countries do not bathe, or wash their bodies thoroughly and regularly. It will therefore take time also to make them understand that they must clean themselves and use Pamula soap and other mixtures to deverminize their bodies. This work also is progressing favourably. Dr. Ross is fully interested in the health of all the people and I mention Natives because they have been seriously neglected in the pass. Every year he undertakes to continue some of these N.M.A. in training them to be able to treat and discover diseases comon and dangerous among the Native people. He has the assistance of capable and experienced Doctors and Inspectors who make it possible for him to succeed in carrying out this important work.

Dr. Anning of Maritzburg also is a man of great powers and attended to his area most creditably He faithfully works in harmony with the plans of Dr. Ross and is most pushful and energetic.

The Government has gone a step further in starting a course for Native Nurses. Native Nurses are essential in all Native Hospitals, villages, and Native Reserves. Each District sergeant should have a Native Nurse. I hope this scheme will grow and each year will see forty or sixty certificated Nurses and to assist our suffering people. Bursaries should be provided for capable boys to go to Fort Hare, or some other school and take up a Medical Course. In conclusion I wish to say, press on Dr. Park Ross and save us from unnecessary suffering and death.

SOME ONE'S BLUNDER

Ilanga Lase Natal

The entry of the S. A. Police into Durban has been marked by a riot and violence. We think some one has blundered in not calling the Natives together before this event to notify them of the change. This silence gave room for some people to fill up the omission by retailing to the credulous Natives that the Corporation has been invaded by the Natives and they assumed it would be helping its cause if they staged an opposition to the newcomers in order to show their unpopularity. We have a Native Commissioner in Durban whose duty it was to call the Natives and inform them of the change so that they know the truth from officials.

We regret such a happening has occurred which was clearly preventable.

DOCTRINE OF FEAR FOR NATIVES.

Dr. D. F. Malan, Leader of the Opposition Party, foresees the danger of the consolidation of the various Native races into one Native nation by the establishment of the Representation Council. He says today in Africa there are large numbers of "Kafir" races and his policy seemsing to be one of keeping these races apart, as he and his colleagues have succeeded in keeping the Natives, Coloureds, Indians, and other non-Europeans apart, so that they may be better governed. His is a policy of "Divide and Rule". He is one of those who still adhere to the term "kafir" in this 20th Century when referring to Natives.

Uneasy Consciences.

RECENTLY there appeared a letter in the Natal Mercury from the pen of Mr. J. R. Currie, an old gentleman, one of the oldest now in Durban. He took umbrage at the report of the words of the Regent Mshiyeni uttered at the ceremony in honour of his late brother Solomon. The offending words were that the Chief said: "My brother is not dead. He is alive and will one day rise in the glories of the Zulu," or words to that effect. This gentleman was an officer of the old Natal Government and saw life in this country in other days and conditions. In his day such a speech from a Native would have been visited with dire punishment and perhaps deposition. To him years mean nothing in the case of the Native. He is just like a stone. He is not expected to grow and recognize his surroundings.

We know of no one in this country more loyal to his King and country than Chief Mshiyeni. We think he must have been as much surprised at this allegation of disloyalty from his words as the Government officers and all who know him intimately. Now Mr. Currie never cared for Native uplift. His contact with them was always with the object of keeping them unthinking but only to lift up the hand to any white man who comes along whether he is an enemy to his people and race or not. We were glad the other day to note that the Natal Mercury expressed its regret in publishing such an unfounded an madversion. Some of those old Natal officers are responsible for the unprogressive condition of our people. They favoured the company of the old Khehlas who always praised the wisdom of the white people and never thought for themselves with the reason that they are still backward when all around them is alive and thriving. If Mr. Currie and his contemporaries had really cared for the old Khehlas and wished them well they would have given them such advice as would have made them leave their life of ignorance and send their children to school so that when immigrants filled this country from Europe, America and India they could be able to hold their own instead of being submerged as they are now and being the footstools of all races in their Native land all due to the disinterestedness of those men who had the chance and the confidence of the Natives to do them a great deal of good. Did they ever advise them to buy land to prepare for the future when land will be so valuable?

Well, they now have uneasy consciences and so they watch every word which the Natives speak even if with no ulterior intention. The Government officers who are in charge of the Chief were astounded and at once repudiated the statement that there was active rebellion implied in those words and that the foundations of the British Empire were being shaken by those few innocent remarks expressing a belief in the resurrection

All African Convention.

(BY H. SELBY MSIMANG)

For many years, African people could not understand the motive for many differential laws which have found their way in the Statute Books of the Union. The talk of territorial segregation seemed so much a political stunt with nothing ulterior about it save and except a desire for segregating Africans from Europeans on lines never likely to impose any hardship on any section.

The Native Bills have removed the veil. We now know why the Cape Native Vote has been attacked or rendered impotent and ineffectual. We know why it is that Africans, who are estimated to number about six millions, are to be crowded together within a twelve per cent. of the whole area of the Union, when Europeans who number about two millions are to have 88 per cent. General Hertzog has told us in brutal language that the first duty of the white man is to himself. We have no right, he says, to ask the white man to do anything likely to jeopardise his supremacy.

Professor Eric Walker tells us in cold language that the policy underlying these Bills is based on the principle that we do not form part of the South African community and that the interest of the country is distinct from our interest and that therefore we shall for all the time be considered a separate dependent community.

I understand this to mean that the Union Government and Parliament represent exclusively the European community in this country, that economic interests of the country are not and should not be mixed up with our interest who must for all time be dependent to the Europeans for anything we may require. In other words, we should have no aspirations other than such opportunities as the white community may condescend to extend to us.

The fact that we shall be crowded together within the 12 per cent. area of land in the Union and that in terms of Chapter IV of the Native Land and Trust Bill we are to be thrown to the mercy of the white farms who are armed and are to be armed with the big sjambok provided by the Service Contract Act and the Masters and Servants Amendment Bill now before Parliament, must make any African think and think only.

The Convention at its emergency meeting to be held in June at Bloemfontein will be called upon to decide whether or not Bantudom can reasonably accept the position created by the Bills. It is no longer the question of the Cape Native Vote or any other law or Bill, but whether Bantudom can submit to the Government and Parliament whose policy negatives all ideas of trusteeship, denies the African every right to hope, to aspire, and to strive for the attainment of economic independence, of a voice in the councils of State, and of shaping his own destiny within the ambit of the Union Parliament.

Those who talk glibly and sympathetically of the Native Representative Council held out in the Bills have reconcile them seloes first with the accepted principle, namely, "that the interests of the country are distinct from our interests" and satisfy themselves and the masses as to where a line can be safely drawn between European and African interests in a country like South Africa. If the country's interests are indivisible, what are the powers of such Council's against the powers of the European Parliament?

With such stupendous problems before us, such momentous questions we have to answer, not for ourselves but for posterity, can we afford to stay at home, to keep away and not be represented fully on the 29th June at Bloemfontein? Can we hold our hands and not give liberally to make up the five million shillings the Convention asks for? These questions must be conscientiously answered by every leader, chief, minister, teacher, farmer and any person who regards himself a true African.

Race Problem – 1936

Africa

7,000 NON-EUROPEAN MOURNERS PARTICIPATE IN SOLEMN INTERMENT OBSEQUIES.

Imvo Zabantsundu 4-25-36

The demise of Rev. Walter Benson Rubusana, Ph.D. of East London on the 19th April brings to an end a career of outstanding achievement. A pioneer African pedagogue with exceptional talent in the profession, missionary, an ardent total abstinence reformer in the early days of the movement, author and translator of acknowledged ability, and patriot, are among the best known forms of service this distinguished counsellor of the Palo race rendered to his fellowmen.

South Africa

The deceased gentleman lived to the ripe age of 78 years, of which fully fifty were consecrated to evangelism of the Gospel. Throughout his lifetime, he participated in various social, ecclesiastical, political and educational activities. The example set by his success and development of many of his endeavours into a fine art, are a monument worthy of emulation by the potential leaders of the Bantu race in the threshold of their life's careers.

The funeral cortege which lined the East Bank Location streets from the Congregational Church to the Ngcabanga graveyard (a mile and a quarter in length marching four-deep), was composed of seven thousand grief-stricken souls. An additional two thousand location residents thronged the outskirts of the East and West locations overlooking the graveyard. An account of the service at the Church, and speeches delivered in appreciation of deceased's life work will be found in page 7 hereof.

A Great Bantu Leader Passes Away.

Ilanga Lase Natal 4-25-36 The Sun of Natal

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Bantudom Bereaved.

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The Death of Dr. W. B. Rubusana.

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News has recently reached us that Dr. W. B. Rubusana, a great Bantu Leader, is gone. We join the host of his mourners fully extending our sympathies to the members of his family. The bereavement transcends even the barriers of the family; indeed, it is a national loss.

Dr. Rubusana's name is carved in block letters in Bantudom, and his activities are very well known to a wide circle of enlightened Europeans, both past and present.

He began life as a humble country teacher, a professon which he forsook at the early age of 22 in order to serve as a Minister of Religion. As a Minister of religion he has served under the Presbyterian Free Church of Scotland for about fifty-three years. About three years ago he was still spared to see and participate in his own Silver Jubilee held in honour of his great services as a Minister of his Church.

He was a politician and literary genius. As a literary man he contributed a lot of hymns, all fraught with deep thought, to the Xosa Hymn Book used by his Church. His master-work, however, consists in a book entitled "Zemk'inkomo Magwala Ndini" (Away the Cattle Flee, Yetion Cowards.) In bulk and in quality it is the greatest contribution in Xosa literature apart from the Bible. It is an anthrology of Xosa poetry, a collection of proverbs and traditional stories in a word, a Golden Treasury of the Xosa Language. For this great work the writer was awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

As a politician he made a great success accompanied by a meteoric rise in his career when he represented the constituency of Tembuland in the Cape Provincial Council. Thus becoming the first Native sitting with Europeans in Parliament. He left nothing to be desired as a platform speaker, and was held in confidence by both white and black of his constituency. Considering the troublous times in which we are wading his death, even allowing for age, has been untimely.

His last days were spent in East London where in spite of his work and age he acted a fountain of knowledge and advice to the seething army of Native leaders. To those who knew him intimately a grand old man is gone and

"Lofty design must close
in like effects
Loftily lying,
Leave him - still loftier than
the world suspects
Living and dying."

Natal Native Congress.

Ilanga Lase Natal

The Natal Native Congress assembled at Adams Mission Station on Easter Monday. Rev. John L. Dube was on the chair.

The two most important items under consideration were the revised constitution and the Native Bills. Congress accepted the revised Constitution under which it is proposed to run the Congress on a more satisfactory basis. Rev. John L. Dube was re-elected President of the Congress for the year.

Much discussion took place in the subject matter of the Native Bills and many delegates expressed disappointment at the illiberal provisions regarding the Electoral College and the Native Council. Congress noted with pleasure the promise General Hertzog made to the All African Convention that Native representations on the Land and Trust Bill would be fully heard and that the Government would not bring the passage of the Land Bill until Native views had been sought and submitted.

On the Representation Act it was unanimously resolved as follows:---

1. That the Representation Act does not satisfy the reasonable desires of the Natives of the province, namely, that of a representation adequately covering all sections of the Bantu people in Natal and Zululand. Congress is strongly of the opinion that the representatives of Natal should at least consist of six members.

2. Congress is of the opinion that the machinery of the Electoral College is too cumbersome and may be open to grave abuses or sharp practices such as existed in the English Electoral system before the Reform Act of 1832 Congress endorses the suggestion of the chiefs and leaders at Maritzburg last year, namely that the Senators and Native councillors should be elected at a meeting of Chiefs and leaders.

3. Congress regards as very desirable that the four Senators to represent specifically Native opinion should be members of the Native Council so that they should be in touch with responsible and constitutionally recognised Native opinion.

Some delegates took the view that the Government will soon find it necessary to amend the Representation Act and that the points mentioned above should then be given effect to.

(To be continued.)

Natal Native Congress.

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(Continued from last weak.)

On the Land Bill several delegates made references to the mooted £15, 000, 000 loan for Native Land development, but it was considered premature to pass judgment on that matter until the Government had made its intentions publicly known in that connection.

The discussion on the Land Bill ended in the following resolutions.

1. Congress is strongly of the opinion that the Land Bill should be worked with and through the Representative Native Council and that such an act would not only allay Native nervousness and fears as to their existing lands, but also result in a measure carrying the confidence and good will of the Government and the Natives as well.

2. In the event of the Land Bill being proceeded with this coming session Congress prays that provision be made in the Bill for increasing the Land under Native occupation as the Native population increases. Congress is also of the opinion that the maximum amount of land provided for under the Land Bill should be regarded as the minimum amount of land required for Native needs in view of the already over-crowded position of scheduled Native Areas and the fact that several of the released areas are in point of fact under Native occupation.

3. Congress is strongly of the opinion that the provisions of Chapter IV of the Land Bill dealing with Squatters and Tenants are likely to cause social and economic hardships on a every great scale as they cover thousands of Natives at present living and working in European farms and Congress humbly asks the Government to proceed very gradually with this section.

4. Congress would be glad if a more specific provision could be made in the Bill as to the precise manner in which the Native Affairs Department will deal with Natives expected from the European farms and urban areas.

5. In view of the Land hunger of the Bantu people of this Province Congress welcomes the Land and Trust Bill and notes with appreciation.

I The removal of restrictions on the part of a Native citizen to acquire land in freehold title deed.

II The inclusion of our Native in the three members of the Local Committees to advise and assist the South African Native Trust.

III The promise by the Government to allocate monies to the S. A. N. Trust from the Consolidated Fund.

The following were general resolutions.

Congress humbly prays the Government not to proceed with the amended Urban Areas Act. until (1) It has sought the views of the Native Council thereon. (2) The Land Bill has been satisfactorily disposed of.

Congress notes with great regret the fact that in the 1935--1936 Prosperity Budget there was no provision whatever in the surplus disposal for Native

All-African Convention.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

It is hereby notified for general information that all names of Chiefs, Official delegates, Representatives of various non-European organisations, and names of these bodies, including the Protectorates and Territories, attending the forthcoming All-African National Convention to be held in Bloemfontein as from the 29th June to 2nd July, 1936, should reach the Corresponding Secretary, 19, Marabastad Location, Bloemfontein, not later than the 31st May, 1936.

Board and lodging fees shall be 3s. 6d. per day, and must be paid on arrival at the officer responsible for accomodating delegates.

C. R. MOIKANGOA,
Convener & Executive.
JOHN MANCAE,
Corresponding Secretary.

Race Problem - 1936
Africa

FRENCH WEST AFRICA

Weekly News
7-11-36

II.—THROUGH THE VOLTA REGION.

MODERN TRANSPORT.

Freetown Sierra Leone

We take the liberty of culling from the *Times* of the 16th June the second article of Sir Arnold Hodson of his travels from Dakar to Timbuctoo and from Timbuctoo to Accra through the Volta Region. The first article from Dakar to Timbuctoo was published in our last. We trust these articles will be read with great interest.

By Sir Arnold Hodson.

Many people would not like Timbuctoo, but I was favourably impressed and thought it of an arresting beauty in the moonlight. Among the guests at the Commandant's house was a Cap. Lecocq, a well-known Camel Corps officer, who had had some remarkable experiences, and told me about the route which skirts the Rio de Oro and goes to Marrakesh *via* Arawan, Tauderin, El Eglab, and Tenduf. It is easiest in November or March. The French Camel Corps are fine and hardy, perhaps best described as a hard flea-bitten body of men, and all wear the Timbuctoo dress. We talked of the desert, and I heard of some distressing tragedies.

Enormous numbers of caravans still congregate at Timbuctoo, as they have for centuries, and the town is unchanged but for a few French military buildings. M. Calain and I were measured for Timbuctoo trousers, and I gave the tailor's boy five francs, which must have been a small fortune to him, judging from his smile. The Commandant took the measurements as the tailor could not write. Next morning I met with Pére Youkouba, a Catholic and formerly a priest, whose family name is Dupuis. His knowledge of native law and custom is said to be unsurpassed, which is not odd as he has been 40 years in Timbuctoo and is often asked for his advice by the French Government. I saw the brass tablet on the house where Major Laing died. The inhabitants of Timbuctoo are chiefly Tuareg, the singular of which is Taigui, and they are divided into a noble (Inaggeren) and a lower (Imrad or Daga) caste, with a subject black race called Ikelane or Pellah.

We saw the aerodrome and set out again. The river below Timbuctoo broadens out and extends for miles and the air was crisp and strong. Along the bank were gardens which produce vegetables. At Agades there was going to be a conference of each of the Camel Corps, called Mehariste, which consists of seven divisions of 1,400 men each. We passed the sacred rock Tosaye, where the Niger is at its narrowest and has a bad name with the natives because of the jujus said to live there; and just before dawn on November 17, as we reached Burem, M. Toby, the Administrator, at Gao, came into my cabin and gave me the result of the English General Election. The French had very courteously had it telegraphed. M. Toby went ahead by car to Gao, and his assistant, M. Durand-Viel, a nephew of the Admiral, took his place. We reached Gao at 5 o'clock.

Sahara Terminus.—It is a small place on the banks of the Niger, but important as the terminus of the Trans-Sahara Automobile Company and a landing-place for the Trans-Sahara aeroplanes. The Residency is built on Oriental lines with courtyard and a fountain and must have cost a great deal; there are two hotels, one private, one belonging to the company, both clean and comfortable. Two aviation companies run the services between Europe and the Congo. the Belgian "Sabena" between Brussels and Leopoldville and the French Francaise-Air-Afrique between Algiers and Brazzaville, which also runs a hydroplane service between Algiers and Marseilles. The profits are pooled and there are alternate weekly trips, taking 24 hours from Gao to Algiers, for which the price is 3,015 francs (£40). The motor service is run by the Compagnie Générale Trans-Saharienne, which goes between Colomb-Bechar in Algeria and Gao and Niamey. It takes five days from Colomb-Bechar to Gao, and from Colomb-Bechar to Algiers is one day by the railway. The price from Gao to Algiers is 2,800 francs (£38). The cars run every 14 days in each direction from October to June and are well equipped and fitted with wireless. There were 10 military machines in the military ærodrome at Gao, which is being enlarged. Fishing was disappointing, as I had hoped to catch some big Nile perch, but it was too early and the fish were hidden in the rushes.

On November 19 we left Gao and crossed to the other side. A canoe was sent after us with my sandals—worth about 2s.—and it was pathetic to see how hard the boys paddled to catch us. We motored through the burnt-up Gourma desert and saw a few cattle and sheep eking out a difficult existence, and a large lake looking very beautiful in its dry surroundings. At Hombori we were met by Chief Balobo Maiga and mounted retinue, with a band of musicians very much in evidence, especially one man who had a long trumpet that emitted the most appalling sounds. The chief was very anxious that I should ride through his town, and had procured me a horse, which I mounted barefoot in my Timbuctoo clothes. I had to go alone as M. Calain said he regarded horses with the gravest suspicion. The trumpeter led the procession, making noises impossible to describe, and the chief and I followed after through steep and tortuous streets to the chief's house, where I met numbers of his wives and progeny. He said some of his children were at school in Dakar. He sent us a local dinner, and one of the dishes was a delicious roasted sheep's-head.

Past Splendours.—The air when we left next morning was cool and crisp. The dryness was such that a sponge became as brittle as a biscuit in the night. The country was dry, too and set with small stunted trees, very typical of Africa. The natives, many of whom rode oxen, appeared happy and contented. That evening we came to Mopti, a very important trading centre, and on the way next day to Bandiagara passed a procession stretching for miles of thousands of people going to market at Mopti; every race was represented, and as our car came by, laden donkeys, camels, and horses were driven into the bushes at the roadside, many of them taking fright. At Bandiagara there was a dance, where one of the leaders had a kind of ladder on his head which must have been 10ft. or 12ft. high; and at Wahiguya, which we reached after dark, there was an even more splendid reception from numbers of people on foot and on horseback, the pedestrians carrying torches which showed up the many-coloured clothes, the fine saddles, and trappings. M. Dimbour, the first African Commissioner I had met on this journey, was our host, and had gone to much trouble to entertain us. My room had everything I could want in it, even whisky and soda and a tube of English toothpaste.

We arrived at Wagadugu on November 22. The glory of this place has long departed. It used to be the capital of a colony called the High Volta, which has now been abolished and distributed between the Ivory Coast. French Sudan, and the Niger Colony. The palace of the former Governor, which we occupied was magnificent, fitted with electric light and baths, and made us pine for humbler quarters. The deserted buildings in Wagadugu, now in the Ivory Coast Province, give it depressing air, though it is still an important military station with several hundred troops attached under a general, who met us with the King of Mosse. There are also an ærodrome and a large landing-ground, and a Roman Catholic cathedral almost completed, the biggest I have seen in Africa. It has a mission where the natives are educated and taught handicrafts, having manufactured some excellent carpets, which enjoy a large sale. Lions are said to be dangerous in this district and the Administrator told me that they kill about 200 people a year. There are also many lions at Po, which we reached early next morning, and they have often killed people and domestic stock. If time had permitted I should like to have spent a few days hunting.

A large export of chickens passes through Po for Tamale and Lumasi. They are packed in large cylindrical baskets and each basket contains about 30 fowls, with a solitary cock usually sitting on the top of the basket tied by one leg, to show what kind is inside. About mid-day the fowls are let out to stretch their legs and pick up something to eat. It is very hard to understand how they are ever caught again, and also how any profit can be made out of this trade. The dealers have to buy the fowls in French territory, pay an export tax on each bird, and find their own food and the birds' on the journey of several hundred miles. They also have to provide for the return journey; and as at Tamale and Kumasi the chickens only average about 2s., the total amount obtained can only be about £3. The profit seems ridiculousiy small in comparison to the trouble.

We left Po in the afternoon and arrived at Navrongo, the first station in British territory, about tea-time, where our Timbuctoo clothes created quite a sensation. We changed into unromantic bush kit, which is more serviceable in our territory. I said good-bye on the morning of November 24 to M. Calain and was sorry to see the last of him. We had had an enjoyable trip and I shall never forget the kindness and hospitality of French officials, who spared no pains to make our journey a pleasant one. My servants met me at Navrongo, and I enjoyed seeing them again. I motored through Tamale and Kumasi and reached Accra on November 28.

Why The Celebration?

The Mercury of Natal
(Durban Natal)
7-12-36
Orange P.O. Orange, Natal

The news that the people of the Orange Free State have deemed it worth their while to celebrate, on such a large scale, the passing in Parliament of the Native Bills following other notable legislation dear to the heart

of the Free Staters, has abnormally surprised the Natives, and will leave them wondering for a long number of years to come. The celebration in their minds was uncalled for to such an extent. It can only be classed with the exultation of the hunting days of our fore-fathers who, after the hot chase, would carry the victims to a certain spot and put them in a pile, and then dance around them. This strange act is also reminiscent of old Roman days in which history records that one of the most brutal Roman Emperors, when the City of Rome was burned by an unknown hand, was found to be playing on a musical instrument !

It cannot be gainsaid that the Native Africans have been deeply wronged by the celebration, and many feel they are nothing but vermin in the eyes of some of their rulers. They cannot understand why, if they are considered as human beings capable of development they should be thus stigmatised as nontentities who can never rise to the state of human society. The various other pin-pricks which operate against the Native Africans' development and self-respect, had been thought sufficient to show that they are a conquered people, but there was still left in their minds the hope that this condition is not permanent but a matter of development and that, when they will have risen to that state when the Franchise can no longer be withheld from them on the score of illiterateness and social backwardness, it will surely be granted together with other rights which pertain to all other civilised human beings.

The prominent note in this celebration was the ascending gamut of enactments which have been achieved by the Dutch speaking section of the population, that is the Flag question, the equality of the two official languages and attainment of the nationhood of the Union and the greatest of them all, the Native legislation, These have all the same character: the seeking for and the obtaining of rights to stabilise themselves in the country even if, in the process, the most numerous section of the country's population has been partly wronged.

We would not be wholly ungrateful in speaking of this legislation as we still have great hopes that the Land Act is likely to give the Natives a little more breathing space if they are going to be given more land and the incubus of the static life on the farms removed off their shoulders. The drudgery of working with one's whole family, and without pay, is a life which no race can stand forever without seeking an avenue of release. It would be a far better condition if the present labour tenant members of the farm could be reduced, and the majority removed to their own reserves where a beneficent Government could give them all assistance to develop their condition and be converted to small farmers able to cart their products to the towns for sale. It is our great hope that such reserves 'as well as the old ones' will be opened up by good roads to allow of the development of the reserves and locatious in as speedy a time as possible.

The Native Africans are not a potential enemy deserving to be treated and viewed with suspicion by the powers that be, but are all loyal to the core, with no other ambition but to live as peaceful citizens of their beloved country. They have no other to go to, even if things turn against them, as others who may find other reserves if these fail.

The Christian Council of South Africa.

Minutes of First Executive Meeting.

The first meeting of the newly appointed Executive of the Christian Council of South Africa was held in the Trinity Methodist Hall, Charles Street, Bloemfontein, on Thursday, 25th June, 1936. The following members were present: The Chairman, Rev. Wm. Nicol, B.D. (President of the Christian Council of South Africa), and as members: Rev. H. W. Goodwin (Vice-President), Dr. J. D. Taylor (Acting Treasurer), Rev. J. Murray du Toit (General Secretary), Rev. R. H. W. Shepherd (Literary Secretary), Revs. F. Stakes, H. Ph. Junod, A. Cardross Grant, P. W. Schaberg, J. Reyneke, E. Bottrill and N. S. Motshumi, and Drs. E. Brookes and A. W. Wilkie.

DIRECTORY: Mr. Grubb was welcomed to the meeting and explained more fully than was possible at the Council Meeting just what the World Dominion Press had in mind, and was prepared to do. It was decided that Mr. Grubb should meet the Chairman, the Secretary, Mr. Junod and Mr. Botrill in Pretoria, and Dr. Wilkie, Mr. Shepherd and Mr. Grant at Lovedale, both these Meetings to be enlarged, if desired, and both these Meetings to report to the Executive. Mr. Grubb was asked to approach trustees and find out just what they were preparee to do after hearing the South African suggestions with regard to the geographic l field, etc. Mr. Grubb gave a detailed outline of what he thought a Mission Directory of South Africa should include. This outline is in the hands of the Secretary for reference to the Pretoria and Lovedale meetings.

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL MATTERS: The Hangchow Conference was discussed. The Executive considered it extremely desirable for the Secretary to attend this Conference. The Secretary was instructed to inform the S. C. A. of Dr. Mott's suggestion regarding South African representation. It was decided that it should be generally made known to Churches and other Bodies that furtner seven representatives from South Africa should go, and to suggest that persons might be nominated and their expr sses found. The Secretary was instr cted to reply Dr. Mott accordingly.

SECRETARIAT: The following were appointed as an Advisory Committee to the Secretary: Rev. Wm Nicol; Rev. J. Reyneke; Rev. E. Bottrill; Rev. H. Ph. Junod; Dr. Parker; Rev. A. Cardross Grant; and Dr. J. D. Taylor. Mr. Reyneke suggested that the General Secretary should live somewhere in the North. Dr. Taylor suggested, seconded by Mr. Junod, that for the present it should be Pretoria. This was agreed. It was decided that the General Secretary should be responsible for publication. No Advisory Sub-Committee was appointed to the Literary Secretary. It was decided that the Literary Secretary would be responsible for: (1) The work of the Literary Committee. (2) Publication through "The South African Outlook." (3) Special matters which might be referred to him.

FINANCE. The Chairman and the Secretary were authorised to open a Banking account, and it was decided that cheques should be signed by two out of the following three persons: The General Secretary (Rev. J. Murrary du Toit); The Acting Treasurer (Dr. J. D. Taylor); and Rev. J. J. Reyneke.

The Translation Committee appointed by the General Conference was authorised to make a translation of the Con titution, the English Version of which had been accepted as the official.

OFFICE: Mr. R. H. W. Shepherd told of the proposal by the Continuation Committee of an annual allowance for the Secretar al assistance and office expenses. The Adv sory Committee to the General Secret ry was empowered to make s itable arrangements.

SECRETARY'S PROGRAMME. The Secretary stated th t he would like to atte d the vario s Church Courts, Official Meetings and Mission Stations. The Executives approved of this suggestion. Dr. Brookes felt that Natal should come early on the list because of the presence of so large an Indian Community.

COMMITTEES: The Committees which had been appointed were discussed. The Conveners were requested to draw up a list of names of those whom they thought should serve on the Committees. And, before interviewing these people to serve, should send these lists to the office for checking and collaboration. The onus was placed on the Secretary to see that all these Committees get to work.

BUDGET: The Treasurer was instructed to post the Budget to all concerned.

GENERAL: Mr. Cardross Gr nt suggested that all Churches and Missionary Societies concerned should receive the following letter: "Unti further information is received from you we are taking it that the following members are offcial representatives, and that the names of those now on the Council should be sent to their appointing Bodies"

It was decided to minute the suggestion that the Council should meet again in January, 1937, in Pretoria.

The next meeting of the Executive was fixed for Wednesday, 14th October, 1936, at 10 a m., in the "Voortrekkers Gedenksaal," V sagie Street, Pretoria.

The Executive decided to B dget for the expenses of the members of the Executive attending Exec tive Meetings as follows: "Seco d Class Rail fare only."

The Chairman was instructed to nterview the Minister of Railways with a view of obtaining a Railway Concession or a Free Pass for the General Secretary.

The Rev. Mr. Junod closed the Meeting with prayer.

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

Mess of Pottage not accepted

(Moochelhouse The Comet.

It transpires that periods within which transfer of the three Territories might be expected, as stated by Gen. Hertzog in Parliament were not made known to him on Downing street, but represented his "personal conjectures." He based them, as he now says, on his faith that the policy which was agreed on last year between Mr Thomas, late Secretary of State, and himself would be "loyally carried out" by the governments of both. Such a belief, would require no great credulity for the Imperial Government has seemed in this matter more anxious to keep its pledges to the Union than to its own wards in these Territories. But a statesman in Gen. Hertzog's position has no business to clothe his guesses with official authority. We should like to know how he worked it out that it would take the two governments only five years to wean the Bechuana and Basuto from their inherited aversion to Afrikander and Colonial rule, and that the miracle would be more than twice as rapid in the case of the Swazis?

8-8-36

Morem Basutoland

Chiefs refuse to barter their heritage

Did he count on inducements with which the chiefs would be tested or recall historical occasion on which the Imperial Government had surrendered Native communities to the importunity of Boers or colonists? In the late juncture of events he is found to have badly chanced his arm, for the chiefs both in Bechuanaland and Basutoland refuse to barter the heritage of their respective peoples for a mess of pottage, such as a contribution of £35,000 towards soil conservation would have been.

Mr MacDonald Disillusioned.

The House of Commons has again shown itself our friend in that by its questions and criticisms it stimulated and strengthened the Secretary of state for administering check to the Union's Prime Minister Mr Malcolm MacDonald, the present Secretary for the Colonies revealed himself as very unsuspecting with regard to the Unions "generous offer." He was heard on the one day endeavouring to reassure our many friends in the House of Commons with respect to this projected benefaction saying that his government was recommending the Native authorities to accept it, and that he doubted not they would gladly do so." The next day he stood up a disillusioned man, apprising the House of the great uneasiness created among chiefs and peoples by Gen. Hertzog's announcements in consequence whereof, he had advised that the intended contribution of £35,000 should be left in abeyance.

Lord Milner's words re-afirmed.

To the above it was added by Mr MacDonald that the Imperial Government had in no way changed its policy in regard to the Protectorates, but was abiding by the official memorandum of the Thomas-Hertzog agreement. This was indeed, good news when taken together with Gen. Hertzog's own acceptance of that document, Referring to possible transfer of Territories the memorandum, says: "The one essential thing is that it should take place with goodwill and cooperation and be welcomed by the Natives." A declaration so precise and distinct surely removes the possibility of our ever being coerced by the Imperial Government into submission to Union rule. It re-affirms the word of Lord Milner, spoken by him as the King's representive to a Pitso held at Maseru, if we remember, in 1897 or 1898, the pith of which was: We shall be loyal to us. Thus, also, we have new confirmation of the memorable phrase of Sir Philip Wodehouse in promulgating his annexation Ordinance at Thaba Bosigo in March 1868: 'The Basuto are to be, and taken to be, for all purposes, British subjects."

Motive of cooperative plan perceived

Bearing these things in mind, we feel there is something lacking in the assurance extended to our chiefs from Downing street that they could have accepted the Union's proposed assistance without impairing in anyway the pledge they already hold that they will be consulted before any steps are taken towards territorial tranfer. No doubt, but the pledge that our connection with Brit in shall not be severed so long as we remain loyal, is another thing, and it is the latter pledge that we value. Besides it cannot be gainsaid that our chiefs would have compromised themselves with the Union money There was no "generous offer" at all. What we do feel as generous is the disposition of the Imperial Government, not withstanding the putting by of the Union offer, to make up the money, if possible, from Union sources. We would earnestly appeal to chiefs and people so to co-operate to whatever can be afforded from the British treasury in these times of tremendous expenses for Empire defence will yield the largest possible result. In respect, however, of the £35,000, the suspicion that generosity might be its motive was one of which as Gen. Hertzog clearly saw, he had to disburse the minds of his supporters if he wanted the vote to go through. This he, therefore, described to them as merely advance expenditure which they would otherwise have to incur after getting control in Basutoland. The Union head waters had to be secured, a costly business which the Imperial Government could not be expected to undertake preparatory to giving up the Territory. But the chiefs, as fair dealing men, would not possibly accept the proffered grant, while determined to surrender neither their people nor their land. Or are they so simple as not to perceive the motive of the whole "cooperative" plan concocted by Gen. Hertzog with Mr Thomas. The ways of a certain class of whit men when desiring to acquire land from Natives be it a farm be it a territory, have been heard of in Basutoland. If the chief in sung by Homer had cause to fear the Greeks even when bringing presents not less may our leaders feel apprehension at the sight of Boer and British Colonists jointly approaching them with such things in their hands. Mr MacDonald will want no further explanation if he will look up the principal epochs of our history.

Suspended sentence of servitude

Is it not the lesson of the crisis just passed that we should petition th

House of Commons to stabilise our position as British subjects? Britain will not doubt our loyalty. Alike in the South African war and the Great War we asked for the privilege of fighting and sharing all risks alongside her troops. It was refused, but we rendered such service as we were allowed to give must we still be held under suspended sentence of servitude beneath the colour bar, and that in a land whose government refuses to participate in any general scheme of Empire defence?

Report of Commission on Native Education.

The report and recommendations of the inter-Provincial committee appointed last year has been published. The following are its terms of reference: 1. To examine and report upon the systems of Native Education of the Provinces, 2. To consider and make recommendations as to whether, in view of the extent to which the Union Government has assumed financial responsibility for Native Education, it should take over the administration from the Provinces, and if so, in what way Native Education should be administered; what should be the relationship between the State and Missionary bodies in the matter of Native Education. 3. To consider and make recommendations on the aims of Native Education; the methods and scope, the part to be played by the vernacular and the two official languages. The members of the Committee were various heads and officials of the Departments of Native Education in the four Provinces.

From the outset they were convinced that the system, as it is now, does not give satisfaction and clearly calls for any alteration as was shown by the evidence submitted before it.

The needs of Native education are recognized, and so the recommendation is made that Native education should be under Union control to be shouldered by the Union Department of Education with officers to be appointed to consult with representatives of the Education Department as well as missionary bodies and Native teachers' organizations. It was not recommended to give over Native education to the Native Affairs Department as the Minister himself objected on the grounds of his Department's duties being already so onerous that it would not be a wise policy to add another so important which requires officers specially equipped for it. A strong plea was made for the retention of the services of the various Missionary bodies who were the pioneers in Native education as they were the first to build schools and maintained them years before Government gave grants in aid. It is shown that were their services withdrawn at this juncture the result would be disastrous for Natives. One reason given for this was that although civilization would seem to have been adopted by many Natives in the Union, those who have wholly given themselves to it are yet few. The majority are only in the fringe of it and still need to be guided by the beneficial hand of the missionary against the various and multifarious influences at work which might result in their undoing, if not actually going back, to their former state of life.

Private Native Schools were to be allowed to open only after license by a superior officer of the Education Department and, if there is evidence that subversive teachings are there practised, such schools may be closed down after consultation with the local magistrate.

Christianity And Its Professors.

WE wonder if Christendom is aware of the havoc done to the cause of their professed religion by the actions of their various nations during the sixteenth to the present century. There has been deeds which were done in America, especially in the South, which have not been surpassed in any so-called barbarian and heathen country and all perpetrated by those calling themselves Christians. The destruction of kingdoms found there after the discovery makes one's flesh creep at the present day. There have been deeds done in our own Africa which are nearly as bad in craftiness and not so much on the bodies of the exploited Africans. The evil cannot be said to have decreased with the years although public opinion, and the horror expressed at any cruel act, would in these days be published in the press.

The last and the most noticeable example has been that of the Italo-Abyssinian War. The methods used in appropriating the whole of Southern Africa by the European Powers had almost been forgotten, but the Italian invasion of Abyssinia, with the connivance of the other European Powers and countries, has resurrected thoughts of the gradual loss of their country to the original owners and inhabitants. South African history shows that the Great Trek of Cape Boers was undertaken on account of the dissatisfaction at the release of slaves by the British Government. The Trek to the North took them out of the British spheres of influence unto the territories owned and ruled by black kings and chiefs. The leaders of the Trek movement travelled as far as Zululand to interview Dingaan with a view to a grant of land before the petitioners had been domiciled in the country of their prospective adoption, having not attested friendship, not to mention loyalty, to the ruler of the country. The land proposed to be granted was from the Tugela to the Umzimvubu and the price for that land? Better left unsaid. Nowadays, those who were brutally murdered by the wicked and benighted king are exalted as saints, righteous men, who went on a pilgrimage of goodwill with pure hearts towards the Native inhabitants. Even after that the Natives' land, which was taken away from them, was wrested from them by means which cannot be called fair and Christian.

It is therefore gratifying to note that the Christian Churches do realise the wrong done by those who profess Christianity upon those who are called barbarians and benighted. The Rev. Allen Lea, in his charge to the Methodist Synod at Capetown last week, reminded the public in these words: "During the year Africa had been torn by the ravages of war. When would Africa have peace? The Natives of Africa could not be blamed if they told the white people to stop preaching Christ and His ethics while, at the same time, they used bombing planes and poison gas to wipe them out. The war in Abyssinia was the latest blot on the fair name of Christ."

The reply made by Italy, when that Nation was blamed for the use of poison gas in Abyssinia, was most heartrending in that, in admitting the fact, pointed out that the European nations agreed to allow it in African wars against Natives! It would be realised now that the League was a self-protective body for European nations and not for those which are non-European. In spite of the great and historical speech of the Negus, white Europe was adamant and the whole of the great and ancient country of Abyssinia must be possessed by Europeans, and Native Africans, on conditions of being let off with their lives, be put under the yoke of serfdom.

The only comfort left with the African is that the Founder of Christianity did not commission the European nations to exploit others, and one of the greatest causes of Christianity not making as much headway in Asia and other civilized nations is that those nations resist conquest by religious means. There are already those who mistakenly prophesy a decadence of Christianity and its supersession by Islam with its universal brotherhood teachings, which God forbid, because there are those who in the world still stand by the teachings and spirit of the Nazarene and may their numbers increase with the years.

Race Problem — 1936
Africa.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA (SIERRA LEONE SECTION).

SOCIAL RELATIONS IN SIERRA LEONE.

THE RENT—HOW TO BRIDGE IT.

By Max Gorvie,

Continued from our issue of 18th July.

Bo School.—This renowned institution was perhaps intended for a schoolmaster and pruner, perchance to teach the natives the way to better living or possibly to weed out superfluous urban growths (Creoles) from all offices in the Protectorate, a rather sweeping statement at that I own. It would appear the plan succeeded only too well! The founders were paid in their own coin. The school excelled itself; the boys received an exotic (English) culture implanted on an indigenous (African) soil. Undoubtedly the intention might have been good, but the results became shockingly disappointing. Through this accentuated secular type of education, the Bo boy in time found himself; felt his capabilities; saw his advantages and, like an alert opportunist, grabbed at them and in fact became "Creole" with only this exception that he was garbed Protectorate-wise. Gradually however he sloughed off his old traditional bearings and habited himself in "non-native toga." Unquestionably in the eyes of the country folks he had become a pal to the Sierra Leonean. Not forthwith did the Bo boy discover himself but blindly at the outset of his new career, he was inducted into his New civilization (Western methods) with a bias to the life that made the mind free. Dressed in the *quasi habiliment* of the Western type, even though enveloped in Protectorate traditions, he interpreted all educated persons of the Colony as "Creole," a designation which to the Native is synonymous with "thief," "rogues" etc. It was pardonable therefore for the Protectorate people to be wheedled and misled and so the bad seed of hate which was sown debarred all attempts at any immediate cordiality between the Bo offshoot and his unsophisticated brothers.

The change came when the Bo boy sedulously attempted to cultivate the ways of English social life and habits. He at once unhesitatingly joined elbows with the Colony-born and was tainted "Creole." He patronised and enjoyed theatres, dance halls and certain Western merry-bouts, unfamiliar and perhaps unknown to his tribal settings, his people branded him "Creole;" he had only sipped the Pierian Stream but such was the draught that he had by introspection found himself. The tide however turned and he who before had labelled as "Creoles," persons attired after the Western type, now has himself besmeared by his own interpretation and becomes an alien to his people.

The uphill journey began when he started to re-educate his people as to the cause of disharmony between "Sierra Leonean" and "Native." With the native every man dressed English-wise is dubbed "Creole." Imagine then how difficult it was for the fathers of the Protectorate to distinguish their own offspring (Creoles) from the Colony-born creole and so all educated persons were scheduled under the category of "Creoles" and approbriously labelled "Pothonoh."

The mistaken identity is another cause for estrangement. John Jones residing in the Protectorate, took unto himself a wife (Canaanitish fashion) Algandimus is the issue. Algandimus is sent to Freetown under nine years of age for schooling and creolizing. On leaving the Grammar School, young Jones for the first time visits his mother in the Protectorate. Father Jones is living here but unfortunately fails to train up his son in native ways of social living, The fatal social rent begins. Young Jones fails to appreciate or realize his mother's love; he snubs his people, aspires to the status of his father, and inevitably becomes creolized. Who is the bigger sinner young Algandimus or his Dad? Thus has come into our Sierra Leone the many so-called creoles. These are they who widen the breach and by denying their identity become a social menace to friendly intercourse and understanding between Colony and Protectorate.

Having to some extent visualized *the way* of the rent let us now consider *how* to bridge it.

SUSPICION.

Mutual Suspicion is Sierra Leone's Greatest Bane,—We are mutually suspicious one of another. The Native is suspicious of the Non-native whom he labels "rogue," man-o'-war-pickin;" while the other retorts by daubing his unsophisticated brother "unto-whom"—"heathen." Suspicion is responsible more or less for the lack of co-operation in our social and commercial relations and is prolific of the many unsatisfactory matrimonial alliances now so rife in our midst.

Suspicion in Our Dress Habit.—What does it matter if John Doe garbs himself in Oriental attire with a fez or skull cap to suit his fancy when he is of the same African stock with the same environmental antecedent. Should one be disposed to habit himself in London style with frock coat and top hat in order that he may appear bumptious before the European world as was Dagon before the Ark, that is his business; it will by no means change him from John Tilley, the Sierra Leonean, to Anthony Eden, the British parliamentarian, would it? This is why in Sierra Leone however honourable, and educated one may be when once he is dressed Native-wise, the man in pantaloons dubs him "uncivilized heathen." This naturally arouse one's defensive passion and for once the brotherly atmosphere becomes charged and an anti-social attitude is precipitated. We must avoid the suspicious curve.

Away with Terms "Native and Non-Natives."—We must appeal to our good Government through our West African National Congress to repeal or expunge whatever law tends to alienate Colony from Protectorate; and to consider the question of the extension of boundaries of the Colony. This in myopinion would solve the vexed question of Protectorate land tenure, the Mineral land ownership and other economic questions.

Let us see how the idea of native and non-native came in to disturb the friendly relations between the two peoples. This has been brought about by extraneous influences which bred class distinction as is illustrated in the odious caste system of India . . . . high class, low class, untouchables. While the high-class enjoyed social and political privileges, the lower class was banned and branded as uncouth; as long as the custom held sway the rift widened but when the privilege was scrapped, although they smarted sharply under it they quickly identified themselves with the supposedly "heathen" class . . . . You would recall the economic trouble of 1919 (Syrian riot).

Compulsory Free Education.—This matter should engage our attention. Education like truth makes the mind free. Christian education . . . . the right type of education would make for a good and well-balanced social life, free from every semblance of suspicion. By submitting proper representation we might perhaps induce our Government to carefully institute a system wherein Compulsory Free Education can become an integral part of Government policy and in due course re-act on our social life and attitudes. It has been attempted with some degree of success in some chiefdoms among the hinterland folks. Should our National Congress interest itself in this worthwhile endeavour and move our good Government to see the necessity of it, our problems shall have been solved; for a system of right education would help us re-evaluate old sickening prejudices, then will we overcome the little hatreds, the base contempt of race and creed, and throw into the abyss of oblivion the old ignoble selves we knew, and rise again with souls as true; and it goes without saying that Sierra Leone would be one church, one creed, one king, under one God.

DANGER OF NATIVE LAND RESERVATION

Before and since the Treaty of Cession in Lagos the question of land has been known to be a vexed one with the Natives of Africa upon which they have ever been most touchy. The Treaty of Cession in Lagos could only be ratified after definite assurance to the Idejos or Land-owner Chiefs of Lagos that the transfer was only of sovereignty and not of their land. Every subsequent attempt to control Native land has since been met by storms of protests and opposition in all the West African Colonies and up till this very moment "forest reserves" are not easily acceptable to the people as evidenced by the recent extension proposal in Benin Province. West Africans have seen at various times the danger of being unwary about their land and the question now agitating the defenders of Native rights in Kenya about European reserve by dispossessing millions of Natives is a sad revelation which confirms the fears of West Africans about Government attempt to control their lands, apart from the scandalous experience in South Africa. The Kenya question is thus reported in the Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend of July 1936:—

"The reservation of certain land in the Highlands of Kenya for Europeans from which native Africans are excluded, has led to a number of questions in the House of Commons and to many letters in *The Times*. Lord Lugard, in a letter published in that journal on 27th May, pointed out that the Order in Council

proposed by the Government would "not only affect the interests of two or three million Africans, but may involve principles and precedents of far-reaching importance". In spite of the recommendations of the Morris Carter Commission that certain lands now occupied by Europeans belonged to the natives by right, it is proposed to expunge these rights with money compensations, and the natives are to be prevented from appealing to the courts by means of a Royal Order in Council against the decision of the local Government. Lord Lugard urged that conclusions which are challenged by reputable authorities and may form awkward precedents hereafter, should not be enshrined in a Royal Order in Council which ousts the jurisdiction of any Court of Law. Sir John Harris has emphasized the fact that the proposed Order in Council, which prohibits the sale or lease of land to any coloured person, allows land titles to British, German, French, Italian and Portuguese subjects, but denies it to British subjects if they are natives of Africa or India, and that such a differentiation would violate the spirit and letter of several Colonial and Indian proclamations. 'On what grounds", wrote Sir George Maxwell, "can the Kenya Government justify a policy which discriminates so unfairly in favour of the white man in business matters and which, on the face of it, would appear to be detrimental to the economic development of the colony? The proposition, indeed, may be said to be one of black man's exclusion, rather than of white man's reservation."

The 1928 Liquor Act.

Natal Witness 24-12-36

PERHAPS not many still remember that the 1928 Liquor Act provides that after December 1937 no more bar licences will be issued by the Government. This seems too good to be true. Many people know what ravages have been done upon our people by the illicit sale of intoxicating liquor to them. The Natives are by law not to be given any alcoholic drinks, and in the earlier days this used to be observed, that is, to such an extent that it was hard for any of them to obtain it. But twenty years or more ago, after the flooding of the greater towns by various inferior races from Europe, this legislation has been infringed so openly as if it was non-existent.

The evil began when coloured people were allowed to purchase bottles and cases and could carry them home. This provided a means of living for such as have little conscience for their barred black brethren. This illegal trade went from bad to worse so that in time even pure Europeans, men and women, fell to the temptation to "earn" easy money. Some years back a European woman was found guilty of this crime and that was when the country was awakened to the enormity of this business, so that the late Mr Tielman Roos called for an amendment of the law or its application to be not so harsh. It would seem that laws are of not non-effect upon those engaged in this trade. The cases that came before the public a few months ago showed that many, even in high places, such as the police, were as guilty of the breach of this liquor as the common man in the street.

But now we come to the ruin that this nefarious trade entails upon our people. Nowadays liquor is so comman and free that it is a sad sight to see young Native boys of fifteen to eighteen years staggering from the effects of this "fire-water" in the early hours of the day. How is it possible for such young people to obtain drink? It is possible through the usual channel, the Coloured section who in most cases have no means of livelihood and have perforce to descend to this harmful and destructive means. The second question is how do they manage to get so many bottles and cases every day? The bottle-store keeper can by no stretch of imagination think or believe that this man who bought yesterdsy eight or ten bottles or a case of liquor could have consumed it himself, and we ask, why does he sell to him the liquor every day he applies for it? Why are there no books for recording sales as well as buyers? Why has no such legislation been introduced in order to control the superflous flow of liquor for unlawful purposes?

In a recent case in Durban Mr. A. S. Knox, a Durban lawyer, proved to the satisfaction of the magistrate, who tried a sordid case of illicit sale and immorality, that the ruling European is not faultless in this matter. Intoxicating liquor is in the control of the Europeans in the same manner as fire-arms and gun-powder, but we do not read of so many cases of illicit sale and buying of those articles. Why is there this difference? The Europeans mean it that the Natives shall not have possession of fire-arms and gun-powder, and they see to it that it is not obtainable for them.

The immorality law is in existence providing against cohabiting between the European and the Native, especially by economic handicaps and in addition all Europeans make themselves into a vigilant committee to prevent this evil because they abhor it whether there is legislation against it or not. But in the case of liquor to Natives it seems there is a general condonation of this evil because of some ulterior motives.

Let us hope that the end of the year 1937 will bring about, at least, a reduction of this wholesale defiance of the law for filthy lucre.

Asiatic and Native Labour.

Natal Witness 24-12-36

Please allow me a space in your paper to voice out my feelings in conncection with the Asiastics and Native Labour.

All along I have been taking the Asiatics as our true friends than all other races from overseas. Today I have a full belief that they are our unseen enemies. These people have become very rich through our custom, but still they are not willing to employ Natives and other races to serve behind the counter. They employ Natives as drawers of water and choppers of wood. These drawers of water and choppers of wood are paid very low wages, and in most cases fifty per cent of their wages is paid in goods. All other civil service is conducted by the people of their blood, who are paid good wages.

They overlook the fact that the big stores they have and the beautiful cars in which they run today are due to the high purchasing power of the Natives

During the last few months the word "Sanction" was explained as a mighty weapon to fight against any powerful Nation. The gratitude of the Asiatics to the Natives is to apply sanctions against the very people who are spending a great deal of money in support of their businesses. Is this gratitude or ingratitude towards the Natives who give nearly three quarters of their pay in support of their businesses.

These people show great kindness when you call at their stores. They do not hesitate to give you a handful of sweets which is followed by kind convers-

supporters. In these psychological age whatever a person is reasoned from every scientific angle. I wish they would pull out this thorn before it is felt by the majority, otherwise evil or good will be the result.

W.G. ZONDI.

The 1928 Liquor Act.

PERHAPS not many still remember that the 1928 Native Act provides that after years staggering from the effects of this "fire-water" in the early hours of the day. How is it possible for such young people to obtain drink? It is possible through the usual channel, the evil because of some ulterior motives.

But now we come to the ruin providing against cohabiting between the European and the Coloured section who have no means of livelihood and have perforce to descend to this harmful and destructive question is wholesale defiance of the law for gain to get filthy lucre.

Let us hope that the end of the year 1937 will bring about a reduction of this cases every year.

Asiatic and Native Labour.

Please allow me a space in your paper to voice out my feelings in connection with the Asiatics and Native Labour.

Allalong I have been taking the Asiatics as our true friends than all other races from overseas. Today I have a full belief that Why are our willing to employ Natives and other races to serve behind the counter? They employ Natives as drawers of water and choppers of wood. These drawers of water and choppers of wood are paid very low wages, and in most cases shifty per cent of their wages is used in other enterprises. During the last few months the word "Sanction" was explained as a mighty weapon to fight against any powerful Nation. The gratitude of the Asiatics to the Natives is to apply sanctions against the very people who are spending a great deal of money in support of their businesses. Is this gratitude or ingratitude towards the Natives who give nearly three quarters of their pay in support of their businesses.

These people show great kindness when you call at their stores. They do not hesitate to give you a handful of sweets which is followed by kind conversation. In the true sense this is not kindness but a means of getting the Native to part with his money. When you visit the stores you easily find that the Natives are the greater buyers than any other race of people. Although this money comes in small quantities yet it amounts to hundreds of pounds in the long run. I am not against the Asiatics because they are of a different race; but what I am against is the principle they apply to us as their supporters. In these psychological age whatever a person does is reasoned from every scientific angle. I wish they would pull out this thorn before it is felt by the majority, otherwise evil or good will be the result.

W.G. ZONDI.

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proposed by the Government would "not only affect the interests of two or three million Africans, but may involve principles and precedents of far-reaching importance". In spite of the recommendations of the Morris Carter Commission that certain lands now occupied by Europeans be-longed to the natives by right, is proposed to expunge these rights with money compensations, and the natives are to be prevent-ed from appealing to the courts by means of a Royal Order in Council against the decision of the local Government. Lord Lugard urged that conclusions to be observed, that is, to such which are challenged by reputable authorities and may form awk-ward precedents hereafter, should not be enshrined in a Royal Order in Council which ousts the juris-diction of any Court of Law. Sir John Harris has emphasized the fact that the proposed Order in Council, which prohibits the sale or lease of land to any coloured person, allows land titles to British, German, French, Italian and Portuguese subjects, but denies it to British subjects if they are natives of Africa or India, and that such a differentiation would violate the spirit and letter of several Colonial and Indian proclamations. 'On what grounds", wrote Sir George Maxwell, "can the Kenya Government justify a policy which discriminates so unfairly in favour of the white man in business matters and which, on the face of it, would appear to be detrimental to the economic development of the colony? The proposition, indeed, may be said to be one of black man's exclusion, rather than white man's reservation."

But now we come to the ruin providing against cohabiting between the European and the that this nefarious trade entails

Nowadays Native, especially young economic and free that handicaps and in addition all upon our people. Now liquor is so common and easy to see young Europeans make themselves into liquor is a sad sight to see a vigilant committee to prevent it is a sad sight to see eighteen a vigilant committee to prevent Native boys of fifteen to eighteen the effects this evil because they abhor it years staggering from the effects this evil because they abhor it of this "fire-water" in the early whether there is legislation against hours of the day. How is it it or not. But in the case of young people liquor to Natives it seems there It is possible is a general condonation of this channel, the evil because of some ulterior

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W.G. ZONDI.

Race Problem - 1936.
Africa

Cape Teachers' Salaries.

"CUTS" NOT TO BE RESTORED.

Replying to A. J. Ries (United Party, Cathcart) in the Provincial Council on Wednesday 20th in answer to the question whether in view of the Union Government's decision to refund salary "cuts" of members of the public service as well as those public servants seconded for service to the Provincial Administration Native teachers would receive the same treatment, the Administrator stated that "the Executive Committee has received no information regarding the intentions of the Union Government.' 'The sum so far allotted to the Cape Province for the service of Native education during the financial year 1936-37 is however, insufficient to enable a refund of the cuts to be made."

Durban Native Church Council's Efforts

FOR THE CONVENIENCE OF BETTER CLASS NATIVE TRAVELLERS.

For some considerable time the Bantu travelling public has had to put up with m ch inconvenience so we made up a Deputation consisting of Rev. K. J. Johanson, Rev F. M. Caluza, Rev. N. M. Nduli Rev. M. J Mpanza, and the Secretary Rev. P.J. Hervey and waited upon the System manager of the Railways We were received very graciously and with sympathy. We pointed out that at the moment no accomodation was made for the Second class Native Passenger and that we asked that a waiting room be supplied for this class of passenger. That the Third class passengers needed also an enclosed waiting room for women and children, that at the present there was nothing but a large open shed and draughty place, that no respectable woman could attend to any domestic affairs of her children except at great discomfort and open often to buffs and sometimes the thieving of the rough young element of the native boy. That the present Sanitary and lavatory arrangements were an inconvenience being too far from the most used platforms Often a passenger would miss his or her train on that ground. Think of the platforms No. 1 to 4 and then think of the present lavatories at the end of Platform 6, which means a walk of nearly half a mile. Then we asked that all seats should be clearly marked so that all non-Europeans know which are theirs and there should be plenty of them. We pointed out that as a temporary measure the present Tea room could be divided and made into a comfortable waiting room. But we wanted really good facilities when the new station was to be built. We felt that something would evolve out of our interview and were assured that what could be done would be done. We were highly amused when we pointed out that the pr sent tea room was largely filled with empty cases The reply we got was that the Catering Dept needed somewhere to store them. Our retort was, "Do empty bottles and such come bef re the comfort of the public?" As emphasised unless the Railways did something very different from what they are doing now, they will lose the little patronage they still have. The taxi is being used because the Railway s so costly, so cold and comfortless and with so little consideration or the Native traveller.

What is wrong with Basutoland Administration?

(Mochochonono)
The Comet

Basutoland is described as a semi-independent Native state without the borders of the Union. Despite the fact that this statement is advanced by eminent men, I do not support it whole-heartedly.

When one concerns oneself with the modes of Administration in that state or Territory, one is at once forced or agitated to conclude that there must be some fault with it. Meet any sane man from the said territory these days and request him to acquaint you with the administrative systems obtaining there; you will all the more feel moved to-wards sedition when you are made to understand the deplorable, oppressive and destructive conditions under which your people suffer out there.

There exists in its meagre form, an institution named the "National Council. In analysing the words. "National Council," we mostly come to the conclusion that it is a body whose membership is composed of all the classes of Basuto Nation; but in practice that is not the way our Council is constituted. As most of you already know the members of the institution in question are the chiefs and their favourites. Politically speaking our Council is one-sided.

Every intelligent and far-sighted man or woman is aware that the very Councillors in it (National Council) are the people who live on the fat of Basutoland. These Councillors have not and shall never go against the grains of their chiefs because the instant they do this, they will be turned out of the Council sooner than came in.

This being the case whoever on earth would be justified in asserting that democratic government prevails in Basutoland How can a considerate individual say that the interests of the Basuto are at all cared for in this Council? Who will convince the world to-day that there is justice in Basutoland in the present century? Who will boldly come forward and demonstrate to the world that the Basuto are legally represented in this institution? What is the attitude of the Basutoland Paramountcy to-wards the proposed financial assistance by the Union Government? I could ask more questions still nevertheless I vote to contend myself with the above.

Before I come to my solemn conclusion, may I again repeat the usual National cry: Unless the people are allowed to elect their own representatives to the Basutoland National Council, the masses shall not refrain from voicing their dissatisfaction with their chiefs' administration.

I earnestly and urgently appeal to the Paramount Chief and all the chiefs in the Territory to be alive to their responsibilities lest they shall be accused of dragging the Basuto into a nation of agitators.

Blasius
Basutoland

B. S. Likate
Bantu United School,
P.O. Ficksburg. O.F.S.

Mines' Compensation to Natives.

The gold mines are the principal source of labour from which the Natives of South Africa derive uninterrupted emolument. At the same time it must be admitted that the mining industry of Johannesburg takes the heaviest toll of human life among Africans in the form of phthisis in its three or four stages, deaths by accidents due to broken machinery, fall of rock, etc. etc. One would naturally expect that the wages of a quater of a million Natives who do the bulk of underground work under a few European foremen in comparison with their numbers would be placed on an attractive scale, and certainly be brought as near as possible in compatibility with the daily risks they run throughout the period of their contracts.

In this connection more than the loss of life and liability to contract pulmonary diseases should be taken into consideration. The unnatural conditions that obtain in underground environment, where labourers must work standing in inches of water, inhale a humid atmosphere, crawl up stopes like rock-rabbits, squeeze themselves against tunnel walls to avoid heavily loaded trolleys, all impose a great strain on the

constitutions of our young men. This strain, and the continuous concentration to keep alert against lurking injury should certainly be taken into account by the Chamber of Mines, and Director of Native Labour (in behalf of Africans) in fixing a fair wage under the circumstances. These dusky labourers come on and off the mines for any period up to twenty-five years, and longevity in their span of life is very much affected.

The scale of Native pay in the gold mines is much the same as that which obtained in pre-war times. If Europeans worked under similar conditions, there would be an outcry of sweated labour that would enter the House of Assembly in ringing tones from the Labour Party. The African natives, in their pitiable misfortune, are not included in the ranks of the white labour party of this country, although they exclusively provide the brawn and sinews in their calling. Legislation that discriminates them by colour, forestalls any attempts at striking for higher wages, (viz. The Conciliation Act which makes it a criminal offence for a Native to down tools.) There being no avenue whereby the "big bosses" can be compelled to pay a fair and living wage, the poor African must submit to being bled by his white mine employers so long as their consciences are unmoved.

Compensation for phthisis is made under authority of the Miners' Phthisis Acts, Consolidation Act, No. 35 of 1925, and is based on the normal earnings of the miner. From the year 1911 to 1935, according to the report of the Miners' Phthisis Board, European miners were paid monetary benefits totalling £15,284,000. Native labourers during the same period received from this fund only £1,020,000, whereas numerically the latter far exceeded the former in underground employment. The benefits, it will been seen, are depressed on the Africans' side by the very low wages paid by the Chamber of Mines

A Zulu Makes Musical History

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First African to Get Master's Degree in Music

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HOPES TO OPEN COLLEGE AT ADAMS MISSION

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Just over 40 years ago there was born at Edendale a Zulu who was destined to make musical history. He was named Uholakele, meaning "one found." To-day he is known as Reuben Caluza, and is the first South African Native to graduate as a Master of Arts in Music (Columbia University U.S.A.

Caluza has one ambition—to start a Native College of Music. And he is well on to realising that ambition. He anticipates opening the college early next year at the Adams Mission. Dr. Richards, of Honolulu, has given £500 towards the building fund.

Caluza got his early training at Ohlange and Mariannhill, displaying a marked aptitude for music. His grand father was the first conductor of the choir at Edendale Mission Station and it was there he picked up the first principles. He practised on an old portable organ and soon was playing quite well; but everything was played by ear. His father, realising young Caluza's bent for music, sent him to Rev. John L. Dube at Ohlange where he made further progress and conducted the school choir for about 20 years.

The remarkable thing is that during all this time he never had a real music lesson. This did not prevent him from writing songs and making his own compositions.

HIS GREAT CHANCE.

Then came his great chance. In 1930 he went to London with a Native choir of five boys and five girls to make records of Native songs for the His Master's Voice Gramophone Co. They made over 150 recordings of primitive and folk songs and also of his own compositions. Having completed his contract, Caluza went to America and entered the Hampton Institute in Virginia, where he studied music properly for the first time.

He spent four years at Hampton Institute and got the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Music. This success further stimulated his ambition and he decided to enter Columbia University. Caluza put in a year and a half of intensive study and was awarded the degree of Master of Arts in Music. Before obtaining this distinction Caluza had already published a collection of patriotic Zulu songs which found a ready sale among his own people, the first edition being sold out in six months.

While in America Caluza specialised in teaching methods, more particularly for schools. He is of opinion that the American methods are slightly superior to the English and he will introduce these methods here. While at Hampton he was particularly struck with the singing of Negro spirituelles. All the students were coloured people. While there he organised a quartette made up of three West Africans and himself. The quartette, with another from Hampton, went on tour during which they travelled through 13 States singing African folk songs. It was a most successful tour.

In Boston he met Dr. Roland Hayes, the famous Negro singer, and in London he met Paul Robeson. He has a great opinion of Robeson, who, he found, liked Africans, their songs and their culture. Caluza did some broadcasting while in London and met Sir Walford Davis, the Master of the King's Music. He was engaged for a time at the London School of Oriental Studies and helped in the teaching of Zulu phonetics and also made records in that language for the school.

Caluza returned to Durban from overseas on April 5 and immediately took up an appointment under Dr. Edgar Brooks at the Adams Mission. At the mission they plan to teach Bantu students the best type of modern music and also to develop the study of African music. The curriculum will include training in Native folk songs and Native instruments. Western music and instruments will also be studied for the purpose of comparison.

In addition attention will be given to the development of Native dances in the style of English folk dancing. The £500 already donated will be used for the erection of a suitable building, but Caluza says that twice as much will be needed if the school is to be adequately equipped.

INSTRUMENTS EXPENSIVE

Native instruments are comparatively expensive. Ba-Tshopi pianos, seen so often in Native compounds on the Rand, cost between £7 and £10. Native string and wood instruments will also be used in the school. Percussion instruments, drums, etc., will also have to be provided for the accompaniment of folk songs and dancing.

Pupils will be drawn from all over South Africa and it is intended that they shall be trained for the South African musical certificates and the Trinity College examinations, London.

Race Problem – 1936
Africa

RTH OF "IMVO."

Many readers of the IMVO are hardly aware that this is the pioneer vernacular weekly paper of South Africa, having been founded fifty-two years ago by the late John Tengo Jabavu in days when the standard of education was so low that the venture of such a paper was an amusing joke for the civilised, and a portent of doubtful value to the uninitiated. The founder took a plunge into an unknown enterprise, flushed with the romance of exploring an untrodden path, but more often depressed by the modest response of his fellowmen who hardly realised the need of reading any paper at all except for entertainment. The main object of the founder was to provide a mouthpiece for his people for the benefit of the government during the dark days of the Gun-War and Disarmament Act, 1880, and the 1887 threat to the Cape Native vote by the Sprigg ministry; the saving of Native lands from confiscations due to possible local risings, as well as the educational uplift of his race. The price then was a tickey a copy; today it has been reduced to two-pence, and the publishers are making a special offer of an excellent dictionary (English) of 30,000 words to every new subscriber sending 9/- in prepayment for a year's subscription to attract new readers; and we feel sure that in these days of advanced knowledge and an exciting political situation, this offer will be avidly seized on by those hitherto outside the roll of regular readers. The IMVO has a special appeal to the whole Xhosa-speaking people mostly resident in the Cape Province. It claims to be the only journal rendering the Xhosa tongue in its idiomatic beauty and dignified purity, aiming at preserving the tradition of gravity, wise comment, reliable leadership and the coolheaded interpretation of public affairs laid down by its originator.

Public movements of national upliftment like Church activity, farmers organisations, teachers associations, meetings of chiefs True Templars, Congresses, the I.C.U., Local and General Councils Women's Societies, Historical Memorials, economic efforts Social Clubs and general sports and games command primary attention in our new civilisation. The Cape Province is the proud home of higher education with a big potential African reading public devoted to European newspapers. Charity begins at home; and we trust this big reading public will now direct its attention to the IMVO. At no small cost we have made a drive to improve the type impression and size of the paper, and have always been able to count on a variety of contributors that can be envied by any journal of class. In the forward march of the Bantu of South Afric this journal has honourably playe its due part and we earnestly adju the Xhosa-speaking races, especiall in the Cape, to look on this sta as an epoch-making landmark, an celebrate the re-birth of the IMV by bringing in to us fresh thousanc of new readers with pre-paid fee who will in that way partake in th building up of our nation an ensure its power on a basis c civilised efficiency.

D. D. T. IABAVU.

Relief From Taxation

By passing Act 49 of 1935, Parliament definitely intended to partially remove the millstone of excessive taxation that hung around the Native's neck. The relief was long overdue, but arrived better late than never. When the Minister of Finance announced the happy position of a surplus in Government finances, all taxpayers fixed their glittering eyes of hopeful expectancy on him for a substantial reduction of the tithes due by them. In the same manner, the black taxpayer confidently looked forward to his exemption from general and local tax on attaining the age of 65 years, as the above Act lays down. This relief was granted unconditionally by Parliament, for it was felt that the time had arrived when the hard-worked, low-paid African should come in for consideration. The aspect that services paid for by taxes derived from Natives would suffer to the extent of taxation conceded for relief did not for a moment derogate from the sympathetic intentions of the legislature.

Hence, it was with considerable amazement one observed that the last session of the Transkeian Territories General Council, through its select committee, recommended on Item No. 41 that—"The present exemption from local tax means a considerable loss of revenue to the Council. A glance at the agenda of the present session will show what varied requests for grants from Council funds are made, without apparently any thought of the perpetual and exhausting drain on the funds. Your Committee reflected that there was neither demand by the people, nor request by the Council for exemption from local tax.

The Natives' Taxation and Development Act No. 41 of 1925 allows exemption from tax in certain cases, and a new provision (Section 4 (I) bis added by Act 49 of 1935 gives exemption from a particular tax, we should be slow to cut off a legitimate and not unpopular source of revenue."

This committee consisting of magistrates, has defeated the intentions Parliament had, when it passed this Act. No doubt they acted under a fallacious impulse that such relief would endanger the possibility of grants formerly made from Council funds. In this connection it must be contended that the Bunga could have made representations to the Minister of Finance for a special grant to compensate for loss of revenue entailed by the relief (Ciskei) to institute enquiries regarding the number of children attending Native schools to whom a ration of maize meal and milk was necessary. An estimate of one thousand children was given to be supplied for the next four months.

In the King William's Town district the shocking experience of two children picked up in extremis, and cared for by a good Samaritan should move the hearts of all the managers of Native schools, the Inspector of Schools and the Native Commissioners to make a similar or even more urgent appeal to the Chief Native Commissioner for relief of this kind. Milk is obtainable in plentiful supplies from the vendors We sincerely hope that the fact of our inviting public sympathy in this deplorable state of affairs will suffice to get the authorities mentioned above to move in the matter without further instigation. granted in Act 49 of 1935 rather than engage in the clumsy method of robbing heavily-taxed old Natives of 65 of the relief granted by Parliament. The request for relief may not have emanated from the Natives themselves, but it is equally a fact that no Natives ever requested Parliament to tax them.

It would be interesting if the Native Affairs Department called for statistics from all Native Commissioners in the Transkeian and Ciskeian Native reserves for the express purpose of information as to the number of Natives who have attained 65 years to whom exemptions under this particular Act have been granted. The Bantu race would welcome a clear statement of this nature, for without it they are not in a position to know the extent of benefit they have derived generally since the passing of the Act. The poor old Africans are denied the old age pensions now paid even to Indians of foreign origin; it is therefore essential that the Government should demonstrate to them in figures that the benefits of Act 49 of 1935 are real, and not abstract.

IMPROVEMENT IN NIGERIAN EXPORT TRADE.

Further evidence of the steady recovery in Nigeria's export trade is provided by a comparison of produce exported during the first quarter of the current year with the figures for the corresponding period of 1935. The total value of the country's export trade during the quarter ended March 31 last was

Bags of cotton awaiting rail transport at Zaria, Northern Nigeria.

£4,214,301, an increase of no less than £1,102,413 over the same period last year. Exports of palm oil during the quarter amounted to 45,679 tons, valued at £298,253; of palm kernels, 98,005 tons, valued at £890,923; cocoa, 38,050 tons; cotton lint, 60,962 cwt.; ground nuts, 73,785 tons; and hides and skins, 30,195 cwt. Exports of tin ore rose from 1,581 tons last year to 2,593 tons in the March quarter this year, while gold production also showed a substantial increase from 8,892 oz. to 9,215 oz., of which 4,643 oz. were exported during the month of March alone.

The Natal Bantu Teachers' Union.

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MEETING OF BUFFALO FLATS BRANCH.

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REPORTED BY MISS V.E. MTHEMBU (ASSIST. SECY.)

The third quarterly meeting of the above Association was held at Spookmill Govt. School on Saturday, March 28th, 1936, commencing at 11 a.m. Present were: Messrs. R. P. Ngubane (Chairman) E. S. Sibankulu, T.M.A. Msimang, L.S. Mhlanga, P. P. Mabaso, S. P. Khumalo, M. Kubeka, A.Y. Shange, R.G. Nyembe, H. Duma, A.J. Funeka, P. Ngobese, S. Ntshingila, E.E. Mthethwa, B. Hadebe, R. R. Ngobese, O. B Qhwana, P. B. Mhlungu, E. J. Mabuva, E. A. Gcwabaza, M. P. Madela, Rev. B. Seb. Msimang, Barlen Dlamini, Ed. Msimang: The Misses H. A. Hadebe, C. B. Gule, V. E. Mthembu, R. Gabuza, A. W. Dlamini, P. Hadebe, N. Zikode, E. Mokoena, M. Kubeka, M. Mbense, G.G. Kubeka, M. S. Khumalo, A. D. Ngobese, R. Dlamini, J. Kubeka.

DEVOTION: Mr. A. Hlubi, Chairman of the Local School Committee, conducted the opening devotional service. He expounded the golden text "Ye are the light of the world," pertaining to teachers.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and certified correct.

AIMS, OF N.B.T.U: The President assayed to define the aims and objects of the Union. It came as a surprise to many to understand that the duty of every member of the Union is, inter alia, to do his or her honest best in his professional duties for the honour and good name of the Union.

Report of delegate to Special Conference in Durban. January 1936:- Mr. E. E. Mthethwa, head teacher of Spookmill Govt. School, submitted a report of the proceedings of the Conference which had been convened for the purpose of discussing the intrinsic merits and possibilities of the formation of Zulu Language Cultural Societies. The aim of the Societies would be among other things, to preserve the Zulu Language and Zulu moral etiquette in their undiluted purity. Instances were quoted, which, though rather strange, won the interest of the members who were certainly persuaded to give the propounded scheme their whole hearted support.

CAPE NATIVE FRANCHISE: Mr. E. S. Sibankulu had been requested to interpret what was meant by the Franchise, news item which was very prominent in newspaper parliamentary reports of those days. The lecturer, acquitted himself very creditably, and without in any sense indulging in political censoriousness.

SUNDAY SCHOOL WORK Miss C. B. Gule assayed to admonish the teachers to hold themselves responsible for serving as Sunday School teachers. She enumerated valuable suggestions for imparting religious knowledge to children. At question time the ecclesiastical authority who was present came to the aid of the lecturer. He intimated that Sunday School work was of a purely undenominational character, a Bible study divorced from inherent denominational differences and dogmas.

Discussion on Exhibition Preparations:- The recommendations made at last conference were rehearsed and adopted It was resolved that all members should in the interim between now and next meeting think of songs and drill exercises which they consider suitable for competition and submit them at next meeting.

The meeting adjourned at 5 p.m. for sports, and a concert was held in the evening.

PEORIA, ILL.
TRANSCRIPT
MAY 28 1936

THE "BLACK LEGION"

The arrest in Detroit this week of 12 members of the "Black Legion" on warrants charging them with kidnaping and murder in the vengeance slaying of Charles A. Poole, WPA worker, has led to the disclosure that the "Black Legion" is a terroristic and semi-military organization with branches in several states.

Chairman Dickstein of the House committee on immigration has asked for a congressional inquiry into the activities of the legion primarily for the purpose of ascertaining whether it is affiliated with the "Black Shirts" which a House committee investigated a year ago. Congressman Dickstein expresses the belief that "Black Legion" is merely another name for "Black Shirts."

V. H. Effinger of Lima, Ohio, who claims to be "western commander" of the "Black Legion," says it embraces 6,000,000 devotees who are law-abiding citizens and who are not responsible for the excesses of a few members. Michigan authorities say the legion probably is guilty of many unsolved kidnapings, floggings, arsons and murders, and have sought the aid of the federal government.

It appears that the legion's activities are specially directed against Catholics, Jews, communists and Negroes. It demands that Negro children be isolated from white children in the public schools.

It is not surprising that the legionaires should employ terroristic methods, that it should exact weird oaths from its members and that its work should be done in secret. It is reported that the "Black Legion" oath includes a pledge of "my heart, my brain, my body and my limbs." Societies of this kind naturally attract fanatics who are seized by weird illusions of public service in the grand manner.

Apparently, the legion, whether affiliated with the "Black Shirts" or not, is a terroristic organization which, if permitted to operate, would be encouraged by radicals who are seeking to destroy the capitalistic system and set up a Fascist dictatorship.

Michigan authorities say they are determined to run the legion to earth. They have asked for government aid, and probably will get it. There is no room in this country for secret organizations with their own codes and courts of justice. The "Black Legion," however, illustrates for the American people what would happen if it were not for constitutions and courts.

Now that the "Black Legion" is under fire, little difficulty should be experienced in breaking it up. It is no longer a secret organization. Its secret is out. Class terrorism in this country will not be permitted. The legion merely means more work for G-men who may be relied upon to get the facts and to obtain legionaires who have been operating illegally.

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REPORTED BY MISS V.E. MTHEMBU (ASSIST. SECY.)

The third quarterly meeting of the above Association was held at Spookmill Govt. School on Saturday, March 28th, 1936, commencing at 11 a.m. Present were: Messrs. R. P. Ngubane (Chairman) E. S. Sibankulu, T.M.A. Msimang, L.S. Mhlanga, P. P. Mabaso, S. P. Khumalo, M. Kubeka, A.Y. Shange, R.G. Nyembe, H. Duma, A.J. Funeka, P. Ngobese, S. Ntshingila, E.E. Mthethwa, B. Hadebe, R. R. Ngobese, O. B Qhwana, P. B. Mhlungu, E. J. Mabuva, E. A. Gcwabaza, M. P. Madela, Rev. B. Seb. Msimang, Barlen Dlamini, Ed. Msimang: The Misses H. A. Hadebe, C. B. Gule, V. E. Mthembu, R. Gabuza, A. W. Dlamini, P. Hadebe, N. Zikode, E. Mokoena, M. Kubeka, M. Mbense, G.G. Kubeka, M. S. Khumalo, A. D. Ngobese, R. Dlamini, J. Kubeka.

DEVOTION: Mr. A. Hlubi, Chairman of the Local School Committee, conducted the opening devotional service. He expounded the golden text "Ye are the light of the world," pertaining to teachers.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and certified correct.

AIMS, OF N.B.T.U: The President assayed to define the aims and objects of the Union. It came as a surprise to many to understand that the duty of every member of the Union is, inter alia, to do his or her honest best in his professional duties for the honour and good name of the Union.

Report of delegate to Special Conference in Durban. January 1936:- Mr. E. E. Mthethwa, head teacher of Spookmill Govt. School, submitted a report of the proceedings of the Conference which had been convened for the purpose of discussing the intrinsic merits and possibilities of the formation of Zulu Language Cultural Societies. The aim of the Societies would be among other things, to preserve the Zulu Language and Zulu moral etiquette in their undiluted purity. Instances were quoted, which, though rather strange, won the interest of the members who were certainly persuaded to give the propounded scheme their whole hearted support.

CAPE NATIVE FRANCHISE: Mr. E. S. Sibankulu had been requested to interpret what was meant by the Franchise, news item which was very prominent in newspaper parliamentary reports of those days. The lecturer, acquitted himself very creditably, and without in any sense indulging in political censoriousness.

SUNDAY SCHOOL WORK Miss C. B. Gule assayed to admonish the teachers to hold themselves responsible for serving as Sunday School teachers. She enumerated valuable suggestions for imparting religious knowledge to children. At question time the ecclesiastical authority who was present came to the aid of the lecturer. He intimated that Sunday School work was of a purely undenominational character, a Bible study divorced from inherent denominational differences and dogmas.

Discussion on Exhibition Preparations:- The recommendations made at last conference were rehearsed and adopted It was resolved that all members should in the interim between now and next meeting think of songs and drill exercises which they consider suitable for competition and submit them at next meeting.

The meeting adjourned at 5 p.m. for sports, and a concert was held in the evening.

PEORIA, ILL.

TRANSCRIPT

MAY 28 1936

THE "BLACK LEGION"

The arrest in Detroit this week of 12 members of the "Black Legion" on warrants charging them with kidnaping and murder in the vengeance slaying of Charles A. Poole, WPA worker, has led to the disclosure that the "Black Legion" is a terroristic and semi-military organization with branches in several states.

Chairman Dickstein of the House committee on immigration has asked for a congressional inquiry into the activities of the legion primarily for the purpose of ascertaining whether it is affiliated with the "Black Shirts" which a House committee investigated a year ago. Congressman Dickstein expresses the belief that "Black Legion" is merely another name for "Black Shirts."

V. H. Effinger of Lima, Ohio. who claims to be "western commander" of the "Black Legion," says it embraces 6,000,000 devotees who are law-abiding citizens and who are not responsible for the excesses of a few members. Michigan authorities say the legion probably is guilty of many unsolved kidnapings, floggings, arsons and murders, and have sought the aid of the federal government.

It appears that the legion's activities are specially directed against Catholics, Jews, communists and Negroes. It demands that Negro children be solated from white children in the public schools.

It is not surprising that the legionaires should employ terroristic methods, that it should exact weird oaths from its members and that its work should be done in secret. It is reported that the 'Black Legion" oath includes a pledge of "my heart, my brain, my body and my limbs." Societies of this kind naturally attract fanatics who are seized by weird illusions of public service in the grand manner.

Apparently, the legion, whether affiliated with the "Black Shirts" or not, is a terroristic organization which, if permitted to operate, would be encouraged by radicals who are seeking to destroy the capitalistic system and set up a Fascist dictatorship.

Now that the "Black Legion" is under fire, little difficulty should be experienced in breaking it up.

Michigan authorities say they are determined to run the legion to earth. They have asked for government aid, and probably will get it. There is no room in this country for secret organizations with their own codes and courts of justice. The "Black Legion," however, illustrates for the American people what would happen if it were not for constitutions and courts.

It is no longer a secret organization. Its secret is not merely means more work for G-men who may be relied upon to get the facts and who have been operating illegally.

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

PROGRAMME OF SPECIAL PUBLIC SESSION OF LOCAL BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA MARCH 15—APRIL 3, 1936.

Weekly News

Monday, March 23, at 4 p.m.

(a) Medical Reforms Personal Hygiene and Sanitation. "Infantile mortality and Child Welfare." Dr. A. F. Renner Dove. 3-21-36

(b) Future of the Congress &c. O. J. V. Tuboku-Metzger, Esq. Barrister-at-Law.

Friday, March 27, at 4 p.m.

(a) Agricultural Outlook in the Colony and Protectorate. Mr. T. S. French, M.A.

(b) Unemployment in Sierra Leone and its Remedy. Mr. C. Dunstan Williams.

Monday, March 30, at 4 p.m.

EDUCATION

(a) Kindergarten and Primary
Mrs. Lerina Bright-Taylor.

(b) Scientific and Industrial.
Mr. S Tuboku-Metzger, B.Sc.

(c) Secondary and Academic, and Suggestions for a more progresive Educational Policy.
Rev. P. Hycy Wilson, M.A.

Thursday, April 2, at 4 p m.

(a) Commerce and the Encouragement of Combination and Co.operative Enterprise.
Mr. S. D. G Aymar

(b) The Press in Sierra Leone.
Mr. S. A Hughes, B.A.

Open to the Public and open to free discussion.

Freetown, S. A. HUGHES.
February 29, 1936. T. J. CAREW.
Joint Secretaries.

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS AT PUBLIC SESSION OF NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA

SIERRA LEONE SECTION.

Weekly News

Sunday, March 15, 4 p.m.—Thanksgiving Service at St. George's Cathedral. Preacher: Venerable Archdeacon T. S. Johnson, M.A., B.D., a member of Congress. Text: Gal. v. 14. "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" The Precentor and the Rev. C. A. E. Macauley, M.A., assisted, Mr. A. E. Tuboku Metzger the President reading the Lesson.

Before announcing his text, the Archdeacon conveyed greetings and good wishes from His Lordship the Bishop who regretted his absence owing to other important engagements. 3-28-36

The burden of the Sermon was love, unity and peace among our people. The preacher dwelt on the past glories of Egypt and Carthage and pointed out how by disunion and internal dissensions those mighty Empires crashed and how the North African churches which counted over 500 Bishops perished. He emphasized the need for peace and mutual forbearance among our leaders so that they may best be able to promote the interest of the Race, and he urged support for Congress.

Wednesday, March 18, 3 p.m., at the Wilberforce Memorial Hall. Under the Chairmanship of A. E. Tuboku-Metzger, Esq, M.B.E., Supported by Hon. Dr. H. C. Bankole-Bright and Hon. E. S. Beoku-Betts, M.B.E., Mrs. A. C. May, Mrs. Lerina Bright-Taylor, Mrs. Short and Mrs Wallace, Archdeacon T. S. Jonnson and other members of Congress.

After an opening prayer offered by the Archdeacon, the Chairman welcomed the audience and briefly touched upon the object of the series of meetings arranged which was mainly to review the work done by this Section of Congress during the past two years and to revive the zeal of the public in service for the general good of our country. He alluded with unstinted praise to the moving appeal made by the Archdeacon on Sunday for unity and co-operation, and to the lessons to be learnt from the history of the downfall of Ancient Egypt and Carthage.

The Chairman also referred to the letter of congratulations just received from the General Secretary, Mr. S. R. Woode, now in England, in which Mr Woode extolled the efforts of this Section to keep the flame of the Movement aglow.

Mr. Carew then read the Annual Report, a Summary of which is given below. The Report was colourful and disclosed the many-sided activities of the Section during the period under review.

1. Unemployment and economic crisis—Several meetings held to consider remedial measures.
2. Centenary of Abolition of Slave Trade and of the death of William Wilberforce Celebrations arranged and among other suggestions recommendations submitted for open-air Service and enlargement of Wilberforce Memorial Hall.
3. Reception to Gold Coast Delegation.
4. Memorial to Government on the question of
   (a) The appointment of the Police Magistrate as Acting Chief Justice.
   (b) Mining and the Mineral Laws.
6. Comments on part played by Congress in pressing for the amendment of the Assessors Ordinance.
7. Appeal for intervention by the Saloon Licence Dealers in securing reduction of Annual Licence fees.
8. Correspondence between Committee of Ci izens Bathurst Gambia and Congress relating to the enforcement of the Criminal Code.
9. Legislative Council and Municipal Council Elections.
10. Farewell Garden Party to Sir Arnold Hodson, and Address of Welcome to Sir Henry Moore.
11. Correspondence with President, City Council on question of Water Supply.
12. General—Honours to Members; Financial Position.

Honourable Dr. Bankole-Bright was then invited to read his paper Subject—"Legislative Council and Municipal Reforms."

He prefaced his thesis with brief remarks on conception of the idea of self-government among primitive peoples and on the history of the early efforts at self-government in this colony and the praiseworthy part played by our fathers in conserving the political and civic rights of the people. He traced the development of Municipal Government in this City and how the franchise was won by Congress.

With regard to the anomalous position of Nominated Members, Dr. Bankole-Bright pointed out that whereas in the old days the nominated members regarded it as their duty to serve their country in the true sense of the word, the present idea was that as the position was held at pleasure of Government, any Government policy however prejudicial to the interest of the people must be supported. In the present stage of the Colony therefore it was necessary that there should be some modification of the system.

With regard to the Municipality the speaker traversed the idea that it was because of corruption or incompetency that the status of that Institution was altered, and strongly advocated the restoration of the original status and privileges.

General discussion followed and pertinent resolutions were passed Vote of thanks accorded the Hon. Dr. Bright and the meeting closed with the Benediction and the National Anthem at 6.15. p.m.,

Friday, March, 20, 4.30 p,m,

(a) Legal and Judicial Reforms:—Hon, E, S. Beoku-Betts, M,B.E,

(b) Future Relationship between Colony-born and Protectorate-born:—Rev Dr. I. E. C. Steady, D.D.,

In the absence of the President, Dr. Bankole Bright took the Chair and was supported by Alhaj M. Lascandri, J.P., Hon, Vice-President, Archdeacon Johnson and members of both Branches. After an opening prayer by the Archdeacon, the Chairman welcomed the audience and invited Mr. Betts to address the meeting

Mr. Betts in his introductory remarks paid tribute to the British system of Justice as being the most excellent as compared with those of the other European Powers. But as regards the administration of justice in Crown Colonies such as Sierra Leone, although much has been accomplished to raise the standard it would appear to him to be still susceptible of improvement in some respects and it should be the serious concern of the people to see that steps were taken to press for the necessary reforms. In his view improvement was required in the following directions:—

1 West African Court of Appeal
2 Right of Appeal in Criminal cases.
3 Trial with Assessors.
4 Separation of the Judiciary from the Executive in the Protectorate.
5 Appointment of Africans with the necessary qualifications to the Legal and Judicial Departments.
6. Minor points such as
(a) The repeal of the Perjury Ordinance.
(b) Non-enforcement of Protectorate Laws in portions of the colony such as Sulymah Port Lokkoh, and other outlying places.
(c) Improved facilities for granting bail in the Protectorate. Weekly News
(d) Right of appeal by Natives of the Protectorate against decision of District Commissioner. 3-28-36

On all these points, Mr. Betts gave cogent reasons and strong grounds for his criticisms. As to the Criminal Code, it was true it was not yet enforced in this country but the spectre was not yet laid and no one can forecast what might happen. It was therefore necessary that vigilance should not be relaxed.

Incidentally, the speaker remarked that progress had recently been made in certain respects in the Gold Coast and Nigeria where duly qualified officers with the requisite legal qualifications had been appointed to administer justice in parts of the Protectorate and High Courts had been established up-country. Africans had also received appointments in the Legal and Judicial Department. These developments Congress had fought for and it remains for Sierra Leone to keep in line.

Under the acclamations of the gathering Mr. Betts concluded his valuable end instructive paper, to which no summary can do justice except when read in full and closely studied.

Discussion followed and a number of Resolutions germane to the points at issue were passed.

The next paper—Future Relationship etc., had been entrusted to Rev. G. Max Gorvie but owing to his unavoidable absence upcountry, Rev. Dr. I. E. C. Steady, General Superintendent of the A.M.E. Church, kindly consented to deputise him,

Mr Gorvie, Dr. Steady modestly explained

in his exordium would have been in a better position to deal effectively with all aspects of the question as although born in the Protectorate, he had received his early training and education in Freetown, and having travelled abroad for further education his powerful mind and his eloquence would have enabled him to put his case before the gathering with his usual forcefulness and brilliancy.

He, Dr. Steady, had travelled now and again in parts of the Protectorate on business connected with his Mission and from the nature of the subject it would appear that Congress was not satisfied with the present position of affairs. If this is so, it was clearly the duty of all concerned to work for a more harmonious improvement of the relations between the aborigines and the Colony-born. The relations between himself and the chiefs and the people were always unexceptionable cordiality.

The discussion which followed was most interesting. The various aspects of the question, such as inter-marriages, land tennure in the Protectorate, legal status in the Protectorate of aborigines and so-called African non-natives, and their legal disabilities did not escape criticism. The consensus of opinion was that religion, education and culture would sweep away some of the artificial barriers which now exist and weld all the peoples into one. The present position was one of transition, and in the effluxion of time evolution would transmute all the tribes and peoples of Sierra Leone into a more or less homogeneous whole as in other civilised countries. For years past the process was going on imperceptibly but steadily. Protectorate natives were holding their own in every walk of life, intermarriages whether regular or irregular were taking place, friendships were being formed. In every country in the world there was the silly tendency of shallow-minded folks to hold the country-born and bred to ridicule and to speak contemptuously of other tribes and nationals than its own. But this should not ruffle the the equanimity of sensible people.

Plaudits were given Mr. Smart, Senior student of Fourah Bay College, on his forceful and humorous presentment of the Protectorate side of the case.

Pertinent resolutions were passed and after winding up the debate, the President thanked the audience for their presence and reminded them of other meetings during the coming week.

Vote of thanks to the Lecturers were unanimously passed, the Archdeacon bringing the meeting to a close with the Benediction followed by the National Anthem.

Native Representation Bill Passed.

Huge Majority For The Government.

SINCERITY RINGS IN MR. HOFMEYR'S SPEECH

The Joint Sitting of the Two Houses passed the Third Reading of the Native Representation Bill by 168 votes to 11 shortly after 12.30 a.m. Tuesday morning.

The minority consisted of Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, Minister of the Interior, Colonel C. F. Stallard, Messrs. M. Alexander, R. M. Christopher, A. J. MacCallum, Senator F. S. Malan, J. G. Derbyshire, R. J. du Toit, J. S. Marwick, C. W. A. Coulter and J. Chalmers.

Many of us already know what attitude Senator Malan has taken against the Bill. Mr. Malan belongs to that School of Liberals which fights for the underdog. He has fought strenuously and unremittingly for the retention of the Cape Native Vote. He sees danger in the Bill in that instead of being the solution for the Native problem, it is a repression and a source of bitter feeling and probably hatred the Native may nurture against the European. It does not aim at better understanding and good relationship between the two races.

It was not a surprise to see Mr. Hofmeyr's name amongst those who opposed the Bill. Many of us know how sincere he is in his dealings, and it is a pleasure to note that he perpetuates the memory of his great grandfather "Onze Jan"-- a man of understanding and unselfish motives.

The Minister of the Interior was appalled by the increasing illiberalism which has shown itself since Union. He is afraid that this illiberalism will not halt and that the Native Council will be allowed to become a dead letter, that the Natives will not receive the measure of uplift economically and otherwise promised to them, and that further inroads will be made upon their liberties.

The Bill, Mr. Hofmeyr told the House, incidentally fully corroborating the stand taken throughout by the Dominion Party, inflicted inequality, was based on fear and contained seeds which would destroy that white civilization which it was the intention of the Bill to preserve.

We would like to quote in full the Minister's peroration:

"I oppose this Bill" said the Minister of the Interior, Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr, "It is a Bill which replaces a vested right by a qualified and inferior citizenship and which creates a system of communal representation.

"I oppose it because for that act of privation no adequate justification has been suggested.

"I oppose it because in that system of communal representation there are the seeds of hostility and strife, and I oppose it also because of all those forces of reaction behind the Bill, which, if left unresisted, are inevitably bound to do us greater harm than anything can do us to day.

"I know perfectly well that I am speaking against the feelings of the overwhelming majority of this House. I know I am speaking against the feelings of the great mass of the people of this country, and I know how my remarks will be described as academic. I am accustomed to that. I can see all the adjectives, but these are matters upon which the future must be left to judge.

"I express the belief on what I know of what is going on in the minds of some at least of the younger people in South Africa, especially in the universities.

"I believe that there is also a rising tide of liberalism in South Africa. It is mostly the younger people who are in the forefront of that tide. It is they who are the custodians of the future and whatever we may or may not do today it is by them that the ultimate issues in connection with this matter will have to be decided."

He recognised the Prime Minister's honesty of purpose and the fact that the Bill represented his life's work. There was however a fundamental difference in his outlook and that of his colleagues as regards the principles of the Bill, and that being so, he could not do otherwise than oppose it.

"I must do that whatever the political consequences to myself may be."

Thus Mr. Hofmeyr concluded his speech. A very sincere and bold speech indeed.

Race Problem - 1936
Africa

NIGERIA UNION OF TEACHERS

Presidential Address

(Continued from Saturday's issue)

Examinations

Our resolutions of 1935 forwarded by the Federal Secretary to our patron The Hon The Director of Education have, on the whole, been well received by him. One or two points in his reply which deals with Examination claim our attention here: The first is the constitution of a Board of Examiners for the Std Six Examination henceforth to be known as the first School Leaving Examination. We cannot but congratulate the Director on this wise move. We have to observe however, that on this Board representatives of the teaching agencies are conspicuous by their absence. We hope the Director will consider this point. Even where perhaps they are not, often given papers to mark, their views based on ripe experience on the many questions arising in connection with these Examinations must be valuable. Another point on which we seem to have been misunderstood by the Director has to do with the Junior Cambridge Examination. Here we are misunderstood as holding on to the tyranny of an Examination system. I think we shall be the last to do that. We are simply calling attention to the danger of monotony and narrowness in the Nigerian system of Education. It is true that Class Four Middle Test is "a class Examination which may be taken by the students in their stride" but suppose a boy unfortunately fails in it and is compelled to leave school, should there be no other alternative test or chance which may yet show that he is not as hopeless as Class Four Middle Examination holds him out to be, especially in these days when the merits of Examinations are definite means of determining the standard or measure of a man's mental ability are being subjected to research which produce anxious results? And when we put this Junior Cambridge and other similar Examinations side by side with our Local Form Examination we still have to be told of the superiorty of the latter to the former. On the other hand in the case of the former we still have Examiners who by their indepedent relationships to Nigeria and their universal acceptance within the Empire are admirably fitted for their job. If, as the Director stated, they are supposed to have a different standard for African Students, that standard is certainly not lower than that which prevails in Nigeria as those of us who have to enter candidates for these Examinations very well know. So while we are grateful to the Director for the frank expression of his views on he matter, we are very anxious not to be misunderstood.

Branches Of The N.U.T

When we came together here last year there were 12 branches of the Union. This year we have risen to 17. Oyo, Asaba Division, Ogbomoso, Onitsha and Benin City have joined the ranks largely through the activities of our energetic Federal Secretary. This is an unmistakable sign of the times. We are realising the power of unity country and race with a united front. In unity also lies our claims to be, especially to be heard as a body. No Government can easily afford to give precious time and thought to suggestions which do not represent the interest of a large section, and if the Nigerian Teachers have any message of importance, let them come forward and deliver it with one voice.

The Activities Of The Various Branches

Reports from the various branches also go to show that they have all been fittingly active during the year. But particular mention must be made of the Education Week which was staged by the Lagos Branch and voted a capital success by all whose opinions on it were entitled to respect. When the Nigeria Union of Teachers first came into being, it was looked upon by many with suspicion as a body of dissatisfied teachers out to impose their claims upon decent and peace abiding citizens. Five years of existence, however, have enabled the Union to challenge the justification of such a suggestion. Although it may be natural and perfectly legitimate for any body of people to speak and act in their own interest, the Nigeria Union of Teachers can humbly claim that they are no less concerned with the larger issues—the advancement of Education in Nigeria through all relevant avenues; and the Lagos Union of Teachers may be proud of their recent contribution to this claim. The Oshogbo Branch too, though comparatively young is also gathering strength and vying with her elder sisters in very profitable activities as evinced by her last anniversary celebration. More sinews to her elbows!

The Union's Magazine

The maiden issue of our Magazine under the most able editorship of Mr. E Ita of Columbia and London Universities has delighted us all as a splendid achievement. Six hundred copies have been printed and distributed. The Union, to my mind, has never made a more fitting selection for any post throughout her history than that of Mr. Ita as the Editor of her official organ. His suggestion of an education week was most appealing and has been quickly picked up by the Lagos branch and given an interpretation of which we are all now very proud. In wishing him and his able assistant - Mr. Nyon, continued success I wish on behalf of the Union as a whole to extend to Mr. Ita, very many thanks for his brilliant performance. The second issue is now in the press, and will be out in the course of a week or two. I deplore the unavoidable circumstance which has delayed its publication, and I hasten to explain that it was due to the fact that the important types which were to be used for the Magazine were nearly all engaged on the arrival of the manuscripts and have just been lately released.

The Provident Fund Scheme

Up till now this Council has not yet given a scheme to the Union on this important matter. But I am pleased to observe that

Ijebu Branch have now determined on their own to set the ball rolling. I have called upon the President of that Branch to give us an account of his branch's activities up-to-date, and he has given a very encouraging account. Mr. Okupe has promised to submit to-day a scheme which should also help. It seems certain, therefore, that we can do something for ourselves if we mean to. Perhaps individual Branches might be given a free hand in the matter to see what they can do under local conditions. It may then become easy to frame regulations incorporating the various activities into a united body. The next move would then easily suggest itself.

Obituary

Mr. E M E Agbebi, one of our leading public spirited men in Nigeria, a keen churchman, and a true friend of our Union has "crossed the vale". He has however left behind him a name in church and educational circles which shall long be remembered with honour. To his widow and children our hearts go out in deep and prayerful sympathy. Mrs A E M Gibson, an influential member of the Executive Board, Lagos Branch, has also been called to higher service—A true lover of Mother Africa, greatly missed from Lagos, from Nigeria, yea from West Africa.

We appeal to the women of Nigeria to come forward and fill the gap created by her demise.

We have also lost by death the energetic Secretary of the Moni Branch at Abonema—Mr. O D Jim Jack, two other active members at Abeokuta—Messrs. B A Ogundaini and M S Sodiya, and one from Calabar - Mr. B E Ekong. It is needless for me to emphasize how keenly we have felt these losses. On your behalf I extend deep condolence to the relatives of the deceased. May they rest in peace !

Officers of the Union

It is with unqualified pleasure that I have once more to record my great indebtedness to your officers for the able way in which they have co-operated with me during the year 1935, and the whole-hearted service which every-one of them has given to the Union. I must refer to the Federal Secretary again this year as the back bone of our continuity and expansion, and the hardest worked of us all. He continues to maintain his ground as "the surprise packet" of the year 1934, and I am not at all doubtful in my mind that "that double spirit of Elijah" in him seems now to have been trebled. I thank him heartily. God grant that his unbounded enthusiasm and devotion to duty may never abate.

The End

My comrades, I am done. I thank you for the characteristic patience with which you have often listened to me. We have all come together here determined to serve the cause of education to the best of our power. We have made sacrifices in the past, and are prepared, if need be, to make more sacrifices in the future. In our own interest what we claim, and have a right to claim, is a square deal—the right to live and let live—and a mode of existence in which we shall be in a position to discharge our onerous duties—in the most able way. In the course of all our struggles, for better conditions, better treatment, and just recognition of the issues involved, let us keep our loyalty and devotion to our sacred mission clearly in view. And before I bid you goodbye as your outgoing President, I would plead, with your kind permission, that you shall always let those famous lines of Howard Walter ring in your ears throughout 1936 and onwards:

I would be true, for there are those who trust me;
I would be pure, for there are those who care;
I would be strong, for there is much to suffer;
I would be brave, for there is much to dare.

INQUIRY INTO ZANZIBAR RIOTS.

Commission Appointed.

African Mirror

NAIROBI, February 18.

The Government of Zanzibar have appointed a commission "to inquire into and report upon the causes, direct and indirect, of the riot of February 7, including any circumstances which may be reasonably considered to have been contributory factors." Its chairman is to be the acting Chief Justice, Mr. Wilmot Fretz, and the other members are the Director of Medical Services, Dr. W. L. Webb; an Arab Sheikh, Ali Bin el Marahubi; Archdeacon G. Elliott; and an Indian advocate, Mr. Ahmed Ayub.

The latest "Gazette" publishes a message from the Sultan appreciating the efficiency and restraint of the police. It also expresses sympathy with the relatives of the dead officers.—"The Times."

2-22-36

Official List of Casualties

An official telegram from Zanzibar received by the Colonial Office gives the following list of casualties:—

Two dead: Mr. Ian Humphry Davy Rolleston (Assistant District Commissioner) and Inspector Camrudeen.

Thirteen injured: Mr. R. Donkin (Produce Inspector), Mr. Leslie Skinner (Acting Commissioner of Police), Mr. J. P. Jones (Acting Provincial Commissioner), the secretary of the Arab Association, who was endeavouring to pacify the rioters; two Washiri Arabs who were in the vicinity; six police Askaris (five being only slightly hurt); and one Swahili youth.

Four of the rioters were killed or died of wounds, and two were injured. The latter are now in hospital. All these six received their injuries by the fire of the police while they were attacking Inspector Camrudeen, the Daykjam Police Station, and a party of four police on patrol. There may be further wounded in hiding. There are 14 persons at present under arrest, including known rioters and suspects, and further arrests are expected. Normal conditions have now been restored.

Disturbance in Uganda.

NAIROBI, February 8.

An incident in the Busoga district of Uganda is the subject of an official communiqué. A disturbance occurred recently at a cotton ginnery near Kaliro and several natives were hit by pellets fired from a shot-gun. The affray followed a disagreement about the price payable for cotton brought in by natives, and the crowd started throwing stones at a small corrugated iron building in which the Indian staff of the ginnery had taken refuge. The Indians fired a shot-gun into the roof to frighten the crowd, which numbered 700, but the pellets were deflected. Serious trouble was averted by the promptness of a native constable, who persuaded the crowd to disperse.—"The Times."

NATIVE VOTE IN AFRICA

A New Bill

The withdrawal of the Representation of Natives Bill in order to introduce a new bill embodying the compromise proposals was announced by General Hertzog on Monday at the joint sitting of the two Houses of Parliament in Capetown. This move has been made in spite of the rejection by the natives of the suggested compromise.

The original bill provided for the abolition of the native franchise in Cape Province and the creation of a native representative council elected from four divisions in the Union. By the compromise proposal the Cape Province would be divided into three native electoral divisions, each returning a European member to Parliament.

In the course of a letter to the press on the subject on Monday, Sir Abe Bailey declares:

> In General Hertzog's plan we have the first instalment of a policy to meet the immediate pressing need of stemming the tide of native domination. . . . I wish to congratulate General Hertzog on introducing the bill, with its defensive and protective national policy. It displays sensible and vigorous leadership and its strength and simplicity have the stamp of genius.
>
> South Africa is now keenly conscious of her nationhood and we have the definite business of our own self-preservation. Do not let us shipwreck our existence. Nor let us even allow the possibility of native domination in South Africa in the future. -Reuter.

Race Problem – 1936

Africa

African Culture and Religion.

Ilanga lase Natal
3-28-36

E! Mngane,

The Bantu of Natal

uProfessor R. F. Hoernle, M. A., B. Sc. uyasisekela sinc Mnumzane uMaseko lapho sigci zelela sithi kukhona izinto aba fundisi bokuqala (pioneer Mis sionaries) abazithatha ngamandla nangamawala bathi zimbhi, ziyi sono, kanti zifanele ukwenziwa abantu abangamaKrestu, azihla ngene, azithinti nakancane inkolo yomuntu yobuKrestu. 7 ifu ndeleni amazwi ka Professor nanka:

"Certainly, there is such a thing as Bantu culture, and for all that it was dubbed 'savage' and 'heathen' by the Europeans who first came into contact with it, it has, as those who know it at first hand bear witness, many admirable features - admirable even by white staudards. Much of that culture still survives even after more than a hundred years of contact with whites - more of it in the Reserves than among the Natives in white rural areas and in urban locations. Are not over three million Natives in the Union's official Year Book classed as "having no religion," because to the Christian compilers of that book the Natives' 'own' religion is not a religion?"

Encwadini yami eyaphuma ezintleni zeLanga ngathi abantu babenayo lento ebizwa ngokuthi "Religion." uMfundisi odumile yo uRev. R. J. Campbell, M. A., D. D., uchasisela lelo gama uthi: "Religion is man's response to the call of the universe. It is the soul turning towards its source and its goal."

Lapho umninimuzi egedeza emi entla nomuzi ekhuluma nalaba esithi thina bafile bephilile, usuke ebonakalisa "iReligion" yabantu. uSir Oliver Lodge uthi: "The unseen universe is a great reality, that is the region to which we really belong, and to which we shall one day return."

Sikholwa ukuthi abafileyo bahlezi endaweni yabo, bayasibona, basijezise noma bas'enzele okuhle thina esisekhona kulomhlaba. Inkolo yabantu yemvelo levo kungakafiki umlungu.

Lemfundiso yabelungu ethi mizimbha yethu yasemhlaben yobuye ivuke, siye nayo ezulwini umuntu imsanganisa ingqondo. Umzanyana umbhelwa phansi qede abuye avuke ahlangane ne ngane ahlukana nayo izalwa: uSir Oliver Lodge leyo ntshuma ntsumane, lawo'manga, uwa phendula ngalawa mazwi: "Not that our bodies will rejoin the spirit, the spirit will not need them, it will have a spiritual or etheric body of its own. Our present material bodies are formed of earthly particles, and to the earth they will always return."

I do not see why a man should be ashmed of confessing that he does his own thinking instead of letting other people do it for him.

Certain dogmatic beliefs are not not only erratic and misleading but unethical. What is wanted, therefore, is a restatement of the essential truth of the Christian religion in terms of the modern mind.

JOSAYA MAPHUMULO.

Kwa Qedumhawu.
Esiduniini.

VISIT TO THE CONNAUGHT HOSPITAL ON HEALTH WEEK.

Weekly News

BY FANCY.

In accordance with the invitation previously issued by the Medical Officer of Health, the following representative party of citizens visited the Connaught Hospital, Wards and Compound in connection with the annual Health and Baby Week, on Thursday the 5th March at 2 30 p m. viz:—F. A. Miller Esq., J.P., J. Newton Faulkner Esq., M. J. Oyedele Macauley Esq., I.S.O., J.P., J. Levi John, Esq., Assistant Colonial Secretary, E. Fashole Luke, Esq., Barrister-at-Law and Mrs. Rose Palmer.

3-21-36

After a wait of about ten minntes in the hopes that more invitees might turn up, the Acting Medical Officer of Health, Dr. W. Allan and the Matron, Miss A. E. Mac'Master, M.B.E., decided we should make a move on. Whereupon, they conducted us round the different apartments which combine to keep this modern Hospital going on with clock-work regularity. Our first place of inspection was the Dispensary, with its array of bottles of all sizes, scrupulously labelled, containing the ingredients of the many obnoxious but indispensable medicines which are used in restoring our jaded nerves worn-out energies and ill-used bodies, to their normal form. Considering the present population of Freetown and the number of Outdoor Patients of not less than 150 which daily receive treatment at the Hospital, exclusive of Government Officials, as also the steady demand of the different Wards in the Hospital, I believe the size of the Dispensary is quite inadequate to meet the incessant and pressing demand, which is accentuated on clinic days, when scores of ante-natal, post natal, infantile and maternity Cases have also to be dispensed for. Those of us who have been privileged to visit well-equiped Hospitals abroad, must admit that our Dispensary is a back number compared with the Dispensaries in such Hospitals.

We were next shown the Outdoor Patients Surgical room where ulcers, wounds, etc., are seen to, and urgent minor operations are done. Thence we were taken to the Surgeon-Specialist Theatre, with its formidable array of dazzling bright instruments, its adjustable table, and the enormous arc lamp which throws no shadow owing to the ingenious arrangement of the reflectors; its up-to-date appliances, and the very convenient device for sterilizing bandages etc., in use, which is the latest method, placed as they are in nickel plated containers with covers, before being steamed in the boiler, and the meticulous care with which the attendant nurses handle and arrange everything therein, deeply impressed us. We owe a deep sense of gratitude to the genius who presides over that Theatre. He is almost a wizard in the uncanny use he makes of those instruments in his dexterious fingers, and the fillip or new lease he gives to life, by his skilful manipulation and the minute attention to every detail in the treatment of his cases. We were so fascinated with all we saw that we were reluctant to leave the room.

Our next place of inspection was the Kitchen with its huge caldrons for boiling rice and making soup; also a cooking range used for preparing more delicate food. There is always a copious supply of hot water and steam, which facilitates work everywhere. In the next room to this is installed a huge steam boiler, wherein is placed a mattress, pillows etc. requiring disinfection. Contiguous to this is the plant in which the disinfecting liquid is placed, and copper tubes connect it with the boiler, and the contents therein are permeated with the steaming disinfecting liquid. In this way all beds, beddings etc., are thoroughly disinfected before they are put in use again. It is an elaborate but economic arrangement.

Freetown, Sierra Leone

We then passed on to the laundry with its wooden troughs and supply of hot and cold water. About a dozen women were actively engaged getting in spotlessly clean condition, the huge amount of linen used in the Wards. The hygenic methods adopted disclose the fact, that every precaution is taken in making the beddings etc., immune from all infectious diseases, before being used again. The entire Hospital owes its supply of hot water and steam to a huge boiler, using both coal and wood as fuel. It is kept going night and day and consumes three tons of coal and a cord of wood every fortnight. A very small item of expenditure when one considers the enormous benefits derived therefrom.

There was a regrettable lack of foresight shown in the general planning of the Connaught Hospital, when it is remembered that our City is steadily growing in size and population. To-day the Wards are quite inadequate to cope with the continuous demands which are daily being made by necessitous Patients. Often the Doctors are compelled we hear, to discharge their patients some days before they should have been discharged, because more urgent cases await admission. Another Maternity Ward is also urgently needed. In the construction of the new buildings, which we are told will shortly be undertaken, we would earnestly solicit that some, consideration should be given to the suggestion to extend the existing four Wards, or the placing of another floor on top of these, to enable more patients to be accommodated.

That wonder of modern scientific discovery—the X-Ray—next claimed our attention. In a separate room at the back of the Outdoor Patients' waiting room, is installed this marvellous instrument. Although we were not privileged to witness it in operation, yet we greatly appreciate the wonderful work it is doing in alleviating the sufferings of the sick, in localizing the trouble when hidden from the naked eye. Those of us who have been under its rays, know what inestimable help it is to the Doctors, in determining the cause of some of our ailments, especially when they do not yield to local treatment. It is indeed a pity, that up till now, no means has yet been found to eliminate the fatality in the long run in the use of the Violet Rays, to its operators.

We cannot speak in too glowing terms of the splendid way in which the Hospital is kept, and the courtesy of the matron Miss Mac'Master, whose explanation of everything we saw, was lucid and interesting. We are also thankful to Dr. Allan for his untiring and painstaking efforts in making Health Week the huge success it is this year.

We much appreciate, and are thankful for, the privilege which was thus accorded us in getting first hand knowledge of the beneficent and efficient work that is being done in the Connaught Hospital, and sincerely hope that more citizens will manifest that intelligent interest in its work and endeavour to avail themselves of the opportunity to see things for themselves when the invitations for next year are issued.

Freetown,
10th March, 1936.

Mr. B. W. Vilakazi (B.A. Hons.)

Ilanga Lase Natal
(The Sun of Natal)

(By Dr. I. B. Gumede.)

3-28-36

A Summer graduation ceremony of the Witwatersrand University took place in the City Hall on the 21st March, and among the 250 Graduands was Mr. B. W. Vilakazi. Since Vilakazi joined Professor Doke he has made himself liked by the students of the University and has worked hard to interpret the behaviour of the educated Africans towards their superiors, be they colleagues or fellow students. To be able to do all this Mr. Vilakazi has had the unfailing assistance of his Dean. Professor Doke is doing a great deal of work at the University to make the Zulu language familiar to European students--and one might go further and say--he is doing a great deal to give it a literature.

Mr. Vilakazi has qualified with honours in Comparative Philology-Linguistics and Phonetics. As he knelt to be capped by the Vice-Chancellor of the University there was a loud applause from the public and students followed by the students singing "For he is a jolly good fellow". There was a thrill of triumph through Messrs. Lincoln Ngwane, Rev. Luhlongwane, Harold T. Khumalo and Dr. Gumede who were the only Africans allowed into the congregation, and I am sure Professors Doke and Hoernle must have felt thankful and relieved because Mr. Vilakazi is as yet their "mad" adventure.

The afternoon Mr. Vilakazi and his party of friends spent with Professor and Mrs. Hoernle at their home and finally were shown round the University by car. Mr. Vilakazi, we are convinced, may be lonely at the University but he is not alone in the attempt to improve the attitude of the European students towards cultures that are regarded as being inferior because as yet they are primitive.

The short time we spent with Professor and Mrs. Hoernle convinced us that there is a wealth of sympathy, willing co-operation and guidance that Mr. Vilakazi receives from Professor Doke and Mr. Hoernle and many others unknown to me, all true friends of the Africans who never mention or trade that friendship.

'The Comet.'

Maseru, Basutoland.

SATURDAY MAY 9 1936

Bamangwato Protest against Union Grant

The Comet
(Mochudi Bamangwato)

According to reports from London the resolution of the Bamangwato protesting against the £35000 grant by Union for the development of the High Commission Territories was the subject of discussion in the House of Commons. Questions requiring an explanation of the position were directed by members of the Labour Party to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs. The resolution is as follows:—

"The natural desire of any nation should be to live in peace and goodwill with its neighbours. Our hope is that the relationship between the Union Government and ourselves will be a cordial and amicable one and for our mutual benefit. We assist the Union by large numbers of our people going to work on the gold mines, and in consideration of such assistance we never cease to hope that the Union Government will open its markets, particularly the Johannesburg meat market, to our chief industry—the cattle industry.

"But we have consistently and strenuously opposed any suggestion that we should become either a portion or a protectorate of the Union of South Africa whenever and on every occasion that it has been suggested We desire to remain under the direct protection of Great Britain, which we hope and pray may long continue.

VIEWED WITH ALARM

"The Bamangwato people accordingly view with great alarm and suspicion the suggestion that the Imperial authorities in the protectorate contemplate accepting pecuniary and other assistance from the Union Government. They are strongly of opinion that the acceptance of such an offer will place the protectorate under a debt of obligation to the Union Government. We should have moved sooner in this matter had we understood that the conversations between Mr J.H Thomas (then Secretary for the Dominions) and General Hertzog meant that the suggested co-operation' was to take this form.

"In the light of the recent proposed legislation of the Union. the free and willing consent of the Natives to become part and parcel of the Union appears more remote than ever before. We therefore hereby register a solemn protest against the present proposal as being detrimental to our very existence as a free people."

Mr A. C. Jones (Labour, Yorkshire West Riding) this afternoon asked the Dominions Secretary whether his attention had been drawn to the Bamangwato protest against the Imperial Government's acceptance of the £35 000 grant from the South African Government for assistance to the protectorate, for which the Imperial Government was directly responsible, and whether he would make a statement assuring the Bamangwato people that the Government has no intention of transferring the protectorate to the Union.

PLDEGES REMAIN UNIMPAIRED

Mr Malcolm MacDonald Secretary for the Dominions, in reply, said he had seen reports in the press about the resolution, and he was communicating with the High Commissioner on the subject.

Replying to the question whether he would make a statement assuring the Bamangwato people that the Government had no intention of transferring the protectorate to the Union. Mr MacDonald said that pledges which the British Government had given to the House of Commons and the inhabitants of the territories remain unimpaired.

Mr Creech Jones: "Is it not regarded as very much better that the protectorate should not be put under an obligation to the Union and will the Minister make representations on this matter so that if the Union Government wishes to be helpful towards the protectorate, they should open their markets to the products of the protectorates?"

Mr MacDonald. "I would point out that the assistance offered by the Union will enable works to be undertaken which could not otherwise be undertaken for the development of the territory in the interests of the Natives."

Mr J. Maxton (Independent Labour, Bridgeton). "Does he not regard this move by the Union as definitely altering the status of the territory?"

Mr MacDonald: "It does not alter the status in the least. As I have said, the position in regard to transfer remain exactly as it was."—Reuter.

Race Problem - 1936
Africa

MODERN ABEOKUTA

Nigerian Daily Times

Dawn Of Progressive Era

5-21-36

ENLARGED APPEAL COURT IN SESSION

Lagos, Nigeria

Barrister Chief At Service And Yesterday's Opening Sitting

LOWER COURT SENTENCE QUASHED

(Daily Times Special Telegram)

Abeokuta, Wednesday.

SCENES not only brilliant but rather reminiscent of an opening of the Assize in Lagos or some important centre were enacted here yesterday morning the occasion being the formal inauguration by the Alake of the Appeal Court of the Judicial Council which as already announced in the "Daily Times" was preceded by Divine Service at the Anglican Church of St. Peter, Ake.

Oba Alaiyeluwa, the Alake, Ademola II, C.B.E., with whom were the Hon. Chief Adeyemo Alakija (who motored from Lagos and was at the Palace at a little past nine o'clock) Barrister-at-Law and Bariyun of Ake, the Osile, Councillors, other chiefs of townships and a large concourse of people who looked upon the event as one of great importance in their country's march in civilised administration of justice, went out with the Alake at half past nine o'clock. A smart contingent of the Egba Administration Police had turned out some forty minutes previously under the command of Superintendent (Oga Olopa) Ajayi and as soon as Oba Alaiyeluwa emerged from the Afin, formed into marching order headed by the band which burst forth into the lively tune of "Onward Christian Soldiers" towards the Church. The Alake walked slowly at the head of his Chiefs and, on arriving at the gate he stood reverently aside with the entourage and the robed choristers with six Ministers bringing up the rear entered and took up the singing of the hymn the band had ceased playing until everybody was seated. The Church was fairly well filled and the short order of Service was conducted by the Rev. S A Delumo, B.A., with whom were five others, namely, the Curate Rev. D O Dixon, Rev I O Ransome-Kuti, Rev B A Falode, Rev D A Beckley (of the Methodist Connexion) and Rev J O G Sodipe. The Alake's Private Secretary (who is organist of the Church) presided at the organ.

In his short address Mr Delumo chosing his text appropriately carried the audience in retrospect back to the period all Egba knew when the litigants had "justice" according as they were able to carry the chiefs with them. That things were not quite as they should have been even in the earlier reign of Alake Gbadebo who himself, following the custom to which he was to put an end, caused cases to be heard in his own Palace. Later there was a Mixed Court which dealt with cases in which aliens or Europeans were concerned with the natives. The Resident was the President of that Court and amongst those who now and again assisted to adjudicate with the Resident were the late Mr Edun, and Mr D. Olaleye Lijadu. Grade "A" or Major Court was later started and Egba people would remember such names as Mr Vaughan (of Isale Ogu), Mr P P Martins, Mr Anthony Bernard Green (later Adefolu) Mr J O George, (Jnr), D O Sowande the last named of whom was the immediate predecessor of the present Barrister Judge A Folarin of whose good work on that important judicial bench all knew who were there present. It was a happy thought which had inspired the present Alake to inaugurate the strengthening of the Court of appeal of which he himself was President with such learned men in the law and experience of local law and custom as he had chosen. He quite agreed with a note embodied in Monday's leading article in the "Daily Times" that the most important function in the management of the affairs of a people is its judiciary and in taking the step which was taken that day Alake had not belied the lead which Abeokuta had been recognized to give to other Native States in the South. It was not for want of something else to do that those patriotic gentlemen of Lagos had accepted to serve on the Appellate Court. They were standing by the Alake as became true Egba men and he had no doubt they would give of their best in serving the best interests of their country by means of assisting its highest judicial tribunal, bringing their knowledge of the law and of the custom and law of the country to bear in the process. Theirs was a heavy responsibility but he prayed that they might be guided in their decisions. awarding fitting penalty for the guilty and unalloyed justice to the righteous for God Himself is with the fearless, true judge as the maxim commonly quoted in their own Vernacular connoted :—

S' otito,
Se rere
Eni S' otito
Ni' Male 'gbe.

Meaning :—

Ever righteous be,
In all things be true
For God only rewards
Him that stands by truth.

The Service being over the Alake surrounded by the Ministers who took part in the Service and the Councillors and Chiefs as also the Choristers was photographed in front of the Church and the procession being reformed returned to the Palace where the Guard of Honour was reviewed and the Appeal Court commenced its sitting with the following Members on the bench with the Alake their President :—

sometimes they are given medicine, and fingers.
milk is freely supplied in the breast.
As I said, we cannot speak too much of May God grant that her life be long
the activities of Miss McCotter. She has spared and her ways prosperous.
had her training from her young days and
understand her work to the tips of her

The Bariyun of Ake,
The Osile,
The Balogun of the Egba,
The Otun of the Egba,
The Balogun of the Xtians
The Kemo of Itori,
The Apesi of Oko.

The first case taken was that in which an appeal had been lodged against his conviction and sentence of six months imprisonment by Ladapo Majekodunmi before the Grade "A" Court.

The Igbakeji Olopa (Mr T Elliott) represented the E N A. The proceedings were watched with great interest by a large number of the public who were on either side of the Judicial Council Hall. Each member of the Court was supplied with the copy of the record from the Court below and the appellant and the witnesses were subjected to close examination where necessary. It was found proper to admit fresh evidence in one material particular and at the end of a most painstaking and searching investigation the appeal was allowed and the appellant set free the Alake explaining to the appellant that one particular issue involved raised considerable doubt in the minds of the Court and that the Court was unanimous that the end of justice was best served by giving the benefit of the doubt to the appellant. He was however warned as to his future conduct.

The judgment was acclaimed by all present and Ladapo Majekodunmi was, outside the Court, the centre of joyful friends and relatives upon his acquittal.

NORTHERN RULERS IN CONFERENCE

Slowly but surely the Northern Provinces of this extensive Dependency make history and it is such a history as cannot but strike any observant student of affairs as to the future of those regions. There can be no greater index of the growing prosperity and general welfare of a people than a closer union of their ruling classes as evidenced in the interesting conferences which for a number of years have taken place with hardly any long break periodically. The conference as our readers will remember has always taken place at Kaduna except, of course, regional or informal meetings and has always been presided over by the Chief Executive Officer of the Northern Provinces. This year's session will go down in history as the last which has been presided over by His Honour Mr G Sinclair Browne, C.M.G., Chief Commissioner, whose impending relinquishment of the reins of the administration of the North as the Governor's Lieutenant will create a void which it is no mere conventional expression to say will be difficult to fill. The conference which has just closed was attended by no less than forty chiefs and amongst whom were the Sultan of Sokoto, the Emirs of Kano, Gwandu, Argungu, Katsina, Zaria, Kontagora, Ilorin etc. A number of Department Officers wsa also present. Our report of the proceedings indicates the wide range of the discussions and the obvious earnestness of the Chiefs to register decisions whose sum total would result in substantial benefit to the respective areas affected. Added to this definite and settled periodical meetings is the still closer contact of individual Emirs one with another. That excellent, helpful exchange of visits has been xtended even to the South which in the last three or four years has seen some of the Northern rulers, a thing which would not have been possible in the days when the old traditional conservatism had not yielded to patient administrative tutelage under Indirect Rule. The South in this particular regard has yet to borrow a leaf from the administrative as well as the social book of wisdom, evidently lying behind not only in regard to the Conference of Emirs but also as regards exchange of visits between the Paramount Rulers of the South as a definite policy. But in that regard the hope is expressed that as a result of Sir Bernard Bourdillon's recent hint at Ife in the near future developments on the lines which would be the forerunner of this much desired closer union or occasional Conferences might materialise.

CHILD WELFARE IN ABEOKUTA

The Recent Baby Show

(Concluded from yesterday's issue)

ALAKE'S ADDRESS ON THE OCCASION

Words fail me to express my thanks, in terms adequate enough, to Miss McCotter, the "mother" of our children, for her being here with us today. When we commenced this scheme, 7 years ago, nobody knew that it would be so advantageous. If one would do a thing well, that thing should be entrusted into the hands of a good and suitable person. No one can fully realise the immensity of the good work done by this veteran lady until that one has visited the Centre and seen the nature of the work that is being done in the Centre.

Of all the workers in my Administration, I greatly admire and value Miss McCotter. She is an early riser and before 5 a.m. she is at her work in the Centre, and works on till 12 o'clock noon. If one who has not got an exceptionally extraordinary reserve of strength and vital energy, would work in such a strenuous manner, the health of that one will soon break down. But she continues like that daily and the mothers who come under her care know fully well the great and keen interest she has for them. Besides doing such great work at the Centre, she also visits or send her visiting nurses to the women under their care in their different houses. There are midwifery and maternity wards attached to the Centre which makes the question of putting to bed easier for the women. She devotes her entire energy and time to the interest of her work, and even when she goes on furlough she hardly rests, because she is always up and about trying to obtain something or other which will go to make for the good and thorough working of the institution.

She has great influence with Europeans of different classes and she is well respected and liked for her good work. Her influence is so great with them that she gets all that she requires from them for the benefit of the Centre. When her work and the success that attends her efforts are compared with those of other such like institution, the only fitting expression is that she is the right lady in her post. This Welfare Centre is the training centre from which the future welfare and the makers of the community are being nurtured and taken care of, and as such, it demands the best, and only the best that we can give. If they are well looked after, they will grow up to be fit and strong citizens in the future.

She has told you, husbands, to take care of your wives: as soon as your wives are pregnant you should send them there; this is what I do myself and the babies attended to are always strong and healthy. You must also take care of your water and see that it is well preserved. Before drinking my water I generally have it boiled and then filtered; all these are done in the night and the water is then left over night to cool. This system is greatly beneficial as it removes all impurities and destroys germs that move about in the water. Our water is good, but if it is boiled it will be better still.

There are two subjects therefore, to be fully considered, namely (1) Baby Show; (2) Decoction.

We do not know the evils that attend on the use of decoctions, but they have killed several innocent children. But what else can we expect when we administer to children a portion that is already too strong for grown-ups. It will not kill them in one or two days, but, eventually, they will die. Since the inception, 7 years ago, of the activities of this Centre, infantile mortality has greatly diminished. Last year the number of people that attended the Centre was 32,000, and 5,000 babies were born.

The troubles that arose from undertaking the care and treatment of children at home were always great and fatal. Sometimes when a child was born, and the parents, inexperienced as they were, thought that they could take care of it at home, great trouble was caused by a simple action, for example, of cutting the navel. This was oftentimes cut with a bad, dirty pair of scissors, and when dirt got into the sore, tetanus set in and eventually the baby died.

The charges made at the Centre are very low, and reasonable, and therefore you should induce others to come and enjoy the benefit of this good institution. A good trade advertises itself and for this we are appreciated and have proved the worthiness of the Scheme. There are small sized spoons, suitable to feed babies and have been well appreciated and have proved the worthiness of the Scheme. There is no other centre these should be used, as the measurement is safer and more accurate. Sometimes than what we get here. I advice you, there fore, to stop feeding your children by pouring water down their throat. There are small mothers have a poor supply of milk in their breasts, but after attending the Clinic for

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ALAKE'S ADDRESS ON THE OCCASION

Words fail me to express my thanks, in terms adequate enough, to Miss McCotter, the "mother" of our children, for her being here with us today. When we commenced this scheme, 7 years ago, nobody knew that it would be so advantageous. If one would do a thing well, that thing should be entrusted into the hands of a good and suitable person. No one can fully realise the immensity of the good work done by this veteran lady until that one has visited the Centre and seen the nature of the work that is being done in the Centre.

Of all the workers in my Administration, I greatly admire and value Miss McCotter. She is an early riser and before 5 a.m. she is at her work in the Centre, and works on till 12 o'clock noon. If one who has not got an exceptionally extraordinary reserve of strength and vital energy, would work in such a strenuous manner, the health of that one will soon break down. But she continues like that daily and the mothers who come under her care know fully well the great and keen interest she has for them. Besides doing such great work at the Centre, she also visits or send her visiting nurses to the women under their care in their different houses. There are midwifery and maternity wards attached to the Centre which makes the question of putting to bed easier for the women. She devotes her entire energy and time to the interest of her work, and even when she goes on furlough she hardly rests, because she is always up and about trying to obtain something or other which will go to make for the good and thorough working of the institution.

She has great influence with Europeans of different classes and she is well respected and liked for her good work. Her influence is so great with them that she gets all that she requires from them for the benefit of the Centre. When her work and the success that attends her efforts are compared with those of other such like institution, the only fitting expression is that she is the right lady in her post. This Welfare Centre is the training centre from which the future welfare and the makers of the community are being nurtured and taken care of, and as such, it demands the best, and only the best that we can give. If they are well looked after, they will grow up to be fit and strong citizens in the future.

She has told you, husbands, to take care of your wives: as soon as your wives are pregnant you should send them there; this is what I do myself and the babies attended to are always strong and healthy. You must also take care of your water and see that it is well preserved. Before drinking my water I generally have it boiled and then filtered; all these are done in the night and the water is then left over night to cool. This system is greatly beneficial as it removes all impurities and destroys germs that move about in the water. Our water is good, but if it is boiled it will be better still.

There are two subjects therefore, to be fully considered, namely (1) Baby Show; (2) Decoction.

We do not know the evils that attend on the use of decoctions, but they have killed several innocent children. But what else can we expect when we administer to children a portion that is already too strong for grown-ups. It will not kill them in one or two days, but, eventually, they will die. Since the inception, 7 years ago, of the activities of this Centre, infantile mortality has greatly diminished. Last year the number of people that attended the Centre was 32,000, and 5,000 babies were born.

The troubles that arose from undertaking the care and treatment of children at home were always great and fatal. Sometimes when a child was born, and the parents, inexperienced as they were, thought that they could take care of it at home, great trouble was caused by a simple action, for example, of cutting the navel. This was oftentimes cut with a bad, dirty pair of scissors, and when dirt got into the sore, tetanus set in and eventually the baby died.

The charges made at the Centre are very low, and reasonable, and therefore you should induce others to come and enjoy the benefit of this good institution. A good trade advertises itself and for this we are thankful that our efforts have been appreciated and have proved the worthiness of the Scheme. There is no other centre is safer and more accurate. Sometimes mothers have a poor supply of milk in their breasts, but after attending the Clinic for a month what we get here. I advice you, therefore, to stop feeding your children by pouring water down their throat. There are small sized spoons, suitable to feed babies and these should be used, as the measurement is safer and more accurate. Sometimes mothers have a poor supply of milk in their breasts, but after attending the Clinic for

Race Problem - 1936
Africa

Struggles Of The Under-dog

Sir,

I quote the following from "The Spark," an organ of the Workers' Party of Africa. "Nothing is more erreneous, more misleading, than to see in the present struggle a racial struggle of white against black. Nothing is more educative for the people than the actual living class struggle. Years of revolutionary propaganda could not give the Bantu what the experience of the last few months has given them. They have grown up politically and intellectually. This is the most gratifying feature in this time of trial. It is a ray of light in the gathering darkness. It is hardly possible to recognise them in their recent meetings, discussions, debates. They stiffened their backs. They are shedding their docility. They are hardening, and no wonder. There was a lot for them to learn, harsh facts concerning justice as meted out by the oppressor, the stranger, harsh facts concerning friendship as expressed by the exploiter. From the very beginning the Government had tried to corrupt the leaders of the Bloemfontein Convention. For four days the mysterious friends of Natives, with beads of perspiration on their foreheads, were running from the Prime Minister's office to the Executive Committee of the Bloemfontein Convention. And a firm 'No' was the answer to all the tricks.

The present autocrats of South Africa may take away the rights of the people. The autocratic Isar Nicholas II. did so in 1906 by means of the Constitution of 1905. But the oppressed people in South Africa will take their rights as did the Russian oppressed peoples in 1917. The temporary 'solution' imposed by Imperialism will be replaced by a permanent solution supplied by the people themselves; the solution of socialism. Not in remote generations yet to come, but in our own time."

Wise men of the world, everywhere, recognise that a great social conflict is approaching and that it is irrepressible—that nothing can be done to avert it. All the thinking people of the world are agreed that the workers of Christendom are ripe for a revolution which would sweep present social institutions with a besom of destruction and that, if the large and hitherto conservative farming community were to join the ranks of the discontents and revolutionist, the combination would be irresistible. Advote F. A. W. Lucas, K. C., has come out as leader of a crusade to put an end to poverty. The Farmers' and Workers' Party has made such progress in the short time of its existence that it has been turned into a party. Its programme includes: Abolition of taxation; no more poll or general taxes; land for the extension of Native Reserves, and expert assistance for their inhabitants to enable them to make full use of the land and to establish any industries they may desire to undertake. A minimum wage of ten shillings for every worker a day. In his lecture at the Trades Hall, Johannesburg. Advocate Lucas, among other things, said: "The actual exploiters are insignificant in number. Those who are exploited form the great majority and can take contol if they want to. You have the power. Use it. Make up your minds that this is the last Government that will exploit the workers. "The French Revolution broke the bounds of Caste; the inevitable levelling of society will be accomplished bv a revolution.

JOSIAH MAPHUMULO.

Kwa-Qedumhawu,

Esidunjini.

Appropriation

(A Subterfuge)

3-21-36

General Hertzog and his Cabinet, according to press reports from Cape Town, are contemplating the provision of a huge grant by special appropriation from loan funds of from £10,000,000 to £15,000,000 AFTER the Native Bills have reached the Statute book. The object is to place the funds under the control of a special board of trustees, and purchases of land from time to time will be made therefrom in the released areas. It is also proposed to arrange a substantial scheme of capital development in the reserves as from these funds. The supporters of this proposal in the Cabinet are convinced that a really substantial financial contribution towards Native development would impress not only the Natives themselves, but neighbouring territories in Africa, and overseas countries interested in the Native question, with the sincerity of the Union's attempt to tackle the Native problem. A separate civil service is also envisaged by the Government to deal with Native Affairs.

The foregoing prognostications, viewed superficially, are certainly lavish and liberal. But they are but a part and parcel of the Native Bills legislation—that portion of them which is conveniently treated as the tail-end. The financial and land clauses will be provided for, by this or another Government, from loan funds, and not from surpluses as suggested recently by Mr. Heaton Nicholls. From the outset the sponsors are among themselves not agreed regarding the source from which the funds will be drawn. The vanguard of the Bills now before the Joint Sitting of Parliament is the Representation of Natives in Parliament clause. As it deals with the Cape Native franchise it is a bird in the hand for the enemies of Bantu freedom, for all that needs to be done is to tamper with the concrete substance of the Native vote. The bird in the bush is left for the Natives to capture, and that, after their franchise has suffered mutilation and been placed on the Statute book as such. If the elaborate machinery the Government has provided for making £15,000,000 available at once breaks down, say through the narrow-mindedness of the platteland, or through another depression, the Native franchise will have been safely put in "its right place" in any case. Generals Hertzog and Smuts, as was rumoured recently, would take cover in retiring from politics, triumphant in their objective of having killed the black vote forever. The next Government will probably not allow itself to be harassed with budgets providing for Native land acquisition. And rightly too, for it would be inconcievable to insist that they

carry out the then ex-Prime Minister's segregation policy to finality under impossible conditions.

The proposed appropriation of funds for the purchase of land after our franchise has been robbed is a transparent subterfuge. If any sincerity could be credited to the Government, it would be in its dealing with the Land and Representative Council clauses simultaneously with the Native Representation in Parliament clause, and certainly not AFTER the latter had been put on the Statute book.

No Natives will be impressed with the aspect of buying a pig in a poke as offered in the problematical appropriations. Neither is the lofty scheme of separate departments of Agriculture, Native Education, Native Irrigation, Engineering and Native Health of any appeal to them so long as any funds on which these would depend, are destined to be voted by an exclusively white parliament that froths with racial prejudice. Neighbouring territories in Africa (the Protectorates, Kenya, Uganda) and overseas countries must be credited with much more sense and statesmanship than to think that they would regard the political segregation of Natives in the Union, with absolutely no security in the land, as a Native policy worth consideration for Africa as a whole. This attempt by the Union Government is as disappointing as it is a reflection on the intelligence of the eminent statesman in the Cabinet. How their broad-mindedness can be warped by prejudice is a sad commentary on the virtues of their race.

Basuto Girls and Education

(Mochudi Letter)

As young men our emotions are apt to run away with us, it is therefore very kind of our more experienced elders like Mr Modibedi to try and keep us on the right track. I feel it my duty to extend my hearty thanks to both Mr Modibedi and Mr Molapo for their encouraging and patriotic articles.

Everybody knows, I think, that we learn by debating and discussing, and by so doing share our knowledge and exchange our ideas. It so happened, very fortunately for me, that one day I had the priviledge to speak to a certain educated Mosuto gentleman. In the course of our conversation we touched upon this delicate subject. I was complaining to him about our being neglected by the Government. He told me that so far, educated Basuto women have done nothing to show that they are capable of doing something for their country and deserve help, he therefore found it difficult for the Government to help us. Now, I appeal to you home women, it is time that our presence in the nation should be felt. We should show that we can do something towards the betterment of our country. The time has come that we should do away with the idea that women are confined to the domestic circle. Nature has given us all different talents, and do you mean to say that if we are helped to develope our talents we would not be of any help to Basutoland.

I hope our women will consider this, discuss it and come to a firm conclusion as to what we should do for our mother-country.

When I came to the Cape I found that women were playing an important part in their nation; they have various associations the aim of all being to improve their conntry. It is natural that we should copy other nations and so keep abreast with the times.

I firmly believe that women were created for a purpose and also that in the history of all nations there is a gap to be filled by them.

"Adumb child dies in the cradle" so say an old Mosuto.

Caroline R. Ramolahloane.

The African National Congress.

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President General's Office
221 Joubert Street,
Volkstreet,
22th May 1936

To
The President and other Members of
The Provincial Executive Committee
African National Congress.

Dear Sir,

Greetings. The Congress in your Province has the duty to lead the Africans and continuously to study the economic and political interests of all classes, as members of one nation. The Congress must lead the Africans as a whole and as one nation. Our policy therefore enfolds all other African Organisations such as the I.C.U., the African Ministers' Association, the Herbalists, etc. We need the friendly co-operation of all African Organisations.

The African National Congress was established by the Paramount Chiefs, Chiefs and African leaders who met at Bloemfontein, on the 8th January, 1912, in the great Convention of 1912, fully representing the Union of South Africa and the Great Protectorates.

It is your duty and ours to carry on the good fight for African rights and for our freedom as a nation. The new legislation must be the great eye-opener to all Africans and we must continue to show our people the right way. The African workers should receive special attention in the new programme of the Congress. We cannot afford to leave them alone in the hands of opportunists and other political adventurers. Please send your Proviucial delegates to this extraordinary meeting of the National Executive Committee, on the 26th to the 30th June 1936.

Nkosi Sikelela-- Morena Hlohonolofatsa Afrika.

P. ka SEME,
(President Gen. A.N.C.)
E. MDOLOMBA,
(Gen. Sectry. A.N.C.)

Race Problem – 1936

Africa

A NOTEWORTHY EVENT

Nigerian Daily Times – 8-12-36

Bishop's Birthday And Retirement

Lagos –

SOLEMN SERVICE AT ST. PETER'S

A Great Gathering

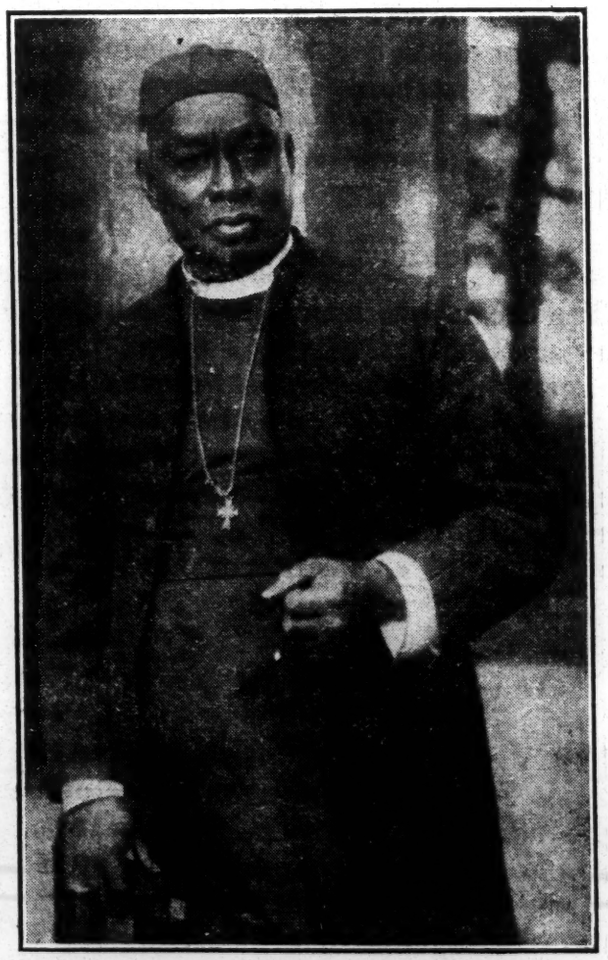
SUNDAY the 9th of August was a red letter day in the annals of the Anglican Church at Abeokuta. The events of the day were in celebration of the 70th birthday of the Rt. Rev. Bishop A W Howells, Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of Lagos and who co-incidentally was retiring from active service on that day.

The congregation which assembled in St. Peter's was notable and large. The Bishop entered the Church bringing up the rear of some twelve Clergymen. It was an imposing sight.

The Niger Diocese in which he laboured for some ten long years was very fittingly represented by the Rev. F E Wilcock, Secretary of the Niger Diocese whilst the Rev. D A Williams of Ibadan was present and delivered the historical sermon of the occasion.

After the service a large number of those participating in the service of the day were entertained by the Bishop at a luncheon at C. M. S House, Mission Yard.

A fuller account of the great event will appear in these columns later.



The Rt. Rev. Bishop A. W. Howells, Assistant Bishop of the Lagos Diocese who received the heartfelt congratulations of all sections of Abeokuta and others abroad regardless of creed and class upon attaining the 70th anniversary of his birthday.

"AFRICA AND PEACE"

"Africa and Peace," is the title of the Burge Memorial Lecture for the year 1936 by A. G. Fraser, M.A., C.B.E., published by the Oxford University Press, and printed by the Clarendon Press.

The Burge Memorial Trust was founded in 1926 to commemorate the work for International Friendship of the Right Reverend Hubert Murray Burge, formerly Bishop of Oxford and President of the British Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches. The Annual Burge Lecture is intended, in accordance with the terms of the Trust Deed, to forward the cause of international friendship through the Churches and to promote a better and wider understanding of the international obligations of Christian peoples.

The first lecture was delivered in King's College, London, on May 10, 1927 by Professor Ernest Barker.

Continued from our last.

Many people doubt the ability of the African and say that he, at an early age, becomes incapable of further education. On this I can speak with some experience, for I have spent fourteen years in educating Africans and eleven of them in a school and college where we have had African boys and girls starting at three and a half years old, and where we take them on to the London degrees in Science and Arts and Engineering. The College is situated in the middle of a large farm, and all the pupils have to learn farming. They do their own laundry-work, they learn how to treat the ordinary village diseases and sores; the boys learn how to make reservoires and watercourses and put up houses; the girls do both African and European cooking and housewifery, both work in wood and metal, they have their own dancing and acting and spend much time in African and European music. Their higher class work has got to be done in a foreign language—English. The many things they have got to do restrict their classes to the amount that would be given in three and a half days' schooling in England, and yet they pass the same examinations as English pupils, take, and tackle successfully the same papers of London University. That does not look like inferior capacity, and inferior capacity they have not got. They are as a body as able as any students anywhere and generally harder working and keener. A few incidents of school life may help you to realize what these African pupils are like.

Weekly News 8-22-36

Once we were draining a very large swamp in order to get rid of mosquitoes and all the older pupils were engaged in the work. The principal went down one morning at 6 o'clock with a pickaxe on his shoulder, and as he passed the small boys house, a small head looked out of an upper window and said, 'Good-morning, Chief.' He could not see who it was, and said, 'Good-morning, blighter.' The child answered, 'Are you going to dig, Chief?' He said, 'Yes.' The child in pleading tones replied, 'Oh, go home, Chief, you are far too old.' It was the perfect kindliness and intimacy and respect which is possible between one possessor of 'buntu' and another.

Freetown, Sierra Leone

Their courage and endurance are amazing. A goal-keeper, early in a football match, was knocked against a goal-post in saving a hard shot. At half-time, he did not go to take his lemon but walked straight off into the opposite goal. At the end of the game he quietly came up to have his arm attended to, as a bone was broken in the forearm, and the wrist also. He had kept goal for at least three-quarters of an hour in that condition.

In an inter-house cross-country competition the run was about three-and-a-half miles long. One sturdy and powerful lad came home well up as had been expected, but quite unexpectedly the moment he crossed the line fell in a dead faint. He was carried on a stretcher to hospital and it was found that his shorts were soaked in blood. When he recovered the story came out. He had had a large abscess near the anus. He knew he would not be allowed to run if any one found out about it, and if he did not run his house was likely to loose the first place. So he sat over a mirror and opened it with a razor. He then ran his 3½ miles tearing himself and bleeding at every step, and helped his house to win. That is quite a typical and not an exceptional instance of courage and endurance.

Those who followed the proceedings of the Parliamentary inquiry into closer union in East Africa will have little doubt of the capacity of Africans. These African representatives, uneducated in the usual meaning of the term, in a strange environment, made as good a showing and put their case with wisdom superior to that shown by their sophisticated opponents.

Weekly News 8-22-36

Their keenness for education, their humility and earnestness in self-improvement, their widespread desire to help to raise their country has to be seen to be believed. In areas where education has become known, many children wait outside crowded schools day after day in hope of a vacancy occurring. Teachers give a month's pay and more to travel to a centre where they can get help.

Freetown, Sierra Leone

Here is a characteristic letter from a far-off village school where the poorly paid staff had scraped together their savings to send one of their number to stay in the college, that he might take back to them and their school all useful hints he could get.

" Sir,—Our teacher whom we chose to visit your school has come back safely. He brought with him news of good cheer, about the great joy with which you embraced him, and the chance permitted him to go round, receiving lectures of enlightenment on subjects difficult for us.

We are indebted to those fellow teachers who attended him without frowning and especially to you ; not financially but in words of praising. We embody these words in a word, " thanks "

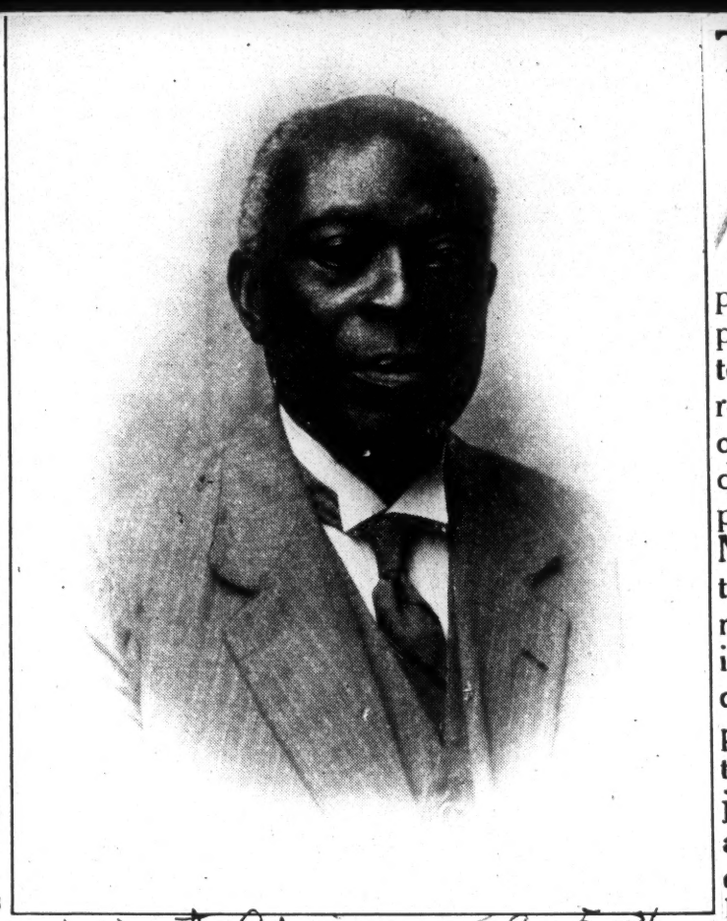
And we hope your charitable gates are not open wide all day long to teachers at Amanase alone, but to others far and near. Long life, wisdom to exact duties, and prosperity shall we evoke from Him unto you and all.

We subscribe,
Teachers of Amanase."

For long years yet, the African will be at the mercy of our material power. Nor, if we left him, would he yet, in the difficult and strange conditions of this century, be able to govern himself or protect his own freedom.

He would be plunged in a sea of troubles as were the Britons when the Romans had to leave them. But cream cannot be kept permanently at the bottom, and he is rising and will rise. If peace based on justice is our world aim, then we have to-day a matchless opportunity of wining the friendship of a great and coming people. But whether we seize our opportunity or lose it, the African will rise. He is of the quality that does.

I have given a large proportion of my time to describing typical peoples of Africa, because the essential thing in working for world peace is to consider the human beings that make up that world. Many letters have appeared in the papers on the Colonial Problem, speeches have been made in the Lords, the Commons and on numerous platforms upon the African colonies, but few of the writers or speakers, speak or write in terms of the African's desires, well-being, or primary importance in the whole matter. Yet the whole relationship between two Continents is at stake. Africa has been deeply wronged by Europe in the past. To-day she receives great benefits from Europe, but she pays full price for most of them. In one place she receives education and in another serfdom: friendship she gets and scorn, hygiene and the loss of her lands. To-day 'savage' Africa is gased and bombed by 'gentle' Europe. Words have surely lost their meaning. The more primitive are not the more savage, the more bestial. And this is true not only on the field of battle, but in the economic field. We resent Mussolini using gas and planes against those who cannot reply in kind. But in the economic struggle the African is just as unfairly handicapped in face of the mining companies and the settling of farmers, and the fierce despair in Abyssinia is of the same kind as the steady crushing despair of South Africa, and is



West African — 9-5-36

The Hon. J. C. Songo-Davies, M.L.C., of Sierra Leone. News has just been received of his appointment for the third time as a Government nominated member of the Council. Mr. Songo-Davies's knowledge of the people and affairs of the Protectorate has been described as "encyclopaedic." He has had a long Service career, his last post being that of African Assistant District Commissioner in the Protectorate.

caused by a similar unjust use of technical advantages. The whole relationship of two continents is at stake ; the whole contact and mutual life of two vast branches of the human family. Are we in centuries to come to meet in mutual respect and peace, or in hate ? It is not a question of Germany's or Italy's prestige or land hunger, nor of British self-respect ; it is not a problem of raw materials, of markets of economics, though all these considerations may legitimately enter in ; it is chiefly a matter of Africans and their needs, and, in Sir Samuel Hoare's words, Africans are 'entitled to expect that assistance will be afforded them by the more advanced peoples in the development of their resources and the building up of their national life.' The words of Sir Samuel Hoare were addressed to a meeting of 'the more advanced peoples.' It would be good if Africa could get assistance, united assistance from all. In any case we some day shall all have to yield all leadership in Africa to Africans.

The Police And Natives.

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The recent revelations in the police cases which have been published in the press has brought to the open many scandals which reflect unfavourably on the conduct of certain police officials in the discharge of their duty. The position has been such that the Minister of Justice has enjoined that the question of police treatment of Native cases should be inquired into. In our opinion, the cases which have reached the public eye are only a portion of the real number of the leakage of justice in the Union. What actuates our remarks is the report of the Bellair case where a Native died in the Police Station of Bellair after a brutal assault by the Sergeant in charge whereas he had come to lodge a complaint against his mistress. One wonders what cause should have occasioned the assault and the kicking of the complainant. But we can almost guess the reason, in that the Sergeant having come from the Transvaal, where no Native servant can ever lodge a complaint against his master or mistress, the officer was prejudiced at once against the Native, and a little offence must have so enraged the officer that he forgot he was a guardian of the law. He tried to hide the crime and were it not for a constable under him, the Native would have died and no enquiry made as to the cause of his death. But it was not to be thus although the victim was a mere Native. He was convicted and ordered to pay the widow the sum of £50 which he claims he cannot pay as he has been turned out of his job and has his family obligations. For these reasons he went to appeal. The judge, while admitting that perhaps the fine was too heavy in that it was to be paid within seven days' but it was by no means too severe as his counsel tried to prove and His Lordship expressed disgust that these cases have been too common showing a very unsatisfactory state of affairs.

If the Natives had the articulateness of the Europeans the press would be full of such cases as are perpetrated upon them by certain members of the police and in some rural courts. The Native is helpless in the hands of the police. He cannot successfully plead his cause if he is hampered and his ignorance of the law taken advantage of and rarely given the benefit of a doubt. The position has so become that the sight of a policeman by a Native does not inspire him with confidence but with fear and wondering if he will successfully pass the officer of the law without arrest.

We must hope that the enquiry to be published will bring about upon the police the importance of their duty as the protectors and not the persecutors of all the members of the public, be they white or black.

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

Bantu Should Support Home Industries.

Sir,—The present economica condition of the Bantu people is queried. A thorough investigation into this matter will show how much the Bantu are affected by the prevailing state of affairs.

When examining the conditions and standard of living of the Bantu, one wonders as to how these people manage to make ends meet, if they do meet at all. The area in which they live and raise crops for home consumption is not worth mentioning, in that it is simply impossible to earn a living, bring up and educate children as the day demands.

Many of the middle aged Africans flock into towns to find a living for themselves and the "Old Folks" at home. This can be well affirmed by the Urban Areas Act proclamation. These sort of deserted communities have, to a large extent, a greater number of inhabitants, the "Old Folks" and school going boys and girls. The influx into towns being caused by the lack of trade among their people at home.

Our white friends have often said, "Let the Native develop along his own lines." How far practical can this theory be? Is it an arm-chair theory, or field theory? In developing along our own lines, we need and must start at home as charity does.

There are few backward communities as far as commerce is now concerned. There are able men and women, who could help improve economical conditions of their people by inaugurating trade at home.

Do they have enough to start with? Certainly they can not attempt it without a capital. Even those who have the capital do not rely very much on or trust enough, the man said to be able that he would use satisfactorily what might be given to him

The competition is high. This being caused by foreign trade in Bantu communities. Out of every twenty communities you can probably find one or two local Bantu traders. Even those who try to establish themselves for the common good of their race are let down by their own people, who do not support the home industries. They prefer a foreigner to their own men. "Oh! so and so is proud, he thinks he is a white man, I will not buy from his shop." They will really say they prefer buying from a foreign trader than from their people. It simply pains one to hear such utterances.

Take a trip to the tribe. Right in the core of the very best backward Bantu community, you will find a foreign trader. Africans should be trading in these centres.

Nevertheless the Bantu are coming. They are fitting themselves to these conditions. In some localities you will find shops owned and solely run by Africans. They grow cane, raise crops, rear and breed stock etc. We are looking forward to our trained Agricultural Demonstrators, when they will supply with satisfaction and efficiency the needs of their people Are the present struggling Bantu traders getting response and support from their fellowmen? Are they able to withstand the blows of competition from foreign traders? How can they prosper them? Support Bantu industries.

What can we do as a race to eliminate by substitution, the trading of these people in our midst? The African child is fast becoming a vagrant in his mother country, because of the poverty that is handicapping the parents from clothing and feeding this child. This being the result of unemployment, foreign traders, and low wages. On the other side, the foreigner's children are well catered for, and automatically they get trained, love and understand how to serve their people. They are statesmen, commercial, intellectual, and political rulers over a nation in its own mother country.

The Bantu children are starving, naked, sick, and yet their fathers and mothers are hard workers.

If all the energy and concentration that these workers exact in working for other races would be directed to their OWN work we would, to-day, be living in a different Africa.

What can we do to establish, consolidate and support Bantu trade, and to improve their economical position? Let us go to our tribes and deal with our own people.

A Star shines in the dark.

E. SELBY MSIMANGA

In our last issue we have published General Hertzog's statement on the question of the incorporation of the Protectorates. It was in reply to a question from one of the Malanites in the House of Assembly during the discussion on the Native Affairs vote of £35,000. The Prime Minister was compelled to make a full statement explaining the position. Not only did he state that time has arrived for the Protectorates to be taken over but went further to state that correspondence on the matter dates as far back as 1926. It was through the insistence of their demand that the British Government consented that preliminary steps be taken to have the way to the handing over of the Protectorates by that Government.

A few weeks ago when we discussed this offer and expressed a view that it would be regarded with suspicion by the Basuto as a means of gaining a foothold by the Union into their territory we were told that the suspicions were groundless as the gift was only an indication of the Union's genuine interest in the welfare of the Natives of the Territories and that assurances have once again been made by the Minister for Dominion Affairs in the House of Commons that the offer does not alter the existing positon in any way and that the British Government still stand by the pledges already made by Mr J. H. Thomas during his tenure of office as Minister for Dominion affairs

General Hertzog, however gave a different interpretation the meaning of the arrangement, an interpretation that rather strengthens than dispels the suspicions. He admited that the British Government had assumed certain obligations, one of which was that the Natives concerned should be consulted before the control of the Territories was handed over to the Union, and added that that did not necessarily mean that the Natives should agree to the change, but what was aimed at was the greatest possible measure of agreement and goodwill on the part of the Natives. It must be remembered that these Territories had not been conquered and annexed by Great Britain but that they had become protectorates at the request of the Natives themselves.

Dr Van der Merwe understood the position, well when he said "This gift would not gain the goodwill of the Natives of the Protectorates. It would only make them suspicious. There was only one way to gain their goodwill and that was to treat our Natives fairly" This is exactly what we have said and unless they do that they cannot expect to obtain the goodwill of the Natives of the Protectorates,

General Hertzog, it must be admitted, has a way of

interpreting things to suit his own purpose. While he is telling the House of the arrangement made with the British Government about the handing over, at the same time he mingles this information with threats to the Native inhabitants of the Protectorates. For instance he says that if they elect to remain under British control they cannot expect to continue to receive the same facilities as the Natives of the Union. It might be inferred from this threat that the General himself is aware that the £35000 gift will not serve the desired purpose. We may however add, for his information, that his threats rather intensifies the attitude of the Native inhabitants of the Territories against Union.

His speech divulged certain information which took us by surprise. We were very much startled to find that after all the British Government has betrayed its trust in the matter. We felt very angry with it until we were cooled down by the Marquess of Hartington in the House of Commons when he said "an aide memoire, which was accepted by General Hertzog, stated that the policy of the British and South African Governments in the next few years should be directed to bringing about a situation in which if transfer were to become a matter of practical politics it would be effected with full aquiescence of the populations concerned.

The British Government should, by this time be clearly convinced why the Natives of the Protectorates have such a fear of the transfer of their Territories to the Union. It is because the saying that an Englishman's word is his bond has lost its value in South Africa. That is why Gen. Hertzog forgets what was agreed upon by the Union Government. It is a fact that it is not possible to gain the goodwill of the Natives of the Protectorates owing their straight jacket Native policy and they now resort to obtain this by threats.

We have ever trusted and loved the British Government for its justice and fair play and for allowing their subjects the freedom to develop their life to the full irrespective of colour or race. We trust that it has not changed in that attitude and that it will not hand over the control of the Territories to the Union until it is convinced that they will enjoy the same freedom of subject under that Government as they do at present, or in other words until such time as the Union Government shall have changed this policy to be sufficiently liberal towards their Natives as to attract the Natives of the High Commission Territories. We trust that these hopes which are encouraged by the aide memoire will not be disappointed.

The African National Congress.

Umzabalazo (The Struggle)

Sir,---Greetings. I write to ask your worthy paper not to confuse the meetings of the Congress with those of the Convention. For instance, the Congress is holding the Extraordinary Meeting of the National Executive Committee, at Bloemfontein from the 26th June to the 30th and this will enable members to attend the meeting of the Convention on the 29th Instant. We shall adjourn our meeting and go to hear the report of the deputation to Capetown, in the Convention.

In the second place, I wish to correct the current impression that the African National Congress is doing nothing. I **never do that.** Here in the Eastern Transvaal the Congress is holding undoubted sway. All the Chiefs and their people are behind the Congress.

Last month, the Chiefs and people representing the whole District of Piet Retief, asked me as President of the Congress to come down and help settle a serious difficutlty with the Local Administration. I am very pleased to say that the local branch of the Congress and myself were able to do so, and in this matter, we desire to praise the high character and the ability of the new Magistrate and the Sergeant in Charge of the Police who co-operated with the Magistrate.

The same tactfulness and desire for co-operation has won for the Congress the respect of the authorities all over the Union of South Africa, and here, on my farm, on the 21st Instant, I shall have a grand meeting of the Chiefs and Indunas of the districts of Amersfoort, Volksrust and Wakkerstroom with their followers, before I proceed to the Conference at Bloemfontein. The African population I am dealing with, in this letter is about 150,000.

The African National Congress has its natural enemies among the young set who desire to impose their own will and the teachings of extra radical organisations, today through the All African Convention. Their only policy is to reject everything and ask for the moon-- Social Equality. These people are known to despise the authority of their own African Chiefs and the development of Native laws and customs.

The African National Congress has very little to do with the dreams of social equality. We are deeply concerned with the great beauty, the most unexcellable beauty of our own African society. I firmly believe that our real progress as a nation, shall be developed through these God-given Institutions of ours and not merely by copying the White man. I am a great advocate of higher education for the Africans, because I know that the Matriculation Standard is essential for the proper development of the mental faculties of most young men and women, in the world today. But I believe that our own golden progress is bound up most intimately, in the proper study, appreciation and full respect of our past and future as a nation. I say with the late Dr. Rubusana, **"Anisoze naba ngabelungu."**

Yours faithfully,

P. KAI. SEME.

Race Problem – 1936
Africa

Can S. A. Natives develop along their own lines?

(Mochudi Chronicle)

The Comet

PART II.

Alternatively, there is the policy of giving the Natives access to whatever of European civilization they feel they need and wish they have. Their "own," then, will not only what they have, or had, apart from contact with White civilization, but also all that in this they have acquired or are struggling to acquire—all, in fact, which they can *make their own.* Look at the development ('progress) of Japan, as an analogy. Are the Japanese "imitation" Europeans because they have made their own European science, European (or American) factory methods of production, and above all, European military organization and weapons of destruction?

We have to choose between these two senses of "own"—the sense in which only that is that is the Natives' own which is *different* from what is European; and the sense in which their "own" is all that they can *make their own,* and indeed must make their own, if they are to survive at all under the conditions which European conquest and overlordship, economic and political, impose upon them.

Whether they like it or not, whether we like it or not, historical events which we cannot, and do not want to, undo have drawn the Natives into the orbit of Western Civilization, and the lines of their development must be within that orbit. The only real question, is, whether, under the conditions of life which we Whites impose upon them, they have a chance to make their own the best or the worst of Western Civilization.

I conclude with a final reflection: The complementary aspect of the "develop along their-own lines" slogan is the outcry against "assimilation" and "detribalisation."

Let us look these words in the face, allowing their meaning to be illuminated by the facts.

The most completely assimilated and detribalised Natives I have come across here in Johannesburg belong to the so-called "Oorlam" group. They claim to be descendants of Natives who either came up from the Colony with the Voortrekkers as their servants, or who were, as children, "apprenticed" to Voortrekker families, and later, as grown-ups, remained permanently with their White masters as domestic servants or farmhands. Often their ancestors had been apprenticed so young that they had only a child's knowledge of their "own" language. In any case, they all learnt Afrikaans, and adopted it as "their own" speech so thoroughly that it became, and often still is the literal "mother-tongue" of their descendants. Their ways became European ways; their standard of life at their social level as servants—a European standard of life. From Native culture and tribal affiliations they became completely divorced. Of course there was for them "no equality in church or state" they had no political rights they were members of a distinct *Sending Kerk,* organized as a separate entity on Dutch Reformed principles; they were, as servants, excluded from social equality with their masters. But, for all that, they were detribalised, Europeanized, indeed Afrikanderised, in virtue of their assimilating their masters' language and European ways of life. And I find that they are proud of the fact and consider themselves, not without reason, as an *élite* among their fellows whose contact with White civilization has not been ahd long as intimate as theirs.

For me the moral is: Culture is essentially assimilable and communicable, and will be imparted or acquired simply through human contacts and relationships, whatever be the political and social barriers and discriminations by which these contacts and relationships are regulated.

I say therefore: what happened to these Oorlam when they were integrated into the social structure of Voortrekker South Africa, and when they there assimilated, within the limits of their status, the language and the ways of their White masters, that same thing is happening at the present day, and will continue to happen in the future, to vastly greater numbers of Natives and the conditions of the vastly more complex, and above all industrialised, type of Western Civilization which has taken root in South Africa since Voortrekker days.

It is in the context of facts, such as these, that the phrase "let the Natives develop along their own lines," must be interpreted if it is to have an intelligible meaning at all. Hence, to the question in the title of this paper, "Can the Natives develop along their own lines"? there is—if "their own lines" are to be "lines fundamentally different from those of White South Africans"—only one answer: "They cannot." Placed as they are in South Africa, they cannot develop untouched by, nor apart from Western Civilization. And what is more, they do not want to. What they will retain of their traditional past will colour what they acquire from Western Civilization, just as the folkways of the different peoples of Europe are now but nuances within the general type of a uniform civilization. With our help or against our wish, they will take over from us and make their own, to the best of their ability and opportunity, whatever in Western Civilization they need and desire most. And we can't say them "Nay."

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

SPECIAL PUBLICITY SESSION OF LOCAL BRANCH, 1936

3-4-36

The interesting programme which has been announced for some weeks past, began on Sunday **March** 15, when a Thanksgiving Service was held **at 4** p.m., in St. George's Cathedral, the Venerable **Archdeacon** T. S. Johnson, M.A., B.D., being the **preacher. C. A. E.** Macaulay, M.A., also took part. The **President** of the Congress, Mr. A. E. Tuboku **Metzger,** M.B.E., read the Lesson.

The sermon is published in another column of **this issue.**

The Choir contributed a beautiful anthem. The Male and Female Members of the Congress were strongly in evidence as they moved up the aisle, with their rosettes, and singing with the Choir the Processional Hymn, "Praise O Praise our God and King." The first item on the programme was carried out with much satisfaction and success.

Wednesday, March 18, at 4 p.m., saw the commencement of the first of series of Public Meetings, which will be held at the Wilberforce Memorial Hall.

A. E. Tuboku Metzger, Esq., M.B.E., occupied the Chair. He gave an interesting survey of the work of the Congress, with special reference to the sermon preached on Sunday last, and ended his speech by a strong appeal for all to join the Congress Movement.

The Annual Report—a lengthy and comprehensive document, was then read and presented by Mr. T. J. Carew, one of the Joint-Secretaries. This was followed by the principal item of the day, the Paper on "Political Reforms, Legislative and Municipal," by the Hon. Dr. H. C. Bankole Bright, who in his usual diction and style, drew some vivid pictures of the reforms needed in our Legislative and Municipal Councils, for which a vote of thanks was warmly accorded him.

After several questions were asked by the audience and suitable replies given, three resolutions—to be published at a later date—passed the meeting unanimously and enthusiastically.

At 4 p.m., on Friday March 20, as announced, two papers were read (a) by the Hon. E. S. Beoku Betts, M.B.E., on the subject "Legal and Judicial Reforms," and (b) on "Future Relationship between Colony-born and Protectorate-born. by Rev. Dr. I. E. C. Steady. Ten Resolutions were unanimously adopted by the Meeting, over which Dr. H. C. Bankole Bright presided.

THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS' CHOIR AND THE TOURIST VISITORS OF THE LACONIA.

BY A REPORTER.

As was arranged by the Education Department, there assembled in the Wilberforce Memorial Hall on Saturday last 14th instant, at 5 15 p.m. the Secondary Schools Choir—composed of boys from the C.M.S. Grammar School, Methodist Boys' High School, the Albert Academy, A.M.E. Seminary School, and Prince of Wales School, to sing before the Tourist visitors of the Laconia.

Before the time of performance, Professor S. M. Broderick, Miss K. B. Coope, Supervisor of Infant and Female Education with Professor Eben. J. Greywood, Music Master of the Education Department, were seen each in their capacity making all arrangement for the convenience of those who were invited to the Performance.

At the time fixed not many of the visitors had arrived—it was anticipated then, they will turn in from their excursion from Waterloo, so a little time was allowed before the singing was commenced. Professor Greywoode introduced the first item "My Lord what a Morning" on the organ, thence to the dais to conduct same. His simplicity and coolness of conducting the boys and their singing was much of a surprise to the good few who were in the Hall and cheered at the end. The Second item "Roll Jordan Roll" was the next to be sung by the Choir—its dashing and rolling effect of the waters of Jordan was well rendered and only those "who go to sea in ships" can interprete fully the rendition as was done by the Choir. The end came too soon than was expected with prolonged cheers. Nine other Negro Spirituals followed consecutively, including "Same Train" they were rendered so smoothly and round according to the hill and dale contained in the music. The Choir reached its climax when the last Spiritual "Lord, until I reach my Home" was sung. Mr. Bournes who was leading, was simply very good.

The Soprano boys were very distinct, echoing and melodious. The Alto and Tenor parts were well balanced and produced a round and effective taste in the song "Tis me O Lord." The Bass was in every respect the light and shade and produced an effective interpretation of all the Spirituals sung, far more so, in Items 6 and 8 "Prayer is the key of Heaven" and "You going to reap just what you sow."

At the end of the singing of Item 8, Professor S. M. Broderick was seen up the stage and with a low bow to the tourist visitors present, informed them that the Choir—100 boys in all—were drawn from all the Boys Secondary Schools in the city as is stated in the programme. He also expressed regret for such a thin gathering which was due to the performance not well announced to them on Board. And although the gathering was not so full as previous ones held in the large hall of the Grammar School yet he hoped that they enjoyed it very well.

It is interesting to note that after the King was sung by the Choir and the visitors were leaving the hall, a lady tourist visitor walked together with Miss Coope to the conductor and expressed her sincere delight and appreciation about the boys and without flattering, hoped that the time is not far distant when it will become practicable for the choir to visit the great metropolis to sing before the British public, songs of like nature.

It is unfortunate that the arrangements were not as those usually made on former occasions. It is however hoped that suitable arrangement will be made by the representatives of the Shipping Company in Freetown for the [illegible] "Duchess of Richmond" [illegible] port on Tuesday next, 24th [illegible] "Almanzora" on the 30 [illegible]

GOVERNMENT HOUSE NEWS

Sir Donald Kingdon, President of the West African Court of Appeal and Lady Kingdon who arrived here on the 19th instant are the guests of His Excellency and Lady Moore at Governor's Lodge.

His Excellency the Governor will give an Official Dinner at Governor's Lodge to-night in honour of the Judges of the West African Court of Appeal to which the European Officers of the Legal Department and the Unofficial Legal Members of Legislative Council have been invited.

His Excellency will proceed on Trek to the Southern Province on the 24th instant and return to Freetown on the 15th prox.

All African Convention on Native Bills

10 Adam Arcade,
37, Commission Street,
Johannesburg.

The Secretary for Native Affairs
Department of Native Affairs,
Cape Town.

Re-NATIVE LAND AND TRUST BILL

I notice in this morning's newspapers that it is the intention of the Hon. the Prime Minister to proceed with this Bill and place it on the Statute Book this Session.

When the Deputation from this Convention was in Capetown it got the impression that it would be afforded an opportunity to discuss the provisions of the Bill with the Prime Minister and Minister for Native Affairs.

If you refer the resolution by the Convention herein you will no doubt appreciate that the basis upon which the proposed released area of seven and a quarter million morgen is to be made, is not quite clear to our people and members of my Executive Committee in view of the uncertainty in our minds as to the relative position of answers 2 and 4 of your letter to me No. 41/362 of the 22nd November last, as well as the extent to which the proposed released areas will adequately accommodate (a) the surplus population in scheduled and additional areas; (b) the estimated 900,000 squatters to be affected by chapter IV of the Bill. (c) the superfluous population in urban areas threatened with removal therefrom.

The Convention is seriously agitated over chapter IV of the Bill and the position has been aggravated by the Bill sponsored by the Hon. the Member for Newcastle amending the Masters and Servants Act. It had hoped that the Government would at least postpone this Bill until the census of the Union population had been taken and statistics made available to enable it to make definite proposals to the Government.

I am directed therefore to appeal to the Government for the postponement of this Bill to enable the Convention to submit definite proposals. The fear is that if the area to be set aside for African occupation will be limited only to twelve per cent. of the whole area of the Union, a large section of the African population will be without land and must eventually fall within the provisions of Chapter. IV of the Bill and the Masters and Servants Amendment Bill reinforced by the Service Contract Act all of which threaten to enforce a condition bordering upon slavery. My Executive Committee is confident that it can assist the Government by making definite proposals and remove this fear altogether, if the Bill could be postponed.

I should be pleased if you could submit these proposals to the Hon the Prime Minister and the Minister for Native Affairs or make it possible for my Executive Committee to be given an opportunity to make representations herein.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
H. SELBY MSIMANG,
General Secretary.

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

THE NIGERIAN TEACHERS CONFERENCE

Important Resolutions Passed

The following were among the important resolutions passed during the meeting of the Federal Council of the Nigeria Union of Teachers which took place recently.

Government and Teachers' Hardships

1. That in view of its convictions that the questions of the salaries of teachers on whose behalf Government gives grants-in-aid from the public revenue, is not entirely a domestic affair of the Missions and that the Government, on whose shoulders the ultimate responsibility for the educational welfare of the country rests, is entitled to dictate and has sometimes actually dictated when it considers such a course of action necessary, in regard to the disbursement of public money given in the form of grants-in-aid, the Federal Council greatly deplored the usual Government attitude of non-interference when cases of serious hardships among teachers in assisted schools in regard to salaries and other matters are brought before the Government.

Increased Vote for Grants

2. That in view of the present need for extension of educational facilities to backward areas and also of the prevailing difficulty of running the existing schools with the present inadequate grants-in-aid involving loss of efficiency in schools and distress among teachers the Federal Council strongly feels that the solution to the problem lies in a general and united representation to the Government on the necessity of increasing the Education Vote, the increase to be used wholly and solely for the purpose of increasing the grants-in-aid in respect of salaries of African teachers.

School Accounts

3. That it be suggested to the Director of Education that the practice of holding school accounts from the staffs of the Assisted Schools which still prevails in certain Missionary Bodies should be discouraged.

Medical Inspection

4. That it be recommended to the Director of Education that regular medical inspection be provided for schools in such areas as have not had such provision made for them.

Prescribed Rates Of Salaries In Assisted Schools

5. That the Federal Council is strongly of the opinion that Regulation 31 of the Education Code, which prescribes minimum rates of salaries for Assisted Schools should now be strictly adhered to and that both the Government and the proprietors of Assisted Schools adopt no measure which would make the contravention of that regulation possible.

Universal Education and Back to the Land

6. That the Union revive, and take a strong stand upon, the question of Universal education in Nigeria, and that in view of the present policy that most pupils leaving schools should go back to the land, the Government be approached (1) to open Several Village and Central Farm Schools to which pupils from Elementary or Lower Middle schools could be drafted for such education as will enable them to do intelligent and profitable farming, (2) to provide wider scope for the Native Administration School System (3) to put more national revenue into education, and (4) to provide opportunity for local boards of education which can raise local tax to supplement national education fund.

Students and Poll Tax

7. That the Government be approached through the Director of Education with a request to amend Paragraph 1. Section 4, (a) and (b), of Gazette Notice No. 790, on Native Revenue Ordinance (Chapter 74) published in the issue of the Nigerian Gazette, No. 36, Vol. 22, of June 20th, 1935, page 423, so as to exempt also students who are in Middle Classes 1 and 11 or standards V and VI from paying Poll Tax.

Affiliation of the Union

8. That the Federal Council should make no further delay in arranging for the affiliation of the Nigeria Union of Teachers with the National Union of Teachers in England.

Preparation of School Text Books

9. That the Nigeria Union of Teachers consider seriously the problem of publishing school text books, for example, on Reading, History, Music, Art, Nature Study, etc., by our own experts for our schools.

Legal Adviser for the Union

10. That it is high time the Nigeria Union of Teachers should have a permanent legal adviser.

Reward and Merits

11. That in view of the fact that the question of equal reward for merits in the entire teaching field in Nigeria is such a most vital social problem, and that teachers' suffering in the country is becoming more and more intolerable and is being reflected on the society, the authorities be approached to take early and serious steps towards its solution.

DOES THE UNLETTERED AFRICAN BELIEVE IN A FUTURE LIVE ?

By J. M. Stuart-Young (of Onitsha).

Continued from our last.

The mourners can now leave the dead, past bury its dead, facing the future with approving consciences!

"Not ours," they say, "the thought of Death to dread—
Asking no heaven, we fear no fabled hell:
Life is a feast, and we have banqueted;
Shall not the worms as well?"

One admires, even while one shudders at, that consideration for the "greazy worm's" equal right to a banquet!

It would be unfair to jeer at these old-world beliefs of the un-Christianised Ibo of Nigeria. In fact, I have more than a suspicion that excessive missionary efforts have failed to develop the Negro's respectful devotion. Scratch the skin of even the most reverent Christian, and you find the unvarnished credulity that characterized his ancestors. And to the Ibo pagan, life is significant enough without need of saving by sacrifice.

For example, was it not believed by the average Christian only fifty years ago that human life would appear an absurdity if men ceased to believe in heaven and hell? Yet there is not one Anglican Bishop, or highly-placed divine, to-day willing to plump for a red-skinned devil with horns, hooves and a forked tail, or for a heaven of crystalline splendours in porphyry and gold. The hell and heaven of mediaeval fancy are dead as the diplodocus—and gratefully so. We are

all agreed that human life loses its absurdity co-equally with its scrapping of childish superstition.

Yet the Ibo believes in Good and Evil; also in the power to exercise free-will. He does not subscribe to the weakness of many self-labelled religionists, who depict man as a puppet dallying to the pull of invisible strings. No—he is willing to take up arms against a sea of troubles, and, by opposing, end them. The Ibo man is neither a machine nor an automaton. When I desire to move a semi-literate audience of Negroes to enthusiasm, it is only necessary to recite Hamlet's famous soliloquy upon death. He subscribes to every word of—

"Who would fardels bear?
To groan and sweat under a weary life,
But that the dread Something after death:
That undiscovered country from whose bourne
No traveller returns, puzzles the will;
And makes us rather bear the ills we have
Than fly to others that we know not of!"

In passing, observe that I use the phrase—
the dread *Something* after death
and not the immeasurably weaker—
the dread *of* something after death.

It is that gaunt and grisly "Something," that intangible and mysteriously unintelligible "Something *after death*" which affrights and appals the human intellect—that doubt.

. . . Whether stepping forth, my soul shall see
New prospects, or full sheer, a blinded thing
Which makes us cry in anguish—
There is, O Grave thy hourly victory,
And *there*, O death, thy sting!

Meanwhile, the Ibo is a clean-fibred and moral-living being, because of, rather than in spite of, his adherence to age-old *tabus*. To assert that belief in the immortality of the soul is essential to sound moral conduct is quite beside the mark. For the Jews, as an example, did not believe in life after death. Yet they constructed the finest moral code known to human history. And they did more than construct it—they practised it!

So indeed, within his lights, does the Ibo. Even had the Missions left him utterly alone in his tribal darkness he would still have been very much of a gentleman: kindly, humane, courteous, eminently good-humoured, and in a high degree altruistic. His slogan could easily be that of Adam Lindsay Gordon, the Australian poet.—

"Question not, but live and labor
Till 'you goal be won,
Helping every feeble neighbour
Asking help from none;
Life is mostly froth and bubble,
Two things stand like stone—
Kindness in another's trouble,
Courage in your own!

So wags the world! We Christianise! We humanise! But the universe would not collapse, nor the wheels of Progress be irredeemably clogged were we to leave the Negro alone a few more decades. That will be Benito Mussolini's lesson in Abyssinia. For Africa is eternally the land of "Sof'ly, Sof'ly catch monkey." Otherwise, *festina lente!*"

READERS' VIEWS

Nigerian Youth Movement

UNEMPLOYMENT BUREAU

To the Editor

Sir,—As a supplement to Government Notice published in the Government Gazette, and in the local press, relating to the Unemployment Bureau to be run by my Movement, I am taking this opportunity to make certain explanations in order that members of the public may realise fully what the Bureau is and what may be expected from its activities.

The establishment of the Bureau is the outcome of a suggestion made to Government by the Committee appointed by His Excellency the Governor, which sat in April 1935 to enquire into the question of unemployment in Lagos. This Committee asked if my Movement would assist in running and supervising the Bureau. The consent of my Movement was given to co-operate in carrying out that suggestion.

In estimating the possibilities of this organisation the unemployed and others who are interested may be inclined to expect greater results than the prospects warrant, and for their information I must state that the Government has provided no new avenues for employment and that consequently the results of the Bureau, as far as the number of those for whom employment may be secured is concerned, will be nothing of a phenomenal nature. There are however other aspects in which the efforts of my Movement are bound to be better appreciated and that is in (a) creating a medium, clean and free from corruption, for employment. Hitherto, the questionable habit of seeking the recommendation of influential people without the necessary qualification for a job, and other doubtful means of influencing appointments have prevented many an efficient person from securing employment. Many applications have been shelved for no other reason than that the necessary backing or inducements have not been forthcoming. It is hoped that the efforts of the Bureau will go a long way towards removing these abuses, and restoring personal merit as the sole deciding factor in securing employment.

(b) In the process of careful registration which the Bureau will carry out, it will be possible to evaluate, as nearly as possible, the extent of unemployment in each trade, and having known this, it will be possible to suggest suitable remedies.

(c) Being mindful of the great part played in unemployment, by the influx into Lagos, of people from all parts of Nigeria, it will be the concern of the management of the Bureau to suggest to Native Administrations through the Government from time to time ways and means of relieving such unemployment.

In conclusion I should like to make it clear that in undertaking to run this Bureau, my movement cannot guarantee employment to all those who may come to register, as I have already explained above, but we could assure them of a fair deal whenever any vacancies occur, as employment will only be secured on personal merits. I may also add that in accordance with its motto my Movement is giving its services free and that every care is being taken to make the Bureau a useful organisation.

We solicit the co-operation of the public especially employers of labour without whom no progress can be made.

I am,
Yours truly,
J. C. Vaughan

Race Problem - 1936
Africa

Are Africans Physically Inferior?

(Ilanga Lase Natal)

Sir, The Ilanga Lase Natal

A Negro has broken the world record in a 100 metres sprint in the Olympic Games. The Rev. J. Tyler founder of Esid njini Mission Station and to whom the writer is great indepted for education, in his "Forty Years among the Zulus," said: "In my opinion, the Zulus surpass the Indian and average European. Their heavy burdens they carry often attract attention. For swiftness in running they are remarkable. For years men were employed by the Natal Government to transport ponderous mail bags from the seaport to the Colonial Capital, a distance of fifty miles. Leaving at sundown, they might be seen the next morning on the steps of the post office, bright and happy, and ready, after a few hours' rest, to return with same speed." There is a great jealousy of that wonderful people--the Negro race--who are now coming to the front. We live in a fast age, and even history is manufactured at a greater speed. The Negro race is awaking from that torpidity induced by its too long sleep. "Siyeza"--- we are coming. He laughs best who laughs last. Listen to what unprejudiced Europeans say about the Zulus.

"A really fine Zulu is a magnificent specimen of a man, often perfectly built judged from a European, aye, even from a Greek standard; deep chest, broad shoulders, perfectly shaped limbs, well-shaped hands and feet. Those who are acquainted with the members of the Zulu Royal House are impressed with the extreme symmetry of form and distinction of feature and manner which belong to many of them. They are born orators and have a surprising gift of language. In debate, of which they are very fond, they often show remarkable skill. In arguing a case they will split hairs equal to a Philadelphia lawyer! Public speaking was an acquired art, which did not appear to be easy for the average Britisher to acquire.

He considered the Natives the finest debaters in the world! Next to them he placed our Afrikaans friends, who appeared to have no difficulty in producing a wonderful flow of language to cover any subject. The Maoris of New Zealand are generally regarded as one of the finest physically with which we have come into contact, but my observations lead me to think that they would come out second in this respect to the pure Zulu. The language alone, in his opinion, demonstrates the superiority of the Zulus above all other African tribes. Proud and haughty, as becomes the descendants of a race of warriors whose military genius secured the ascendancy in South Africa until its conquest by White civilisation, the Zulus are a people from whom Europeans might learn a good deal. Physically the men are superb, with intelligent faces and a native dignity that marks them as true aristocrats in their proper state and environment. Zulu women are magnificent creatures physically, muscularly strong, erect in carriage, graceful in movement, and statisque in pose."

Ample evidence from the Bible and elsewhere is produced, proving intelligence of everybody, that man's spiritual body, not the colour of his skin, animates his daily life to such a degree that it takes possession of his physical body suggesting ordering, dictating, devising, scheming, and taking complete charge of us during our earth-life.

So supreme is the power of this other body that if it were present the physical body could not exist. It is the one thing in life which is common property and in which every human being—prince or peasant, black or white, civilised or savage—has an equal share. It is an inheritance to which each one of us succeeds as we are born into the human family, and it is the only possession we are permitted to take with us when we pass onwards through the gloomy portals of the tomb. Being in itself the radiant outflow of the mind of God, it is the life of the Universe. All Nature is the subject and servant of this Radiant Energy—that Itself is the god-like "image" or emanation of God.

The Ilanga concluded with the words: "South African teams (Springboks), the very Springboks who will not stage matches against the Maoris if included in New Zealand teams on account of colour were nowhere in the field as they failed even to qualify for the final round. It is not the colour or nationality that achieves such records, but manhood and practice and spirit of the game."

"Pride goeth before destruction."

JOSAYA MAPHUMULO.

KwaQed'umhawu,
Esiduniini.

Basutoland Anti-Erosion Works

Morbhochamond

On the recommendation of the Colonial Development Advisory Committee and with the sanction of Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury the Secretary of State has approved of the grant from the Colonial Development Fund of a loan not exceeding £160,233 spread over ten years to meet the cost of the scheme for combating soil erosion in Basutoland. The loan is to be free of interest and the terms of repayment will be left open for subseqeunt determination.

Earlier in the year approval had been received for a grant of £80,120 from the Colonial Development Fund towards the cost of this scheme on the understanding that the balance would be provided by the Union Government annually, as required.

Following the recent agreement between the Secretary of State and General Hertzog that the question of financial assistance by the Union Government to the High Commission territories should remain in abeyance His Majesty's Government, recognising the urgency of anti-erosion work in Basutoland, have decided that the scheme should for the time being be entirely financed out of Colonial Development Funds

Anti-Erosion measures in Basutoland have long passed out of the experimental stage and all is ready for the large scale works which are required. The reclamation works undertaken at Matsieng and in the Maseru reserve out of local funds are almost completed with gratifying results.

The Colonial Development Fund.

It may be of interest to state briefly the history of the Colonial Development Fund and the objects for which it was created.

In 1929 the Parliament of Great Britain passed an Act providing for the creation of a Fund to be known as the Colonial Development Fund from which grants or loans could be made in furtherance of long-range development schemes in the Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated Territories and thereby promote commerce with the United Kingdom.

In the same year the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with the approval of the British Treasury, appointed a Committee to be known as the "Colonial Development Fund Advisory Committee" to consider, and report on, applications for assistance from the Colonial Development Fund in furtherance of schemes likely to aid the development of agriculture and industry in the Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated Territories.

The value of such a fund to needy dependencies is obvious, and we have a striking example in the Basutoland grant, which should be of the greatest assistance to the agricultural development of our country.

Horse Breeding in Basutoland.

The Director of Agriculture, Mr R. W. Thornton, C.B.E, has with the aid of three collaborators prepared a treatise on the Origin and History of the Basutoland Pony. This work is now in the press and will shortly be on sale. The information thus provided by Mr Thornton has been placed at the disposal of the Government and is the basis of proposals for the improvement of the equine stock of the Territory. The improvements are to be financed from ordinary revenue.

Border Bantu Eisteddfod

(Morley Kompo)
The Comet
At Queenstown
9-12-36
Mareni,

The first festival of the Border Bantu Eisteddfod will be held at Queenstown on the 16th and 17th October.

This Eisteddfod aims at preserving and developing the individuality of African Native music and concurrently leading to the enjoyment of the refinements of European music. It wishes to foster the diligent study and practices of music—African and European—and kindred subject; to bring to the public notice promising musicians; to interest the African race in good music and local talent and to bind together those who love music and kindred arts.

The competition is open to all Provinces of the Union.

Competitors must make their entries on the prescribed forms which together with the stipulated fees must reach the Organising secretary on or before 3rd October. *No late entries will be considered.* A ticket will be furnished to each competitor which will also serve the purpose of a receipt for fees paid.

An official pianist will be provided, but competitors are at liberty to bring their own accompanists.

For the information of those wishing to attend the following should be noted:—

(1) Accommodation will be provided gratis to school choirs only. All groups of competitors, other than school choirs, must arrange their own accommodation. Those who do not know with whom to arrange about board and lodging should notify the Organising Secretary early, so that he may advise them to whom to write about it. Incidentally there is Pelem's Boarding House, 46 Owen Street, Queenstown.

All competitors must provide themselves with food. Boarding may however, be arranged for school choirs at a charge of 45 shillings for meals from Thursday evening, 15th October, to Sunday morning, 17th October. These choirs may, however bring their own food stuffs and they will be helped with cooking, for which service there will be no charge.

The Railway Administration has been asked to grant concessions to competitors attending the Eisteddfod. When the required information is obained, this will be duly published.

(2) Copies of the syllabus are obtainable from the Honorary Organising Secretary, Mr Lloyd S. Marwanqa, St. Andrew's Mission School, Queenstown.

(3) The official music agents are Messrs. Edwin and Co., Cathcart Road Queenstown, and the Lovedale Bookstore, Lovedale, C.P.

Native African Unity Convention's Mission

Body Seeks to Speak for Entire Race in All Matters of Concern in Union

BLOEMFONTEIN, Union of South Africa, Sept. 3 (ANP).—With more than 200 delegates in attendance, the All-African convention, headed by its president, Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu, recently held its concluding session, after having mapped out a plan for future action and considering what attitude to take regarding the New Native Acts, how to consolidate the All-African convention as a permanent organization, and how to formulate a program of action for the advancement and protection of the African people.

In principle these objectives were achieved by the convention. A draft constitution, adopted by the body, contained a preamble, which reads: "Whereas it is expedient in view of the situation that has been created by the 'Native' policy of segregation, discrimination and other repressive measures that have been definitely adopted by the Government and Parliament of the Union of South Africa—that the African races of South Africa, as a national entity and unit, should henceforth speak with one voice, meet and act as unity in all matters of national concern... This convention resolves that a central organization be formed, with which all African religious, educational, industrial, economic, political and social organizations, shall be affiliated."

Another resolution proposes: "To establish contacts with Africans and African organizations in other parts of the world, and to this end an international conference of Africans and people of African descent, be called; and also to appoint a secretary for this purpose."

President Jabavu's stirring address was a strong indictment of the white policy of robbery, domination and murder in Africa, so strikingly demonstrated by Italy, which "butchered in cold blood and asphyxiated our peaceful follow men in Africa."

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

"AFRICA AND PEACE"

"Africa and Peace," is the title of the Burge Memorial Lecture for the year 1936 by A. G. Fraser, M.A., C.B.E., published by the Oxford University Press, and printed by the Clarendon Press.

The Burge Memorial Trust was founded in 1926 to commemorate the work for International Friendship of the Right Reverend Hubert Murray Burge, formerly Bishop of Oxford and President of the British Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches. The Annual Burge Lecture is intended, in accordance with the terms of the Trust Deed, to forward the cause of international friendship through the Churches and to promote a better and wider understanding of the international obligations of Christian peoples.

The first lecture was delivered in King's College, London, on May 10, 1927 by Professor Ernest Barker.

Continued from our last.

To those who believe this a noble passage in Sir Samuel Hoare's Geneva speech brought high hope. Weekly News

"We believe in undoubted evidence of the past and present times that all nations alike have worthy contributions to make to the stock of humanity. And we believe that backward nations are, without prejudice to their independence and integrity, entitled to expect that assistance will be afforded them by the more advanced peoples in the development of their resources and the building up of their national life." Freetown, Sierra Leone

These words have been taken as referring to Africa and to African Colonies, and have been acclaimed as amongst the greatest and most statesmanlike prounouncements in our records. Here Sir Samuel Hoare makes the backward peoples his main concern, and places them in the forefront of his policy, and seems to suggest co-operation on their behalf. If this statement of faith becomes translated into action it may well be that Africa may lead us into the way of peace. Very rarely has the African held the first place in the thought or words of those who have discussed African policy. Yet it is the belief that backward or subject races may be ignored and exploited that has brought down empire after empire.

The African people have given due warning to all who have eyes to see that they cannot be ignored. They are backward; they are not yet able to govern themselves in face of European complications. Some day they will be forward: meantime they are indestructible. Backwardness is not to be confused with inferiority; it is a matter of opportunity, not a question of quality.

Young children are not inferior to adults, they are merely backward in regard to experience and growth; their experience and growth are yet to come, but inferiority does not come into the situation. Africa is backward amongst the other races, for she has not yet had any long experience of contact with other races: she is like a new boy in the school of the nations. Her absence of harbours and of great navigable rivers, her vast forests and her malaria, have shut her off from outside contacts; the slave trade and its chaos, over hundreds of years carried right into the heart of the continent, ruined advance already made, and until recently she was so unknown as to be described as the dark continent. Africans are not the first in history to have been similarly secluded and exploited. Once upon a time the Channel and the North Sea guarded us from contact with Europe; in those days we were dressed in woad and skins. It was then Cicero said, "Atticus, the stupidest and ugliest slaves come from Britain."

It is well to realize that 'the civilization of a race is only the sum total of its achievement in its effort to adapt itself to its environment,' and thus in face of a simple environment and simple needs, the civilization will be simple. If batsmen are always faced with simple bowling and bad fielding the batting which will be developed will be equally simple, but if the batsmen have difficult bowling and accurate fielding to face, defensive strokes are developed and the scoring hit is kept along the ground. So it is with civilization. The British were simple but not incapable when the Romans came, and the Saxons were so before the Normans, but the British and Saxons survive in our islands: the Romans are gone and the Normans are well nigh gone. It will be the same in Africa before the new and difficult conditions Africans will prove themselves competent, and their achievement will become adequate to their new environment.

Africans are the heroes of perhaps the greatest racial feat in history. Millions upon millions of Africans were destroyed in the seizing of slaves and in the voyages to the West: the fraction who at last reached the plantations had lost their chiefs, all their social organization, their families, their languages, for they were a mixture of many many languages and tribes. They were dumped on a soil unsuited to them, in a climate which was inimical, with no care for their housing or their hygiene, with no provision for education: marriage was forbidden, children were taken from their parents, they were not allowed to organize or to assemble, and yet, instead of dying out, they increased in number. Further, Lord Bryce tells us that in sixty years following the emancipation of the slaves they made greater advance than the Anglo-Saxon races did in six hundred years, but they started that sixty years without any capital, and with the law severely prejudiced against them.

Now turn to Africa itself and look at some typical features in African life. Half-a-century ago Mutesa, the King of Uganda, desired to send a lion to Queen Victoria, one which was unwounded and unhurt. He asked his servants to get him one telling them it must not in any way be speared or damaged. His servants went out and surrounded a large lion, charge it as one, strapped its legs together and gagged it, and brought it bound and unhurt on a wooden stretcher to be sent to Queen Victoria. There is a typical picture of Africa, of a loyalty which does not count the cost, a courage which nothing can daunt, and a marvellous capacity for combination.

Take two of the great ideas which run through the greater part of Africa. One the idea of Buntu—the word is almost untranslatable—I suppose 'the spirit of humanity' comes as near to it as anything. The most valuable possession of an African is this Buntu, and it is the possession of each and all. It regulates their manners. For instance, in many parts of the continent a chief salutes a peasant before a peasant salutes the chief, because it is conceivable that the chief might forget that the peasant had the spirit of humanity in him, but it is impossible that the peasant should forget that the chief is its possessor, so the chief first salutes the peasants. The other idea is connected with the future life. No member of the tribe dies but he passes into the broader room of the tribe eternal. The present tribe which we see is but the connecting link between the great reality of the tribe eternal and the tribe which is yet to be. This again effects ethics. To steal from a man a thing that he himself has bought, say his watch or his knife, is a matter of small importance—if he has bought a good watch he ought to be able to defend it—but to steal from him say his crops, or to encroach on his land, these things which have come down in his heritage from the tribe eternal. that is heinous crime; it is sacrilege. And when we take the land of the African, we take from him that which is sacred, that which it is his duty to guide and to prize above all else, that which he must pass on unimpaired to the tribe yet to be, and we are depriving him of his hope of a glad welcome into the tribe eternal, for he has failed to guard that which was committed unto him in trust.

To be continued.

Cause For Hope And Encouragement.

(The Sunday Tribune Natal)

IT is unfortunately the fact here in South Africa that the comments frequently made in the South African Native Press is in the Minor Mode and that rately and far between is the music in the major and joyful mode. The reason for this is obvious. 'The Native Africans are a subject race and too often unfair treatment is meted out to them. But these complaints are by no means puerile, but are the true expressions of dissatisfaction at the treatment given to a loyal people who have no rebellious spirit but that of respectful and dutiful subjects. There is a statute of the old voortrekkers which is very often quoted by the Native press that was passed in the early days of Natal, 'There shall not be allowed by the people and European settlers equality with Natives in Church or State. There are still a large section which still adheres to that resolution although there are rays of hope that the young generation of the Dutch-speaking race are now beginning to be ready to open their eyes to reason and are no longer so wedded to that antiquated and prejudicial resolution of their forefathers.

But today we propose to strike a different note of appreciation for the recent election of our Rev. J.L. Dube to be the next President of the Natal Missionary Conference! This conference of missionaries and Christian workers was started about fifty years ago and at its beginning, we think there were few Native African

members, if any. The members were missionaries and workers of the Protestant Churches. In time African ministers were welcome and invited to be members. The session of 1936 was unique in that all the papers read at the conference were by Native writers, something of a record in mission annals in Africa, and now to cap that progressive step a Native President has been elected! This choice of the Missionary Conference proves once more that this body acknowledges that the Native African is a brother in Christ Who is no respector of persons, and Whose gospel is out to claim all races to come together on a common platform of brotherhood. Their President Elect is, on all sides acknowledged as a most suitable choice because of his great work for his people as an educator, leader and sage.

As an educator he has been the South African "Moses". As a young man he had an inspiration that he was commissioned to be the pathfinder for his people education and thus went overseas to prepare himself for the work he had marked out for himself and for his people. He started the school under most discouraging conditions after several attempts had been made by Native individual and organizations towards uncommunal development all resulting in failure. When the school was first opened a Government Inspector said he gave him 2 years when the buildings then erected will be stables for some European who will have bought the farm and premises! Fortunately the prediction has not come true. Although he himself had not graduated yet he has been the means of making many B.A's and M.A's. He was the real Moses who led the Zulus from satisfaction with "Egypt", that is, that Europeans only may enhance their fortunes but the place of the Natives is to do the bidding of the European and not attempt anything for himself. His was the finger that pointed to the Canaan of progress, education and industry as well as service for others. There are now a good number of leaders etc., but the Rev. J. L. Dube's place in the esteem of his people is unique. He is a modern Nestor for his people.

And now the question has often been asked by the Native intelligentsia and chiefs as to why the Government does not show in some particular way its recognition and appreciation of the attitude towards it by the Rev. J. L. Dube. He has never led and advised his people to rise against the Government even when approached for advice by those who consider themselves oppressed. By his example and precept he always advised them to make themselves respectable by works which must impress the authorities. A man who is industrious does not often fall a victim to irresponsible agitators as he has a stake on the country and unlike the man who has nothing to lose if there rise an upheaval from his leading. Some have wondered why he is not appointed a Commissioner for Oaths or Justice of the Peace by the authorities. Only his race and colour seem to be in the way as, a citizen, he is quite eligible for some such recognition. The missionaries have struck out a new soil and venture by this their latest gesture.

The Ever Present Colour Bar

SOUTH AFRICA'S greatest problem seems to intrude its dreadful head in every sphere of life where White and Black meet. It shows itself so openly that even strangers witness its operation within a few hours of arrival in these shores. The latest witness to its depressive application is our recent visitor, Dr. Stanley Jones. Of course, the keen eyes of Mr. G. B. Shaw descried it on landing.

The coming Empire Exhibition is an event of great interest for all countries under the British Empire, and all classes of population are keen to see the products to be shown in this Exhibition. The Natives of this country are as keen to see the various Empire products as all other races in the Empire. We think our Native Africans have more need to see this Exhibition than the other sections of the population of South Africa, for it is by seeing the products there shown that they will obtain a stimulus which they so sorely need to make themselves capable for the enjoyment of the blessings and advantages of civilization not merely as lookers on but by actually participating in the manufacture of some of these which it is in their interest to undertake and profitably engage in. It therefore affects us adversely on realizing that admission to the Exhibition will be not so free and untramelled for Africans as it will be for other race groups.

Native Africans may not be admitted during the opening and the first few days after the opening. There will be special days when Native Africans may be admitted, while on other days they may not attend. The open days will be Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays. It is also stipulated that the number of those to be admitted on any one day shall not exceed 500.

During December and public holidays the numbers to be admitted will still be restricted. The months in which they may attend will be October and November There will be special turnstile entrances of Natives, and guides for Natives will be provided to conduct parties round the show grounds. There will be a fee of 5s. required to obtain this service. There will be provision for refreshments and sleeping accommodation all this to be paid for by those requiring these facilities.

We say the Native Africans have a great desire to see this Exhibition as it seems to have synchronised with a state in their national life which has a general awakening to the importance of equipping themselves for the industrial activities prevalent in all progressive countries, and communities. They have now realised that they have remained too long under the idea that others will do for them what they can well do for themselves. They, therefore, want to go to this Exhibition with open eyes. It had been hoped that in this Exhibition, which was not purely South African, there would be considerable concession allowed to Native Africans so that visitors who have not this racial bias may not see too much of this South African trait of character. In fact, the time has now come when unnecessary restrictions on Native Africans should be called a halt to. The visitors from other and freer countries will obtain and go away with a bad impression of the South African treatment of its Native inhabitants. There will be many of our people who will form exhibits, and many who have been asked to send exhibits, and yet they are to be restricted to certain days and places.

It is to the interest of white South Africa to be less bullying to Native Africans, particularly as visitors from the neighbouring Protectorates will be here in their numbers to see and observe how their fellow people are treated who are already in the Union in order that when they are wooed to enter the Union they may not shake their maiden heads in refusal.

Race Problem - 1936
Africa

The Control of Migration

BRITISH complacency in regard to the administration of African territories received a rude shock a few months ago when the report was published of the committee which inquired into the exodus of Africans from Nyasaland. A provisional agreement between the Governments of that Protectorate and of the Rhodesias has been published this week which is intended to meet certain of the reforms recommended by the committee, but it is obvious that no external agreement can fully cover the conditions exposed.

A system of granting passes to Africans wishing to emigrate from Nyasaland was already in existence, and the new scheme elaborates this, not only making the passes adequate identification certificates, but also evidence that the owner was physically fitted for work when he left his home territory. Such emigrants will be provided with food depots and rest camps on their journeys as well as with cheap and rapid transport, and repatriation at the end of two years (the report suggested a year) will, it is hoped, keep them in touch with home—whither, too, arrangements will be made for them to send part of their wages. There is to be no definite quota plan for emigration, although an opportunity is left for the restriction of the flow should local conditions demand it.

It will be seen that the chief effect of the new agreement, to look at it from a purely African point of view, will be to ensure that only the fittest—and most needed at home—will be able to migrate, and that by the provision of rest-camps and so on they arrive at their work in the best physical condition possible. Such steps have long been in force in regard to the labour which reaches the mines in the Belgian Congo and are the obvious safeguards which employers would take in their own interests. They need not therefore be counted to the Colonial Governments for any special righteousness.

The limitation of labour contracts to two years may perhaps prove an advance on unrestricted sojourns, but such an absence from home is long enough for an African to lose touch and, if he is married, for him to suffer the common domestic complications of prolonged absence—complications which cannot be avoided merely by the regular allotment of part of his pay.

When we said above that no purely external agreement will remedy the conditions brought out in the report, we meant that the most important difficulties to be corrected must be removed by action in Nyasaland itself and by much more far-reaching steps than what are but necessary conditions in the recruitment of labour. The report mentions in various places excessive incidence of taxation—a matter which, we are glad to note, is already being adjusted in the poorest areas—but less is said regarding the increasing exhaustion of the soil which rises in geometric progression, for partial exhaustion of good lands leads to the exploitation and later complete erosion of less productive hill sides, and so to the imperative need of permanent migration from an area incapable longer of supporting the existing population. No system of licensing the temporary migration of physically fit males can remedy such a state of affairs; rather, it tends to aggravate it, for their labour cannot be regarded as a profitable export since much of its value remains abroad and, in addition, there is the loss to the community of the services of an appreciable part of its members.

A standing committee of representatives of the three territories is to be appointed to secure co-ordination in labour policy and to report upon problems affecting labour as they arise. Is not the first of these that of modifying the policy by which toll is taken of the best of the manhood of relatively distant parts of Africa for industries which offer no prospect of permanent settlement for their workers with their families, and are, indeed, by a well-meant agreement, even reducing the permanent prospects of the present migrants?

NATIVE TAX COLLECTION IN KENYA.

Inquiry Into Abuses.

African Weekly

NAIROBI, November 5.

The report of the Commission appointed last February to inquire into allegations of abuse and hardships in the collection of native taxes in Kenya was published to-day. The inquiry followed suggestions in the legislature by Archdeacon Burns, one of the members representing native interests, that women are held as hostages.

11-14-36

The Commission expresses the opinion that "taking the evidence as a whole there can be no doubt that abuses do occur in the collection of taxes, as, indeed, is inevitable in any operation conducted by human agency; but it would appear that these abuses are, with a few exceptions, neither very prevalent, nor, from the evidence submitted, very grave in character, having regard to the stage of civilisation of the people."

The report emphasises the difficulty of the collection of taxes owing to increasing individualism and the abandonment of the conception of family responsibilities. The evidence disclosed that the principal abuses were physical ill-treatment, illegal arrest, seizure of stock, and bribes or presents to headmen for the purpose of influencing exemption claims. In one district, it is alleged, 2,500 exemptions were obtained through presents.

The Commission recommend the appointment of revenue officers concerned exclusively with tax collection, better salaries for headmen, and the creation of informal native committees to help the officers to apply the means test to applicants for exemption. Finally the report recommends the employment of defaulters on road work, as the present detention sentences are regarded as an illusory penalty.—"The Times."

Can The Poll Tax Be Abolished?

Congress Native

THE law of 1925 which brought into existence the Poll Tax has been in existence for over ten years. When it was suggested that it should be enacted, it was brought forward that it was necessary for Native education and that a certain amount would be earmarked for this purpose. This has been done but after a decade it is still found that the amount which is procurable from this source is wholly inadequa for this purpose. Now after its functioning for over ten years there is a long waiting list of schools to come under Government aid without any hope of a near inclusion in the list of schools receiving the Government grant. And now since the year 1925 there has come changes in the country notably the country's good fortune during the last two years. This has, among Europeans necessitated the reconsideration of reducing the Income Tax, which is payable by those of the Europeans, coloureds and Indians who have incomes from a certain figure for any one year. Even in that case individual cases are considered for the remission of the tax where it is proved that the payer is unable to pay owing to his other family obligations.

10-31-36

Phoenix Native

Several European organisations have looked into this matter of the poll tax and among them raised the question as to the advisability of continuing or discontinuing the demand for the poll tax among Natives of from eighteen years of age up to 65 even during these years of prosperity. The latest advocates for this remission is the South African Methodist Women's Auxiliary now in session in Pietermaritzburg where Mr. A. Gaffery, Hon. Secretary of the Consultative Committee of the Joint Councils, invoked sympathetic consideration and practical help with regard to the appeal to the Government for the abolition or a substantial reduction in the Native poll tax.

The conference preferred to be, as universally practised, at 21 when one considers their other slowly and cautiously by years when any one comes of age and the last should have been adopting a motion to open lists for at 60 years of age which signatures to gauge public opinion fixed at 60 years of age. comparatively few reach and in this matter before definite action could not be a great loss to the could be taken. government coffers if further payment of the first payment of ages stopped at 60 years of age. the ages of the first payment of Government stopped at 60 years of age. the tax is too early at eighteen Moreover, Native men, as with years of age and that of the all races, are by no means all well-to-do. years of age and that of the all races, are by no means all well-to-do. last payment too late at sixty five There are a good number who can ill afford the statutory whereas the first payment should to a monster petition to the Administration.

Race Problem - 1936
Africa

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It will be seen that the chief effect of the new agreement, to look at it from a purely African point of view, will be to ensure that only the fittest—and most needed at home—will be able to migrate, and that by the provision of rest-camps and so on they arrive at their work in the best physical condition possible. Such steps have long been in force in regard to the labour which reaches the mines in the Belgian Congo and are the obvious safeguards which employers would take in their own interests. They need not therefore be counted to the Colonial Governments for any special righteousness.

The limitation of labour contracts to two years may perhaps prove an advance on unrestricted sojourns, but such an absence from home is long enough for an African to lose touch and, if he is married, for him to suffer the common domestic complications of prolonged absence—complications which cannot be avoided merely by the regular allotment of part of his pay.

When we said above that no purely external agreement will remedy the conditions brought out in the report, we meant that the most important difficulties to be corrected must be removed by action in Nyasaland itself and by much more far-reaching steps than what are but necessary conditions in the recruitment of labour. The report mentions in various places excessive incidence of taxation—a matter which, we are glad to note, is already being adjusted in the poorest areas—but less is said regarding the increasing exhaustion of the soil which rises in geometric progression, for partial exhaustion of good lands leads to the exploitation and later complete erosion of less productive hill sides, and so to the imperative need of permanent migration from an area incapable longer of supporting the existing population. No system of licensing the temporary migration of physically fit males can remedy such a state of affairs; rather, it tends to aggravate it, for their labour cannot be regarded as a profitable export since much of its value remains abroad and, in addition, there is the loss to the community of the services of an appreciable part of its members.

A standing committee of representatives of the three territories is to be appointed to secure co-ordination in labour policy and to report upon problems affecting labour as they arise. Is not the first of these that of modifying the policy by which toll is taken of the best of the manhood of relatively distant parts of Africa for industries which offer no prospect of permanent settlement for their workers with their families, and are, indeed, by a well-meant agreement, even reducing the permanent prospects of the present migrants?

NATIVE TAX COLLECTION IN KENYA.

Inquiry Into Abuses.

African Women

NAIROBI, November 5.

The report of the Commission appointed last February to inquire into allegations of abuse and hardships in the collection of native taxes in Kenya was published to-day. The inquiry followed suggestions in the legislature by Archdeacon Burns, one of the members representing native interests, that women are held as hostages.

11-14-36

The Commission expresses the opinion that "taking the evidence as a whole there can be no doubt that abuses do occur in the collection of taxes, as, indeed, is inevitable in any operation conducted by human agency; but it would appear that these abuses are, with a few exceptions, neither very prevalent, nor, from the evidence submitted, very grave in character, having regard to the stage of civilisation of the people."

The report emphasises the difficulty of the collection of taxes owing to increasing individualism and the abandonment of the conception of family responsibilities. The evidence disclosed that the principal abuses were physical ill-treatment, illegal arrest, seizure of stock, and bribes or presents to headmen for the purpose of influencing exemption claims. In one district, it is alleged, 2,500 exemptions were obtained through presents.

The Commission recommend the appointment of revenue officers concerned exclusively with tax collection, better salaries for headmen, and the creation of informal native committees to help the officers to apply the means test to applicants for exemption. Finally the report recommends the employment of defaulters on road work, as the present detention sentences are regarded as an illusory penalty.—"The Times."

Can The Poll Tax Be Abolished?

Editorial

THE law of 1925 which brought into existence the Poll Tax has been in existence for over ten years. When it was suggested that it should be enacted it was brought forward that it was necessary for Native education and that a certain amount would be earmarked for this purpose. This has been done but after a decade it is still found that the amount which is procurable from this source is wholly inadequa for this purpose. Now after its functioning for over ten years there is a long waiting list of schools to come under Government aid without any hope of a near inclusion in the list of schools receiving the Government grant. And now since the year 1925 there has come changes in the country notably the country's good fortune during the last two years. This has, among Europeans necessitated the reconsideration of reducing the Income Tax, which is payable by those of the Europeans, coloureds and Indians who have incomes from a certain figure for any one year. Even in that case individual cases are considered for the remission of the tax where it is proved that the payer is unable to pay owing to his other family obligations.

Several European organisations have looked into this matter of the poll tax and among them raised the question as to the advisability of continuing or discontinuing the demand for the poll tax among Natives of from eighteen years of age up to 65 even during these years of prosperity. The latest advocates for this remission is the South African Methodist Women's Auxiliary now in session in Pietermaritzburg where Mr. A. Gaffery, Hon. Secretary of the Consultative Committee of the Joint Councils, invoked sympathetic consideration and practical help with regard to the appeal to the Government for the abolition or a substantial reduction in the Native poll tax.

The conference preferred to be, as universally practised, at 21 £1 when one considers their other necessary obligations when taking account of their meagre incomes which hardly allows of calls upon them than for mere existence sustenance and medicine. It thus behoves Native organisations to support these benevolent appeals of our European friends to starting a list of names of Native taxpayers to a monster petition to the Administration.

Slowly and cautiously by years when any one comes of age adopting a motion to open lists for the last should have been signatures to gauge public opinion at 60 years of age which in this matter before definite action comparatively few reach and could be taken. it could not be a great loss to the Government coffers if further payments stopped at 60 years of age. Our view in this matter is that Moreover, Native men, as with the ages of the first payment of all races, are by no means all well-the tax is too early at eighteen to-do. There are a good number years of age and that of the last payment too late at sixty five who can ill afford the statutory payment should whereas the first payment should

A Challenge To Natal Bantu Education.

Ilanga Lase Natal
11-7-36

THERE has recently come to our hands a Government publication which reports the findings of the last Inter-departmental Committee on Native Education and therefore merits a thorough perusal and study. It reveals a number of interesting facts in connection with Bantu Education which previous publications had failed to bring to light, and many of these facts would bid any thinking man pause and ponder more deeply about the magnitude of the task that has to be shouldered by our Bantu teachers especially in our elementary schools.

Last year, for example, the committee gave a number of Arithmetic and English vocabulary standardised tests to the Union students both white and black ranging from Standard VI to an equivalent of Std. X. The purpose of these tests was to obtain a rough comparison of the intellectual attainments of the Bantu and European children at different stages of education. The results of these have appeared in the above report and as might be expected by some, they show a woeful disparity between the Bantu and European School standards, the levels of attainment for a European child being considerably higher at all stages.

Incidentally the results of these tests also show a very interesting comparison of the intellectual attainment levels for Bantu themselves in the four different provinces. The Cape stands highest throughout and then comes in succession the Transvaal, Natal and Orange Free State. Natal is, however, much below the Free State in the English vocabulary test from Standard VI to VII. It is only after Std VIII that the graph for Natal makes a sudden leap across that of the Free State to take a higher place. Another noteworthy feature is that in the English vocabulary tests, the standard for the Euro Afrikaans speaking students from the rural districts is definitely higher than that of the Union Bantu in all stages.

What do these results mean? Here we must guard against making sweeping unscientific conclusions about the efficiency of the brain of the average Bantu. There is no field here allowing any generalisations of that kind. We should rather regard these findings as a clearer revelation of the status quo of education in our land.

The fact that the the tests were conducted in English, a foreign language to the Bantu and therefore involving technicalities and subtleties alien to the Bantu mind, is not to be dismissed lightly as a subterfuge. Add to this, factors like difference of environments and the low general standards of Bantu education, for instance, the European Std. VI is decidedly higher than Std. VI in Bantu schools etc. And it will be clear that no fair comparison of the intellectual capacities can be arrived at as far as the Bantu and Europeans are concerned. It is only the prejudiced few who still question the strength of the mental capacity of the Bantu child but educationists like Dr. Kerr of Fort Hare have testified that past experiences have given them the most cheerful optimism with regard to the educability of the Bantu.

The final question to be considered is why there should be such differences in the attainments of children in the different provinces. The answer is to be found in the fact that education is still provincially controlled which means that what is done in the Cape need not necessarily be done also in Natal The Cape, for example, employs 95 per cent fully qualified teachers i. e. those who have gone through at least three full years of training. The Transvaal employs 65 per cent, Natal 32 per cent and the Orange Free State 32 per cent. Take these percentages and compare them with the tests referred to above and the explanation is clear. We are at once very forcefully struck with the conclusion that the competence is after all a concomitant factor to the degree of one's training, and certainly we cannot hope that Natal will continue to leave the responsibility of laying good educational foundations with unskilful hands. This means that parents and guardians of children in training as teachers should do all they can to enable these children to acquire a full training; and those already in the field can still push on to acquire more knowledge and consequently to do more. Let us not allow Natal to remain in the wake while the great ship of intellectual development ploughs its way across the seas of our National lives.

African National Congress And I.C.U. Resolutions at Bloemfontein.

Ilanga Lase Natal

At an open-air meeting held under the auspices of the local branches of the African National Congress and the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of Africa the following resolutions were unanimously passed and adopted:

11-21-36

(a) THE NATIVE POLL-TAX.

1. That this meeting held under the auspices of the Bloemfontein branches of the African National Congress and the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa, on the 1st November, 1936, strongly supports the contentions, sentiments, direct and indirect representations and the very strong recommendation given expression to in articles published in the "FRIEND" and other newspapers by several prominent Europeans, in circulars printed and published by Institutions solely advocating the cause of the Black man and in particular those endorsed by Mrs. Irene N. Staples of Staplehurst, Springfontein and Miss Elsie M. Ireland of Maritzburg for the ultimate abolition of the Native Poll-Tax.

(b) PASS LAWS.

That this meeting very strongly supports and endorses the remarks expressed by one of the most eminent of our Judges in the person of the Honourable Judge-President of the Orange Free State that the pass laws be abolished in toto in that they have not only outgrown their usefulness but are another piece of unnecessary legislation that only serves to poison the springs of common relationship that should exist between European and Bantu populations for the ultimate, better and harmonious understanding between whites and blacks in the Union of South Africa and beyond.

(c) LETTERS OF EXEMPTION.

That this meeting strongly deprecates the attitude of those Government officials held responsible for the putting into practical force the administration and issue of exemptions under the Exemption laws as promulgated in the Union Government Gazette under Proclamation No. 150, in the apparent delay and disappointment occasioned those deserving Native applicants with exemplary characters and the manner in which their applications are disposed of and declined without adducing any substantial or valid reasons and calls upon and pleads with the Minister of Justice and the Minister of Native Affairs to institute full inquiry into the whole matter.

Race Problem – 1936
Africa

Our Readers' Forum.

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African Motor Drivers' Union.

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REVEALING THE FACTS.

Ilanga Lase Natal

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Sad it is today to reveal the fact that there are millions of Bantu people, centless, dimeless, penniless, with no hope of occupation so that they may be able to take care of the individual or family needs. They have had to resort to a more sympathetic charity, not of somebody giving them employment; but they have had to depend upon other men for feeding them, the worst form of charity that any race could depend on, to be fed by another, without contributing to that food. It deprives a man of his manhood, character, independence. He cannot speak his mind. he must have fears, and that is the condition of things that the black men have brought upon themselves in a grand and glorious country where they have the most splendid opportunity --- an opportunity that was given to them as it was given to the Jews, to the Greeks, to the Irish, to the Italians and to the Russians the opportunity which the Jews and all the above mentioned nations took advantage of and which the Bantu people ignored. Now what happened when the change came in the social, economic, and political orders? The Jews went back to Palestine, the Greeks went back to Greece to strengthen the foundatio of Greece, the Irish went back to Ireland to strenghten the foundation of Ireland, the Italians went back to Italy to strengthen the foundation of Italy and every other national group post haste went back to the original fatherland to strengthen their fatherland in the new order in the preparation for the new anticipated crisis. But the black man could not move from where he was. Do you see how we are playing with our lives and have played with the destiny and integrity of our race When I say this, I am referring mostly to the Motor Drivers and Garage Workers. I again remind you of the coming disaster and that it will not be very long before the Native Motor Driver and Garage Worker is out of work. We saw men of one original stock fight on the battle fields of this world we saw them staying themselves to the extent of millions. Now if a man can so murder those of his household what sympathy can other men not of the same household have for you? So we must peforce adopt a policy of friendship and tolerance in an age as difficult as this. We cannot provoke because we cannot maintain the provocation. I feel sure you understand what I mean by that. If you provoke me I become angry and I am disposed to knock you down. You will be safe from being knocked down only if you are strong enough. Are you strong enough? Will you be able to live and support your family needs should the law put you out of driving or out of working in the Garage? Have you enough money should you be misBandled by your employer to consult the law, How can you be strong enough when you are hungrey, when you are unemployed, when you are dining at the soup Kitchen of charity that which will keep you for twenty - four hours. Now we turn back to my members of the African Motor Drivers union and whole hearted supporters wondered why for nearly a year I remained quiet. Why I did not send to them messages, why I did not attempt to continue stirring them up in enthusiasm. I could not have done that to their good and benefit because of the peculiarity of the new order. I knew they would have been hungry. I knew they did not follow my advice.

Here is the fellow who has met with an accident and his employer won't stand for him so he quickly thinks of the A.M.D.U. Is that right, that I should first build my house on a foundation, and that after the rain has swept it down and damaged my lot of things I then start to build the foundation Why not just start with it before building the house! This is what the Bantu Motor Drivers and Garage Workers do, they won't join the Union until some trouble stirs them up and then they join. Why not join before trouble comes and know that you are safe with the defender in front and at the back of you? My friends I advise you that without unity there is no strength. When you are united every nation or law guides will recognize you as other nations.

Greetings to all.

S. B. DLABA
Ass. Gen. Secretary,
Box 766,
Johannesburg.

CHIEF WEDS NIECE

SEROME, Behcuanaland, S. A.—(AP)—Chief Tshekedi Khama, who got a British admiral and 200 marines sent to his door in 1933 by ordering the flogging of a white man, took a wife recently. At the ceremony many Europeans were present in cutaways and top hats. The bride, the daughter of a half-brother of the chief, wore a modern gown especially imported for the ceremony.

Natal University College.

COURSES FOR NON-EUROPEANS.

MRS, PALMERS' EXPLANATION.

Ilanga Lase Natal

Dear Sir,

We are anxious that the Non-European University Classes which are being started at Sastri College on March 6th shall be as useful to everybody concerned as may be possible. Will you therefore allow me the courtesy of your columns to make a few points which restrictions of space made it impossible to deal with adequately in advertisements?

3-7-35

Firstly, although these Classes are primarily for University Students aiming at the attainment of a degree and already possessing the matric or equivalent, they may be attended also by any person who merely wishes to extend his general knowledge, provided that the lecturer in charge of the class has no objection in view of the extremely limited resources for study and culture for non - Europeans in Durban, I can imagine that some few at all events might be glad of this opportunity. Let me assure them they will be welcome.

Secondly, teachers working for the T2 would find the classes useful in preparing for the culture section of that examination, classes are being offered in English, Geography and Botany, all of which are valuable and T2 students since the classes are held at the week ends, every student living at some distance from Durban should find it possible to attend.

Last of all, may I invite even students who for one reason or other find it impossible to get in to Durban to attend the classes to place themselves in touch with me? I might be able to give help in the way of books, tuition or advice. And, in any case, with a view to future developments I am anxious to know the full extent of the demand for University education in Natal from Non-European students.

I should be glad too to hear from post school students who are working for Matric.

I am Sir,
MABEL PALMER,
General Adviser to Non-European Students,
P. O. Box 1525,
Durban.

Order For Restitution of Conjugal Rights.

IN THE NATIVE DIVORCE COURT
Case No. 29-1-35
(Natal and Transvaal Provinces.)
(Before B. W. MARTIN, Esq. President.)

Between ABSOLOM NZUZA, Plaintiff, and ANDRETA NZUZA Defendant.

BE IT REMEMBERED that the above-named Defendant was summoned to answer the above-named Plaintiff in an action for dissolution of the marriage subsisting between them;

AND BE IT FURTHER REMEMBERED thar on Tuesday the 14th day of January, 1936, before the said Court came the Plaintiff; and the said Defendant, although duly summoned and forewarned, comes not and makes default.

And thereupon, having heard the evidence adduced for the Plaintiff,

The Court grants judgment for the Plaintiff for restitution of conjugal rights and orders Defendant to return to or receive the Plaintiff on or before the 28th day of February, 1936, failing which to show cause, if any, to this Court on the 16th day of April, 1935, sitting at Eshowe why the bonds of marriage now subsisting between the Defendant and the Plaintiff shall not be dissolved.

Dated at ESHOWE this 14th day of January, 1936.

By Order of the Court,

J. HEN BOISEN.

Registrar.

All African Convention.

(The Editor, "Ilanga lase Natal")

Sir,

I am instructed by the Executive Committee of the All African Convention to broadcast through every African newspaper that an emergency meeting of the whole Convention will be held at Bloemfontein for four days beginning on Monday the 29th June to 2nd July, 1936.

AGENDA.

1. Report of the Executive Committee on the presentation of the resolutions of the Convention to the Government, discussion and future plans arising therefrom.
2. Consideration and adoption of the Constitution.
3. Finance of the Convention. Under this head the President urges all Africans sympathisers, and organisations to raise funds and remit same (i. e. as much money as possible) between now and June, to the Treasurer (Dr. J. S. Moroka, P. O. Thaba Nchu, O. F. S.) Cheques, Postal Orders or Money Orders should be crossed and made out to "The All African Convention (per Dr. J.S. Moroka) Africans should recognise that the struggle which is a strenuous and expensive one has only begun and that the Convention cannot therefore function successfully without funds.
4. Consolidation of Provincial Committees.
5. Correction of record book "Findings of the All African Convention".
6. Constructive scheme for the economic uplift of Africans to counteract the Government's "Civilised Labour Policy" and other repressive measures.
7. Date of next Convention.
8. Any other competent business (notice of which should be given in advance).

I particularly want to urge the various organisations to kindly furnish me with the names and addresses of their Secretaries in order that I may communicate to them all motions and directions of the Executive Committee and upon which they may desire to instruct their delegates to the Convention.

Yours,

H. SELBY MSIMANG,

General Secretary.

All African Convention.

SOUTH AFRICA'S NATIVE BILLS

On Monday the first of South Africa's two new Native Bills passed its third reading by a majority considerably in excess of the necessary two-thirds of the joint vote of the Senate and the House of Assembly. Of a total of 180 voters, 169 registered their approval of the terms of the Native Representation Bill and only 11 voted against the measure, which will therefore pass into law in due course. Political segregation of black and white in South Africa, a principle to which General Hertzog has long been wedded, has thus been established as a basic principle of native policy. Hesitation on the specific question of the Cape Native Franchise has been evident at every stage of the debate on this Bill, and Mr. Hofmeyr's decision to vote against it indicates that even the Cabinet was not completely solid for the Bill in the form in which it was finally accepted. There is, however, no gainsaying the fact that 94 per cent. of the Union's legislators cast their votes in favour of the Bill and thus gave a decisive indication of their views on the subject. The attitude of the Minister for the Interior typifies the concern which this Bill has caused to many who have long held the traditional view of the Cape that in no circumstances would the principle of equal political rights ever be a serious threat to the position of the white man in South Africa. On the other side is the belief largely held in the Northern Provinces that the advancement of the native constitutes a threat to white supremacy. Whatever the merits of these two arguments, there can be no point in pursuing the question at this stage. The Native Representation Bill has been passed, the Cape natives retain their franchise, although on a separate roll, and a vast number of South African natives in the other Provinces, who have never before had any voice in their own affairs are given the right of electing their own representatives to an Advisory Council. The importance of this last item, the establishment of Union-wide representation of natives in the Native Representative Council, has been partly lost to sight in the storm raised by the original proposal for the abolition of the native franchise in the Cape Province. This Council will discuss and report to Parliament through the Minister of Native Affairs on all matters affecting the native population, and as it will have no executive, but only advisory, powers, it is obvious that its usefulness will depend on the weight given to its decisions by the Government. At the same time it offers to the natives of South Africa a greater opportunity for collective expression than has ever before been afforded, and also places the onus on the natives themselves of demonstrating, by the manner in which these new opportunities are utilised, their fitness or otherwise to play a greater part in the democratic government of the country to which they belong.

THIS WHITE MAN'S CIVILISATION.

The latest method of "civilising" Africans by bomb and gas seems to be receiving the approval of "thousands of sympathisers" who congratulate Mussolini and Italy on their occupation of Abyssinia, as evidenced by the cable that Senator T. C. Visser sent to Mussolini lately. The 'Tiser contributor says Visser speaks through his hat! Who doubts that?

£10 FINE FOR CULPABLE HOMICIDE!

The preparatory examination of J. Lottering, of Adelaide, in the Cape, on the alleged charge of murdering a young Native boy who died from the result of a bullet wound, was remitted by the Solicitor-General to the local Magistrate under increased jurisdiction. Lottering was found guilty of culpable homicide and fined £10 or three months' imrisonment, the Magistrate stating that there was evidence of carelessness in handling the gun.

ITALIANS WANT JIBUTI

The Italians are reported to be offering to take over the railway and the port and give France compensation elsewhere. French circles declare that they will never surrender Jibuti. They admit that the Italian occupation means death of the port's commerce, but strategic considerations prevent its cession.

TEACH THEM YOUNG.

The Italians have started organising the young Abyssinians and training them in pre military occupations. An organisation has been set up named the "Abyssinia of the Lictor". It is similar to that which is understood to have given excellent results among Native Libyan boys. The uniform consists of a forage cape, khaki cotton shirt and shorts and green handkerchief.

Race Problem-1936
Africa.

African Convention.

The Comet 1-4-36

The African Convention held, at Bloemfontein, on the 16th and 17 last month reflected the feelings of the Africans towards the Union and the Protectorates gathered together in such great numbers for the purpose of considering and discussing matters affecting their life and future. The interest they have taken in the Bills clearly indicates that they feel that their future is at stake and that it is necessary they should protest against what they think will be an injustice to them and to help to frame what is d signed to be their future policy.

One thing striking about the convention was the array of intellect brought together. There were scores of graduates of both sexes from the South African and overseas universities, medical men who have distinguished themselves in their practice among ~~their own people and~~ others engaged in other professions, men who have had a thorough training in the different sciences and who are never content with a superficial view of matters but must probe deep into them with a burning desire to arrive at the real solutions.

No doubt the gathering at Bloemfontein must have staggered all the Africanders, especially those of the Northern provinces who have all along harboured a strong believe that the Africans are only a simple minded and semi-civilized people who will readily acquiece to any proposals brought forward by the Government though they may be to their disadvantage, if only such proposals have a touch of sublety.

The convention has been a manifestation of the fact that the Africans have reached a stage, in their life, at which they will not easily surrender what they consider invaluable to them.

The Cape Native Disfranchisement Bill is the pivot of the Native Bills. The Union Government abhores the idea of the Africans taking a part in the Government of the country. They consider that this ought to be the privilege of the white man only and not of the black, and they have a fear that unless the Cape Native Franchise ir abolished there is a danges of the black man ultimately ruling the white. This is what they talk amongst them selves. But when they come to the black man they dislike to confess their fear. They put the matter before the blackman in a subtle manner in order to divert his attention from their real object. They dwell upon the futility of the blackman's vote in influencing the Government and the necessity of forming a Native Representative Council to which all legislation affecting the Africans will be referred before passing through Parliament, and they call this the creating of a future Native Parliament.

It is quite clear, therefere, that they are trying to bargain at the expense of the ignorance of Africans. The Africans, how ever, are able to discern this and have made up their mind not to give their consent to it. If the injustice is done they must refrain from takin a part in it, They must wash their hands of it. That is the spirit that was man fested at the Convention as refl cfed in the resolutio s passed.

Another remarkable point about this convention is the way the African have forgotten their tribal differences and come together to fight a common foe They did not allow their feelings to run riot with them. No strong words nor expressions intended to arouse ill-feeling were made. Care was taken to conduct the deliberations in a spirit of good will and where criticis n was necessary it was not mere destructive criticism th t was indulged in but it was contructive criticism that was put foward. I the Union Government were actuated by feelings of helping the Africans and doing what is just by them in framing this Bills they will be bound to respect their feelings and amend the Bills considerably to suit the people for whom they are intende .

Prosperity Year 1935.

Umzinto Lase Natal 1-3-36

THE year just past has been noted as one of great prosperity for the Union as the coffers of the Government are said to be full and most State Departments report handsome surpluses. This is said to be due to the gold which has been mined and has resulted in good profits for the country. Exports and imports have also brought good returns. This is a rare occurrence and therefore the country as a whole has reason to congratulate itself and to wish similar returns of the same prosperity.

In rejoicing over this remarkable prosperity it must not be forgotten for a moment that the greater amount of this is due to the rate of wages which are paid to the Native labourers in the mines and on the farms. Were it not for this it would be impossible to report such plenty even with the white labour policy of the administration which is said to be for the good of the country. In our view were it pursued to its extreme the result would be ~~clear~~ years and returns.

WHAT OF NATIVE UPLIFT?

Already it has been estimated and suggested as to how to take advantage of this prosperity but in all these schemes Native development is conspicuously absent in spite of the many serious needs which the man who runs may easily descry. The Native reserves and locations are sadly

NATIVE OPINION.

The year just passed has also that they are only a drop in the bucket and do not represent the masses of their people as if this were their fault. There can be no been one which has marked a collective uprising when the lead-stride forward by the Africans ers and the led have not both the example the recent Bloemwide and progressive view whereas fontein Conference where the intelsuch will be the case if the intelligentsia came together to dis- gentsia see ways which they can cuss a common problem and adequately and successfully place proceeded to give a comman opinion before their people to be received after due deliberation. Let us

The Native Africans cannot begin to tread upward path the many thousands the upward paths to civilization of peasant farmers who grow without education. It will not crops which eventually are left do merely to touch the fringe o rot because of lack of markets while the great majority remain and roads for the disposal and illiterate. When those of us who transmission of their products have taken to civilization see There is a crying need for more things with the broad mind the schools for the thousands of Na- will always be the handicap and tive children who have no the rebuff from the authorities

Race Problem - 1936
Africa.

African Convention.

The Comet 1-4-36

The African Convention held, at Bloemfontein, on the 16th and 17 last month reflected the feelings of the Africans towards the Union Native Bills. Never before have the Africans from the various Provinces of the Union and the Protectorates gathered together in such great numbers for the purpose of considering and discussing matters affecting their life and future. The interest they have taken in the Bills clearly indicates that they feel that their future is at stake and that it is necessary they should protest against what they think will be an injustice to them and to help to frame what is d signed to be their future policy.

One thing striking about the convention was the array of intellect brought together. There were scores of graduates of both sexes from the South African and overseas universities, medical men who have distinguished themselves in their practice among their own people and others engaged in other professions, men who have had a thorough training in the different sciences and who are never content with a superficial view of matters but must probe deep into them with a burning desire to arrive at the real solutions.

No doubt the gathering at Bloemfontein must have staggered all the Africanders, especially those of the Northern provinces who have all along harboured a strong belief that the Africans are only a simple minded and semi-civilized people who readily acquiece to any proposals brought forward by the Government though they may be to their disadvantage, if only such proposals have a touch of sublety.

The convention has been a manifestation of the fact that the Africans have reached a stage, in their life, at which they will not easily surrender what they consider invaluable to them.

The Cape Native Disfranchisement Bill is the pivot of the Native Bills. The Union Government abhores the idea of the Africans taking a part in the Government of the country. They consider that this ought to be the privilege of the white man only and not of the black, and they have a fear that unless the Cape Native Franchise is abolished there is a danger of the black man ultimately ruling the white. This is what they talk amongst themselves. But when they come to the black man they dislike to confess their fear. They put the matter before the blackman in a subtle manner in order to divert his attention from their real object. They dwell upon the futility of the blackman's vote in influencing the Government and the necessity of forming a Native Representative Council to which all legislation affecting the Africans will be referred before passing through Parliament, and they call this the creating of a future Native Parliament.

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Another remarkable point about this convention is the way the African have forgotten their tribal differences and come together to fight a common foe They did not allow their feelings to run riot with them. No strong words nor expressions intended to arouse ill-feeling were made. Care was taken to conduct the deliberations in a spirit of good will and where criticis n was necessary it was not mere destructive criticism th t was indulged in but it was contructive criticism that was put foward. I the Union Government were actuated by feelings of helping the Africans and doing what is just by them in framing this Bills they will be bound to respect their feelings and amend the Bills considerably to suit the people for whom they are intende .

Prosperity Year 1935.

Natal Mercury 1-3-36

THE year just past has been noted as one of great prosperity for the Union as the coffers of the Government are said to be full and most State Departments report handsome surpluses. This is said to be due to the gold which has been mined and has resulted in good profits for the country. Exports and imports have also brought good returns. This is a rare occurrence and therefore the country as a whole has reason to congratulate itself and to wish similar returns of the same prosperity.

In rejoicing over this remarkable prosperity it must not be forgotten for a moment that the greater amount of this is due to the rate of wages which are paid to the Native labourers in the mines and on the farms. Were it not for this it would be impossible to report such plenty even with the white labour policy of the administration which is said to be for the good of the country. In our view were it pursued to its extreme the result would be lean years and returns.

WHAT OF NATIVE UPLIFT?

Already it has been estimated and suggested as to how to take advantage of this prosperity but in all these schemes Native development is conspicuously absent in spite of the many serious needs which the man who runs may easily descry. The Native reserves and locations are sadly in need of opening up by school roads in order to lead on the Africans cannot begin to upward path the many thousands the upward paths to civilization of peasant farmers who grow without education. It will crops which eventually are left do merely to touch the to rot because of lack of markets while the great majority and roads for the disposal and illiterate. When those of transmission of their products have taken to civilization There is a crying need for more things with the broad mind schools for the thousands of Na- will always be the handicap tive children who have no the rebuff from the authorities

NATIVE OPINION.

The year just passed has also been one which has marked a lead-stride forward by the Africans in theas intelligently. There can be no doubt that they are only a drop in the bucket and do not represent the masses of the people as if this Native fault. It will not were their fault. The fringe collective uprising when the lead-stride forward by the Africans led have not both theas example the recent Bloemfontein Conference where the intelligentsia came together to discuss a common problem and successfully placeproceeded to give a comman opinion ways which they cancuss people to be receivedafter due deliberation. Let us

hope this will be the foundation of many such gatherings which will be in a position to crystallize Native opinion so that the Government may know what the Native mind is on any subject brought before it for discussion. This has been a crying need of the Bantu in that the Government has gone on with legislation to its end without ascertaining and obtaining genuine Native opinion on the measures. Of course it is to be expected that there may sometimes be wild suggestions some of which are impracticable but the Government will be in a position to sift what is chaff and take to heart what is corn.

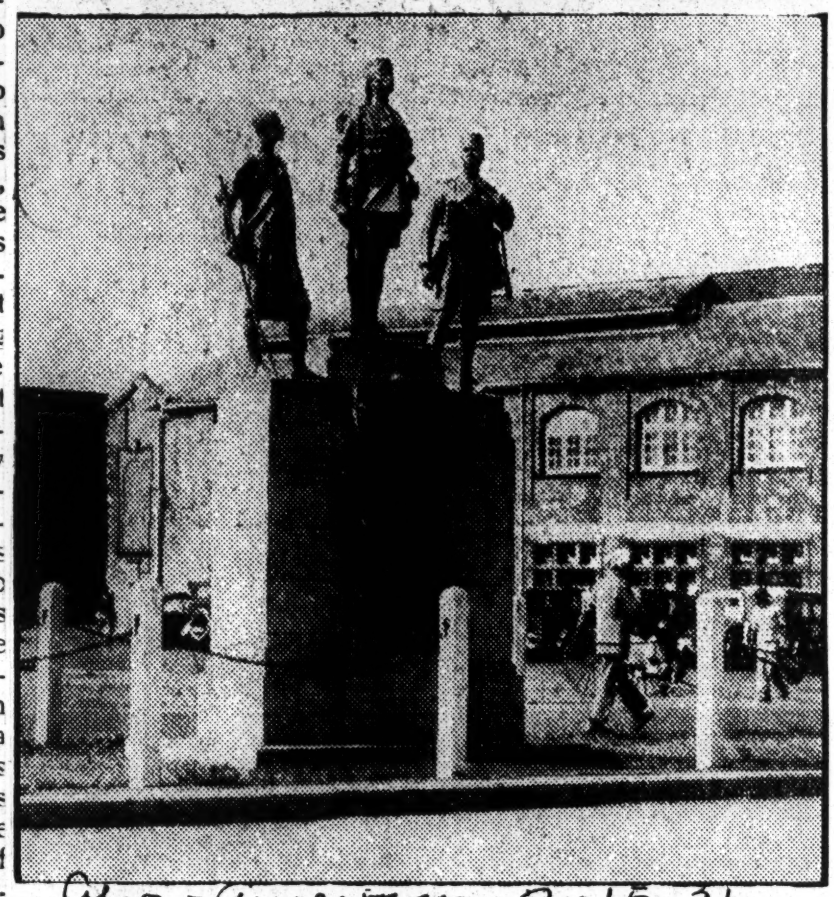
Mr. Nicholls Disproved.

Mr. Frank Brownlee, Acting President of the Native Appeal Court (Transvaal and Natal) discusses in a letter to us, the fallacy of Mr. J. Heaton Nicholls' basis of the Native Bills. Mr. Brownlee, apart from his exceptionally brilliant career as a civil servant, and a recognised authority on Native customs, commands the respect of both Black and White in South Africa. He is the grandson of the celebrated pioneer missionary in Kaffraria, and grew up in the turmoil of the early clashes between the Settlers and uncivilized Bantu tribes. In brief Mr. Brownlee has a life-long personal experience of the Black man from the initial contact of the races, down to the present-day development of the African. His observations therefore deserve the attention of all those who study the Native Bills without bias or prejudice. Mr. Brownlee quotes Mr. Nicholl's thus:—"An argument which contains an element of reason warranting consideration is that raised by Mr. Heaton Nicholls in an address to the Joint Council of Europeans and Natives in Durban on the 14th August last. Mr. Nicholls is reported to have said."..... White South Africa was regarded in some prejudical quarters as being animated by repressive instincts in its dealing with the Native population. This was because of the restrictions placed on Natives when they entered European areas and the restriction of the Native franchise in connection with the Union Parliament. These restrictions were the very essence of trusteeship for trusteeship implied a state of development which required direction. If there was no idea of trusteeship there would be no Native reserves.....the adoption of trusteeship or common citizenship turned on the Native vote. *The existence of the franchise was a negation of trusteeship.* (the italics are mine) If a vote had any value at all it must mean a common citizenship....."

Mr. Heaton Nicholls' discovery that the franchise is a negation of trusteeship opens up an argument which at the first glance would seem to be reasonable but on analysis it falls to pieces. The number of Native voters in proportion to the population is very small. In the Transkeian Territories there are approximately one and a quarter million Natives of whom about 3,000 are voters. The majority of the people are illiterate, and from a European point of view ignorant. They are in a condition and live under circumstances which render trusteeship necessary, they are "in a state of development which requires direction," but to say that the vote must be taken away from the few who have it because of a trusteeship which falls to the duty of the white rulers does not ring true, and to reason that because of the vote which is said to imply common citizenship" the Reserves should be thrown open to European exploitation is to assert something entirely foreign to and inconsistent with the spirit of Native Administration in the Cape and contrary to a studied policy that has been pursued for very many years.

One gains the impression that the Native Bills are expected to be passed during the coming session of Parliament and there has even been speculation as to who the Senators to represent the Native voters are likely to be. I do not think, however, the Government will be so daring as to adopt the attitude of the French King who in a political crisis said 'Things will last our time, and after that we reck not the deluge "*apres nous le deluge.*" Is South Africa once more to produce an apthet such as that rightly or wrongly obtained during the Milner regime—Damn the consequences Milner"—when it was sought to put through measures which were considered by some to be high handed and repressive? Is history to repeat itself in a "Damn the consequences Hertzog." Are we once more to break faith with the Natives whose destinies we control? Are we by an act of injustice to embitter all the Native races of South Africa by creating for them a common lasting grievance? As sure as the Native franchise is withdrawn so sure will the deluge overwhelm us not in the way of physical force, though Mr. Heaton Nicholls in his indiscreet book "Bayete!" sought to show that this might be a possibility, but by economic pressure which year by year the Native is becoming more competent to apply."

Africans Honor Dead Heroes



This monument which stands on the main street of Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya Colony, was erected in memory of the Negro soldiers who were killed in the Great War. It bears an inscription by Rudyard Kipling.

Race Problem – 1936
Africa.

Negro Athletes

The following extracts from an article which appeared in the great English newspaper "The Observer" on August 9th, 1936 are very significant. They refer to the results of the International Olympiad held in Berlin recently. Owens, a Negro student of Ohio University created the following records:—

10.2 sec. for 100 metres, 20.7 sec for 200 metres, 26ft. 5½in for the long jump. This is what the article says:—

"First and foremost this is 'Owens's Olympiad.' Every one of the 10,000 spectators who have eagerly watched the competitions here daily must be agreed about that. In a single week this delightful, modest and extremely intelligent coffee-coloured Negro, aged twenty-one, from Ohio State University, has completely revolutionised the speed events.

"In this sphere Jesse Owens has done what Paavo Nurmi, the sublime Finn, did for a long distance running—opened up entirely new possibilities for the human race. Some of Nurmi's nineteen world records have been eclipsed and Owens's records will be beaten just as surely, but they are the men who have shown the way, and as they will always be acclaimed as the first two supreme geniuses of the modern era."

"Owens's triumph is derived less from a study of the mathematics of athletics than from the possession of an exquisite body. He conforms to the popular idea of a 'buck' Negro, but his proportions are so perfect, first, that he does not look exceptionally strong and, secondly, that he is incapable of making the smallest unrhythmic movement.

"Hence, in all his fourteen appearances here, in eleven of which he broke or equalled the Olympic record, he never seemed extended, and apart from a moment in the long jump one never seriously imagined him not winning. Yet conditions were far from the sweltering heat which suites him.

"His Berlin records of 10.2 sec. for the 100 metres, 20.7 sec for the 200 metres and 26ft. 5½in. for the long jump leave little doubt that under favourable conditions he could run 100 yards in 9 sec., and 220 yards in 20 sec., and jump 28ft. when he has improved his style—entirely new possibilities."

"Just as certainly as Owens is the individual who has stolen the thunder at this Olympiad, the Negroes are the race which has triumphed above all others here. There have been several great Negro winners at previous Olympiads, but never before have they established themselves in so many different spheres.

"Not even the upstanding Finn, Kotkas, who holds the European record of 46ft. 7¾in. ever looked like staying with the tall cat-like Negroes Cornelius Johnson and David Albritton in the high jump; and J. Woodruff, with a stride which is variously estimated at the unheard of length of 9 ft. 10, or 11 ft. dwarfed the 800 metres field and won comfortably, despite his extremely ill-judged tactics.

"These men made their white rivals look like novices. One was surprised that Johnson and Albritton did not jump 7 ft. high, and one imagined that Woodruff could run a half-mile in more like 1 min. 45 sec. than 1 min. 50 sec. These men in their own departments made our English standards seem childish.

"Then there were Archie Williams and Jimmy Lu Valle, in the 400 metres, doing great things against our star quarter-milers—Brown, Roberts and Rampling—of whom we are justly rather proud, and Pollard pressing Finlay, the greatest of the many very great hurdlers from the British Empire, to inches in the 110 metres event. And there were other Negroes to the fore. In fact, as an American critic said to me: "In an Olympic programme minus the 'throwing events,' our Negroes could nearly field a team to beat the world."

"The secret of their successes probably lies in their extraodinary combination of suppleness and cast iron strength.

"As citizens of an Empire containing most of the Negroes in the world, we may well be delighted with their performances, but it cannot be denied that their successes here are likely to have repercussions.

"So far, the suggestion that Owens may form an "All Black Team" and tour the world with it is, I am able to state on good authority, no more than a suggestion. I am also able to state that there has been no racial discrimination in the matter of receiving winners in the Box of Honour.

"Prominent South African Negroes state that the Negroes' successes have already called forth consideration of raising the status of Native sport throughout the Union. At present, apparently, Native meetings are rather a farce, and nothing much is done by white people to improve them. Now it is felt in many quarters that the American Negroes athletic ascendency will not be lost on their South African brothers, and that more will, sooner or later, have to be done to help them. It is admitted that the indigenous South African population has magnificent physique, worthy of being harnessed to world sport and that economic considerations and apathy rather than prejudice have been holding developments back."

Dr. John L Dubé

Honoured By The University Of South Africa

What the University of South Africa has done is a recognition of achievement and merit in the educational sphere and a demonstration of the fact that in the educational field colour or racial prejudice does not in the least blind the sponsors of education. It is an encouragement to the Africans to do their best, wherever they are, knowing full well that their contribution to the service of South Africa and their people, if it is of any value, will surely be recognised.

Commenting on this the "Bantu World" says:—

"There is always something new and surprising in Africa. The news that the University of South Africa has conferred an honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy on the Rev John Langalibalele Dube has undoubtedly caused a surprise to many people and has sent a thrill of hope throughout Bantudom. No one expected that after the enactment of the Native Bills and the subsequent celebrations in the Orange Free State, an Afri-

can would be called out of his despised people to receive an honour from one of South Africa's national Institutions.

Not Racial But National Achievement

But South Africa is no longer a jungle. In spite of the puny efforts of men who are endeavouring to perpetuate racial quarrels originated in jungle days, there is a growing number of liberal-minded men and women who have come to the realisation of the fact that this country is the common heritage of both black and white and that the political destiny of the two races is one. To them the achievement of the Rev John L, Dube is not a racial one but a national affair of which the whole of South Africa should be proud.

The Dignity Of Civilisation

In honouring Mr Dube, the University of South Africa has not lowered its prestige nor that of the white race, but has enhanced the dignity of civilisation in Africa, while giving hope to the African people that after all white South Africa is capable of rising above race and colour prejudice. The African people in congratulating Mr Dube, will take off their hats for those men whose decision to confer this outstanding honour on a distinguished son of the Bantu race has made the University of South Africa a real national Institution

Career

Mr Dube was born at Inanda, Natal, in 1870, and studied at the Adam's College until he was 17 years of age, when he went to America. On his return to South Africa six years later he taught for a period and then became pastor of Inanda. Later he went back to America and studied theology for three years. He returned in 1901 and founded the Ohlange Institute, which is the first and only Institute for higher education to be founded by a man of the Bantu race, and today it is recognised by the Natal Education Department as a high school for boys.

In 1904 he founded the Ilanga lase Natal which is the only Zulu newspaper in Natal.

Mr Dube has taken prominent part in political, social and economical activities. He was the first President of the African National Congress and in 1914 he headed its deputation to Great Britain in connection with the Natives Land Act of 1913. Since the passing of the Native Affairs Act in 1920, he has been nominated by the Government as a member of the National Conferences called under that Act. He occupies an unique position in South Africa and is highly respected by both Europeans and Africans.

Various pamphlets have been published by him and two books in Zulu, which are used in the and also a volume of Zulu songs. It is said of him that he is a genuine South African patriot, a true servant of his country and pioneer under great difficulties in several important fields

Last year Mr Dube was asked by the Natal Mercury to write its Christmas number editorial an honour which hitherto had been only extended to European citizens of Durban. This year he was appointed president of the Natal Missionary Conference. He is the first of his race to have the honour of having an honorary degree of the University of South Africa conferred on him.

Justice And Natives.

THE Commission which is to investigate the working and application of justice in the Union has been duly appointed and will soon be touring the country.

There have been various causes which necessitated this step being taken, one of which was the incident of April 1 in Durban. The two conclusions come to by the two officials who made investigations into this affair prove once more that the administration of justice too frequently goes along the lines of one's temperament. The Durban magistrate scathingly criticised the conduct of certain officers of the Municipality, while the other exonerated them from blame and laid it on other shoulders.

We agree with Mr D. G. Shepstone when he advocated the advisability of adding to the personnel of the Commission by appointing a representative of the non-Europeans It is admitted on all hands that the views of this section is desirable as they are the major sufferers under the penal codes, especially the Natives. It would be interesting to elicit information from this as to the reasons why so many of the Natives nowadays fill the jails of the country and how this can be reduced. Europeans look at these subjects from a different point of view, that of the governing class, and cannot come to the view of those who are actually in the fire. It would be, therefore, a fully representative Commission if one of this class had a seat in the Commission. It cannot be claimed in this case that there are no suitable representatives to be obtained from this class as we are sure there are now quite a number who are eligible and quite qualified either by intelligence or education, we mean from the Native Africans and Indians.

There has been a good number of articles and correspondence in the daily press dealing with this vital subject, many of which expressed the opinion that the Natives are not helped to live a respectable life, in that they are thrown into gaol at the slightest pretext, so that many, who are now gaol birds, could have been saved from this descent by a fatherly thought by some Magistrate to give him a chance, as is so laudibly done for Europeans. Some rightly complain that Justice seems to be blind in one eye, in that everything possible is done to see that there is no miscarriage of justice upon Europeans. It is even hinted at that some European men have found a loophole in the law to escape the result of their misdeeds in insisting that their names may not be published in the press where those of the Natives are flagrantly published. The irony of the case is that Native Africans are otherwise unknown except in connection with crime

It was amusing the other day when we heard that a certain European living in Durban was so surprised at hearing of the conferment of a doctorate on Dr. Dube that he asked a Native who this man was, and where he lived. But had he been a criminal he would have been known. Publicity is granted Natives in connection with misdemeanour or crimes. Our experience has been that the word 'man' does not apply to any Native, the common reference to him being the common "boy", however old he may be.

We are, however, hopeful that we are sailing along with the times and that even in courts we shall be better considered, especially after the investigations and report of the commission just appointed.

Race Problem - 1936
Africa

Mr. B. W. Vilakazi Graduates in Witwatersrand University.

Daily Mail Natal 3-2-36

The Son of Natal Distinguishes Himself.

200 New Graduates.

Vice - Chancellors' Advice.

Degrees were conferred on more than 200 students at the Summer graduation ceremony of the Witwatersrand University in the Johannesburg City Hall, last Saturday morning.

Among the students was a Native named Benedict Waller Vilakazi, who had qualified with honours for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, the subjects being Bantu Studies and Native Language.

As he knelt to be "capped" by the Vice-Chancellor of the University, Mr. H. J. Hofmeyr, B.A., there was thunderous applause from the students, followed by the singing of "He's a jolly good fellow".

Honorary degrees of Doctor of Laws were conferred on Dr W. T. F. Davies, C.M.G., D.S.O., President of the South African Medical Council; and Professor John Orr, Director of the Witwatersrand Technical College.

ELOQUENT APPEAL

In an eloquent appeal to the students and graduates, the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. H. J. Hofmeyr, asked that they help their country not by pound notes, but by strenuous and enlightened service.

"We may worry along with two languages, two flags, two capitals and two races, but we cannot do with more than one nation", he declared. "Find the centripedal point, the focus of communal national interest and mutual benefit. Cease laying such emphasis on the question of descent. What we are and whether our descendants will bless or curse us is of infinitely more consequence."

Close on 2,000 people, including the students attended the graduation ceremony.

The Native guests were Dr. Gumede of Inanda, Rev. Luhlongwana of Groutville, Messrs H. Kumalo of Umteteli staff and Lincoln Ngwane of Groutville, interpreter to the Native Appeal Court.

THE BALE OF IBADAN'S VISIT TO IFE

A Break With The Past

HOPE FOR THE FUTURE SOLIDARITY

Times 3-12-36

Ile Ife, Feb. 30.

FOLLOWING his telegram Alaiyeluwa the Oni of Ife his proposed visit, the Bale Ibadan, accompanied by some his important Councillors, arrive Ife at 12 o'clock noon, on February 29th.

On arrival some of the Oni's chiefs were sent to escort the Bale from the Rest House to the palace. The chiefs in two cars soon returned leading a long train of cars of the Resident, the Bale and his councillors to the front of the Reception Hall, where had already assembled a large number of citizens who came to welcome the guests of the Alaiyeluwa the Oni. Supported by his chiefs the Oni advanced to the entrance of the hall to receive the Resident of the Province, Mr H L Ward Price, and the Bale of Ibadan and his retinue. The Resident courteously introduced the Bale to the Oni and after warm salutations the visitors were led to their seats amidst the guard of honour formed by Ife Native Administration Policemen.

The Oni occupying the central seat, the Resident, the Bale and the District Officer, Captain Norcott took their positions and the programme of the day was opened.

Alaiyeluwa the Oni, in a brief speech, for himself and his people expressed their hearty welcome to the Bale and his Councillors. He expressed his delight at a friendly visit of that kind and hoped that at a short time to come all other Yoruba Obas would break through the traditional fetters and visit one another to exchange views on the difficult problems of dear Yoruba land with a view to co-ordination, for "united we stand, divided we fall."

The Resident, Mr H L Ward Price, on behalf of himself and the Bale responded, expressing their delight in the welcome accorded them by the Oni, his chiefs and people. He could not remember if any friendly visit of that kind was fraught with advantages.

He was pleased, however, to say that it was the Bale himself who expressed the desire of visiting the Oni, and he was sure that a visit of the kind, if developed among the Obas, would remove the old tradition of seclusion and promote operation and goodwill. The Bale was pleased with the welcome which he had been receiving from the Ifes right and left since he had entered into the town.

The Resident asked the Bale for his impression on the town since he had visited it last. The Bale agreed with the response of the Resident and remarked the great change he had noticed since his last visit to the town, prior to British occupation. He was pleased with the warm welcome accorded him.

After the speeches, a programme of visits to important parts of the town was drawn up and the return of the visitors was fixed for 4.30 p.m. Then the Oni took the Bale and four of his councillors in cars on a visit to some parts of the town, including the Oni's new building. The Bale and his retinue later were led to the house prepared for them where drumming, dancing, and singing continued till 3.30 p.m.

All that time, a stream of pleasure cars filed past, with that carrying the Oni and the District Officer's Hill, and after spending some time there, the Oni and his august visitor returned to the palace.

After a cordial exchange of greetings and good wishes the Oni and his chiefs waved farewell to the Bale and his councillors as they were speeding off on their return home.

Merriment continued at the Afin till late at night. Thus the historic visit was brought to an end.

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

Mr. B. W. Vilakazi Graduates in Witwatersrand University.

Bantu Leader Natal 3-2-36

Phoenix

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Morning Post

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Still late at night, the Oni and the Bale leading the way to Mokuro, the source of the town's water-supply. The visit lasted about half an hour during which streams of cars and people continued to pour into the palace.

After a cordial exchange of greetings and good wishes the Oni and his chiefs waved farewell to the Bale and his councillors as they were speeding off on their return home.

When returning from Mokuro to the Dis- Merriment continued at the Afin

Parliament Crucifies Africans.

But he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done: and there is no respect of persons." Coloss. 3-25.

In precisely the same week that we remember with grief the crucifixion of our Lord at Golgotha did the Union Parliament sacrifice the sacred political right of the Cape Natives at the altar of so-called self-preservation. The 6th day of April 1936 will be written in indelible characters in the minds of every aboriginal African as the "Black Monday" which symbolised the come-back of slave days; and the bitter experience will perforce be left as a legacy to the coming generations.

Parliament passed the third reading of the Bill ostracising black electors from the body politic of South Africa by 169 to 11, the following members having refused to be party to the dirty work of injustice and unfounded cowardice:—Col. Stallard, C. W. A. Coulter, J. S. Marwick, R. M. Christopher, J. C. Derbyshire, Minister J. H. Hofmeyr, Senator F. S. Malan, R. J du Toit, M. Alexander, A. J. McCallum and J. Chalmers. The result of the fateful voting was greeted with cheers for General Hertzog.

Perhaps the most damaging indictment of the intrigue openly indulged in by the supporters of the United Party Government was that from the ministerial colleague of the Prime Minister, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, Minister of Public Health and Education. Mr. Hofmeyr's outspoken condemnation of the tactics used by his party leave the Government and Parliament discredited convicts in the eyes of the outside world. The vindication of the Natives' case in rejecting the Compromise Bill with national unanimity could not have been more honourably upheld than by embracing the conversion of one of South Africa's most celebrated Afrikaans-speaking statesmen in the Cabinet. Mr. Hofmeyr's assimilation of British traditions of justice, freedom and fairplay has put to shame many Englishmen in and outside Parliament who boast citizenship of a great empire, over whose shores the sun never sets.

What the former parliamentary representatives of Native constituencies failed to do in honour of the pledges given to their dusky constituents, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, representing no Natives in the Transvaal (and at the risk of courting the disfavour of white voters in the Transvaal) has willingly done to square his conscience with the Christian faith preached by Europeans to Natives.

Law, it is said, was made for man, and not man for the law. Our Union Parliament on the contrary is sanguine that in the case of Natives, it is man who was made for the law. That their hopes do not overlap on the side of extravagance remains to be proved when read side by side with the resolution of the All-African Convention that "the blame for the deadlock thus created must not be placed on them for any national repercussions that may result from the indiscretion of ill-conceived and one sided legislation."

A sensational development has arisen since the passing of the third reading of this Compromise Bill, John Geoffrey Masiu, an African registered voter in the Cape has presented the President of the joint sitting of Parliament with a process of the Supreme Court restraining the submission by him to the Governor-General of the Bill now passed. Masiu is acting on behalf of all the black races of South Africa and bases his claims to the franchise as originally granted in 1854, on his rights as a subject of His Majesty the King. Hearing of this interdict is set down for the 17th April, and it is quite probable that the constitutional element of the law will go to the Privy Council if necessary. If this occurs, the legislation will be held up for months, and the Government will be hoist with their own petard.

NATIVE REPRESENTATION BILL PASSED

By a huge majority of 168 votes against the Native Representation Bill was passed by the Joint Sitting of the Two Houses last Tuesday morning. The greatest good that the Native Representation Act will do will be to unite the Native races into one solid Native nation.

The discussions have shown us that the White man is afraid of the Black man, and that the Black man must throw to the winds that trust he has ever placed on the White.

He must develop along his own lines, and what that means experience alone will teach him.

Superiority Complex

A question was put by Mr. Swart, a Nationalist of Ladysmith to the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Hofmeyr, desiring to know the reply of the Government to the resolution made last year by the Orange Free State Provincial Council asking for powers to prohibit Natives from acting as drivers of motor vehicles owned by Europeans or conveying Europeans. Mr. Hofmeyr replied that there was no necessity for any new legislation as the powers already delegated to the Provincial Councils covered all such cases as they could pass legislation for the stricter control of the various classes of motor vehicle drivers.

This reply does not seem to make it clear for us to assume that the Provincial Councils may debar by enactment certain classes on the basis of race or colour from driving for Europeans. The questioner further did not lay before the Minister the reasons which actuated the Free State Provincial Council to formulate such a resolution against Native chauffeurs. It has not been shown to our knowledge that the Native motor driver is a greater danger and menace to the safety of the public than other classes of drivers.

The mentality which has for so many years obsessed a certain section of the farmers of South Africa especially in the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Natal. is one which we cannot fathom. When legislation was passed over a hundred years ago to liberate Native slaves and allow them to be recognised as human beings the forbears of these people so revolted from the idea, that this was the cause of the exodus from the Cape, the great trek which was made into the wilds of the interior and resulted in the foundation of the inland Provinces

It is often a truism that human nature changes but very little with the passage of time. It would seem that our friends over the Berg have not as yet been influenced or transformed by the conditions obtaining now which did not exist at the time of the great trek. The savage Natives whom they found occupying these parts would seem not to have changed with the times ever since the advent of the Europeans with their civilization or is it an abnormal possession of the superiority complex and, an unremitting racial bias as against the aborigines of the Union? From the cases brought before the courts it would seem that all classes of drivers fall foul of the law and that Europeans, Indians and Coloureds are implicated in motor accidents in equal proportions according to the number of drivers in each class. To single out Native drivers for the prevention to drive for European masters or passengers seems to be sheer racial prejudice and insensate hostility,

This trait of character is fairly traceable to Cain the son of Adam who would not brook the fact that his brother should have any good or better favour than he, so that had to go to the extent of exterminating his life thus expecting happiness. will "our friends" after having debarred Natives from the motor business be the happiest people in the world? We think not as they should have been already happier when most of the laws made in this country which affect the interests of Europeans and Natives have been uniformly in favour of the Europeans. The Natives may not do a job that may be profitably taken by any European or even only hankered after by a European ne'er-do-well. One wonders what is meant by the trusteeship of the European over the Natives if the policy of carrying this out will always be expressed and perpetuated by repression not based on incapability to carry out the duties and obligations imposed upon them as Natives When will the time come when a man will be judged and given credit for his merits or deserts and not merely basing it on the colour of one's skin as if souls were predestined to be unequal?

Race Problem – 1936
Africa,

Cruelty To Basuto Women

The Comet

Basuto women are the best slaves under the British flag. They are bought and sold under the guise of marriage very often to men whom they do not love, just to please some selfish, cattle-minded parent or guardian. There is an excuse for this because it is the custom. But it seems the law of that country does not prosecute a man who neglects to support his wives. 11-3-36

Only favourites of the harens do enjoy something nearest to life, the other inmates are just tools that may be used only when necessity arises.

Persecution is law in Basutoland in this form! "If a woman through destitution or being neglected by her husband wishes to go away to seek employment she must obtain a pass from a chief to travel. The widows must carry passes, girls must carry passes if they wish to get to the Union to get work. If they leave the country to seek work in the reserves, there they are treated as vagrants and are punished by law as "bad women." But men are not treated as vagrants though they loaf and loiter about the Beer-Shafts. This is not all that a Mosotho woman must endure. The finger of the law has marked her footsteps. The unlucky being has no protector.

In Union towns she is an object of pity. Chased out of Johannesburg after being shuffled by "Pick.up" she is sent back to the country where she is not wanted. She tries Bloemfontein for work, she is bundled out and marked as a deportee, an undesirable woman.

Now were on God's earth must she go to? It is argued she must return to her "home," to the husband who does not support her. The husband who knows that his word is supreme when he says to her "I have ploughed a land for you it is enough"

Yet she is in rags and her children are destitute. No law seems to come to her aid. She is an outcast of the nation. Her men-folk are too selfish and inconsiderate and pretend to be blind to her sufferings. There is no asylum for her, o employment.

The Government is the only protector to get work for these unfortunates, not by gaoling them because it is a shame to gaol a defenceless woman of this sort. Their cases should be properly investigated and their men-folk be punished for neglecting them. Most of these women are widows who are trying to support their off-springs by getting work near in the reserves. but there the Police round them up and gaol them as vagrants etc.

We have so many religious sects in the country who could organize some humane scheme instead of leaving the matter to "the drastic steps of the law." It is really true that "where men are cowards, women are brave."

Bonafide Basuto residents should be allowed permits to employ women who wish to work, so as to protect them against police raids for "bad women." Strictly speaking an employed person is not a vagrant from a point of law.

Haren deserters have gruesome stories to tell. Women who have sympathetic relatives are safe, the rest are undergoing tribulation. Is it not a shame?

JOHN MONAHENG.

A Synoptic Discourse on Bantu History.

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TSHAKA THE GREAT.

(BY JOHN E. A. TSEKISO.)

Ilanga Lase Natal

The history of the present Zululand is inextricably interwoven with the biography of Tshaka whose name holds pre-eminence among those of the African Kings. 10-10-36

Tshaka was a great man in every way. He attained to power and renown through tactical organisation and foresight and not through acts of barbarity as has been inferred by some biased historians. He was a born leader and diplomatist, and like all steady and progressive organisers he studied with diligence the needs and psychology of his people. Before acting he first considered the possible consequences of whatever procedure he intended to embark upon, and for this reason he usually avoided unnecessary clashes with his subjects. Thus even during the most critical period of the evolutionary development of the new Bantu state of Zululand, he enjoyed the adoration of the people of his Empire.

Tshaka was probably born about the time of the Pacification of Versailles (1783) which put end to the American Revolution thus when he died, Tshaka was about forty-five years of age. Before his birth, the different tribes of Bantuland were ruled by hereditary Chieftains and each Chieftain was the supreme head of his own tribe.

Under Senzangakona, Tshaka's father and predecessor, the province of the Zulus was not one of the Great Powers of Bantuland, but under the rulership of the genius Tshaka, the Zulu tribe acquired the hegemony of all the other tribes. He had spent the early part of his life in the standing army of a powerful and friendly tribe, and this enabled him in later years, to become a military tactician of the highest order. After ascending the throne of Zululand, the warrior King pursued his measures of aggressiveness with unabating success. The days of peaceful sloth vanished away, and Bantuland became a veritable cockpit. One might add "and hoes were beaten into spears, and and then it became a case of the survival of the fittest."

The entire period of the aggressions of Tshaka covered nearly twenty years, and during this time he achieved the unification of the numerous independent provinces of Bantuland under the title of Zululand. The new Zulu Empire was, therefore, a confederation of provinces, which before were political rivals.

In order to facilitate a speedy fusion of the different tribes, Tshaka devised such strict disciplinary measures, that he has been handed down to history as a pitiless and bloodthirsty man. In any case, Tshaka's policy of rule was mainly guided by political expediency. He was ruler of a barbarous and bellicose confederation of tribes, which had been recently subjugated, and in order to keep these under control, he was compelled to "reprove and chastise."

The Bantu were great disciplinarians, and for this reason, Tshaka's attitude may hardly be anathemised as he was merely acting in conformity to the Bantu moral law by killing all contumacious evil-doers; of course, according to the tradition of Bantu, a man whose moral influence did not edify his fellowmen, had no right to live.

All great men have enemies, and as Tshaka is not an exception to the rule, it is absolutely not surprising that he has suffered so much vilifying criticism at the hands of empirics and unprincipled cow-boys.

Tshaka made a notable achievement, viz: –the founding of a strong and united nation, which ranks his name among those of the ancient and modern Empire builders like Alfred the Great, Caeser, William of Orange, Napoleon and Bismarck. He was a upper-savage, and in mental capacity was far raised above his own people. He was a foreseeing man too, and there is no doubt but that if he had lived till 1878, the status of the present Zulu land would be much higher.

When the Missionaries and traders arrived in Zululand, they were courteously treated by the King, and they had grants of land allotted to them in which to live.

This potentate even conceived the idea of entering into pacific negotiations with the English Government, which proves to prove that Tshaka had noble ideas and that he laboured solely for the aggrandisement of the Zulu nation. 10-10-36

His people owe a debt of honour to him for all the great work he has done for them; today Zululand is the home of a strong and progressive nation whose people are morally and intellectually capable of rising to the highest stage of civilisation.

This great man was done to death in 1828, and therefore 1928 which was the first centenary of his death reminded every Zululander of the Great Patriot,

"Who lived by actions and not by words.

And won his plumes by his nchievements;
Was first among politicians,
Until in dust he was laid to rest."

J. E. A. TSEKISO.

Fort Hare.

YOUNG AFRICAN GUILTY, RULING; TO FILE APPEAL

LONDON, Eng., Nov. 5.—(Special to ANP)—On October 13 was concluded the trial of Wallace Johnson, militant organizing secretary of the West African Youth League, on the charge of publishing an article entitled "Has the African a God?" alleged to constitute a violation of Section 330 of the Laws of the Gold Coast as amended by the Criminal Code (Amendment) Ordinance of 1934.

The trial took place before Assessors, and Wallace Johnson defended himself. The judge, after refusing to issue subpoenas to enable the defense to call witnesses, convicted Wallace Johnson in face of the opinion of two African Assessors against one European, imposing a fine of L10 to be paid within a fortnight. As happened in the Meerut Conspiracy case in India, when the judge decided that eleven of the accused, who had been found "not guilty" by the Assessors, were guilty, the judge in the Gold Coast condemns the accused, although two Assessors out of three found him "not guilty." Assessor trials are a farce. Johnson will no doubt appeal against his conviction and all possible aid must be given him by British workers in his appeal.

Text of Alleged "Seditious" Article

Johnson's article, alleged to be seditious, which was published under the pseudonym of "Effective" in 'The African Morning Post," of May 15th, read as fololws:

"Personally I believe the European has a God in whom he believes and whom he is representing in his churches all over Africa. He believes in the God whose name is spelt 'Dectit.' He believes in the God whose law is 'Ye strong, ye must weaken the weak. Ye civilised Europeans, you must 'civilize" the barbarous African with machine guns. Ye 'Christian" Europeans, you must Christianize the Pagan Africans with bombs, poison gases, etc.'

"In the colonies the Europeans believe in the God that commands, 'Ye administrators, made sedition bills to keep Africans in exile whenever they dare question your authority. Make an ordinance to grab his money so that he cannot stand economically. Make levy bills to force him to pay taxes for the importation of unemployed Europeans to serve as stool treasurers. Send detectives to stay around the house of any African who is nationally conscious and who is agitating for national independence, and if possible, round him up in a criminal frame-up so that he could be kept behind bars.'"

Johnson Taken Into Custody

For writing this article, Wallace Johnson was arested on June 6, on the charge of "Seditious Publication,' 'and held in custody. The authorities in the Gold Coast were apparently uncomfortable about the agitation which developed as a consequence of the passing of the levy ordinance by the Legislative Council, giving new taxation powers to the Paramount Chiefs.

When the prosecution opened its case about Wallace Johnson on June 24, a letter addressed by him to the League Against Imperialism on May 30, in which he had described the agitation against the poll tax, was intercepted by the police and tendered in evidence against him.

Johnson was committeed to the Assizes on July 1. The application made for the case to be committed to the October Assizes in order to enable the defense to secure evidence from abroad was at first disallowed, but subsequently granted. Hugh Thomas, the Secretary of Native Affairs in the Gold Coast Government, was called as a witness by the prosecution.

The Souls of Bantu People.

(By Peter Kortjass.)

The world is in a state of chaos; whichever way we look we find great national upheavals, all the old order of things is passing away and a new era is beginning in the history of mankind. In the East as in the West nearly every nation is sparing no effort in striving for race supremacy in the manufacture of armaments. In Geneva, while nations are leaving no stone unturned in seeking and devising means whereby peace could again be restored to the world, in Spain "all is not quiet on the Western front." What means this restless stir and commotion of mind?

Nations great and small alike are very anxious to see an end to this uncertain state of affairs. They are anxious, ever so anxious to be relieved from this cruel suspense of anxiety. Perhaps they are justified, for in a world such as ours where everything is doubtful, where you may be disappointed and be blessed in disappointment, anxiety is the poison of human life. It is the parent of many sins and more miseries. The human family is for once drifting away from God, their Creator by having proposed to take such an evil and untoward step as the manufacture of deadly firearms and munitions for the sole purpose and savage desire of slaying each other. Knowledge indeed, is an asset very dangerous to those whose mental capacities have accommodated of her more than they can hold. However, "Man troposes but God disposes."

The human family is to all intents and purposes living within the borders of the Dark Ages. I need hardly add that if ever the blame must be apportioned for provoking and stirring up the embers of race hatred, it would seem to be at the door of European dictators.

How does this seething and dangerous European situation echo in the Union of South Africa, more especially among the Bantu people? A people whose very existence is a miracle when one comes to examine it from the economic point of new. In the economic field racial prejudice reigns supreme. There is not that much of a chance for a skilled Native African labourer since the State has indirectly legislated against them in various ways. There is an English axiom to which I most highly subscribe especially in regard to such class legislation operating in this country, viz. that, 'All roads lead to Rome but are travelled in many different ways." For instance, the wage Determination Act was passed into law with no other purpose in view than that of ousting civilised Native Africans in the economic field of skilled labour to say nothing of the iniquitous Colour Bar Act. Isn't such legislation in a civilised and Christian country a blot and a disgrace in its history and above all else a sin in the eyes of God that, because of his colour not even inability, the Native African should be prohibited by legislation from taking his share in the economic field of skilled labour? If not, there must be something radically wrong with the machinery that drives on the progress of the world. Civilisation has turned men's hearts into stone with the result that men have lost both their reasoning and sense of justice. It goes without saying that the human race is at the threshhold of the Dark Ages. The ages of terror whose code of life runs parallel, in fact, identical to that of the jungle, viz., 'Kill or be killed.' The struggle for existence has assumed a different phase. Instead of being a struggle between man and beast it has become a struggle between man and man the survival of the fittest: The fit must live and the weak go to the wall.

According to the trend of events one can foresee the time not distant when white South Africa will undergo a rude awakening when it will be too late as indeed no falsehood can fasten itself unto theheart of time. No doubt civilisation has got to be safeguarded, and white supremacy as well has got to be maintained, but not necessarily at the expense of the subject races. The writer can quote instances galore to illustrate or, for that matter, to substantiate his views on this delicate subject, but as space will not allow he will be content in the meantime to leave it to ablerpens.

In conclusion may I be permitted to quote Dr. Chalmers wherein he says: "True happiness consists in something to hope for." That is true happiness in this world in its entirely; and yet I need hardly say that this sacred inherited right of life has been disorganised by means of artificial barriers created solely to deprive people less fortunate because of the colour they wear which evidently is, alas, their long life domination. Life is indeed touching the Bantu People on the raw and for their black colour their souls are grievously paying.

Race Problem – 1936

Africa

Tribute to Native Nurses.

The Health Magazine in its latest number publishes Dr. Gales tribute to his Native Nursing staff since the establishment of the Mission Hospital. Tugela Ferry, Natal, and we reproduce same hereunder, for the interest of the public.

Dr. Gales has recently been appointed to the staff of the S.A. Native College, Fort Hare. 4-25-36

It will be remembered that the question of the trainining of the Basuto girls as nurses has been brought up as a motion, a few years ago, in the Basutoland Council and suggestions were brought forward then that arrangements be made in the local hospital for that purpose. The Administration in conjunction with the Medical Department took the matter up to try and work out a scheme by which this could be achieved. How far this has gone we are not in a position to state, but there is still hope that the scheme has not been abandoned.

The tribute paid by Dr. Gale to the Native nursing staff of his hospital should instil confidence to those who might have doubted whether the end would justify the means and increase interest in the scheme. Dr. Gale states:– I wish to pay tribute to the Native nurses who have run the hospital during the past five years. With the exception of three months at the start, we have never had a European nurse, and I think it is worth noting that hospital work in a primitive Native area has been developed successfully with the help solely of Native nurses. We have never had more than one trained nurse at a time She has been matron of the hospital, giving skilled attention to the patients. practical instruction to the probationers (Native girls fresh from school,) supervision to the kitchen and laundry departments; she has been anæsthetist for nearly every operation, has faced many obstetric and other emergencies during my absences out in the district, and has never really been "off duty."

Latterly we have had 400 or so admissions a year, and a daily average of twenty-four (not counting the ever-present "new borns.") Our trained nurses happen to have come from all three of the principal training schools in the Union: Lovedale, Umtata and the American Mission in Durban. All three came

Development or the relief of Native distress in any shape or form.

Congress is of the opinion that at times of prosperity such as this the Government should be pleased to reduce the poll tax.

Dutch Reformed Church Conference.

Zululand Leader 4-25-36

We are sure it will be news to many of our people on the coast parts to read about a Missionary Conference of the Dutch Reformed Church. Many are not aware that there is any missionary work undertaken by this religious body. It will therefore be edifying to read that there is in existence such mission work which in its activities includes the Natives as well. We may be excused if we make the assertion that this is not the quarter where the generality of Natives expects such attention directed toward them as to wish for them anything else than seeing them in sackcloth everyday as shepherds and labourers on the farms. We were informed of a great work carried on by this Church in Central Africa but in these parts, considering that Dutch were the first immigrants into these parts, there was practically nothing to show that they prized religion and that they were ready to pass it on to the aboriginals of this country except perhaps their keeping of the Sabbath and attending certain anniversaries and ceremonies which they brought with them from their country of origin.

Well, the Dundee Conference was all that a Missionary Conference should be. There was the same interest taken in the spread of Christianity as is witnessed among other Missionary organisations at work in this country.

Among the matters that came up for discussion were those common and familiar ones of polygamy and beer-drinking and heathen-dances. We are not sure if we are justified in dubbing our dances heathen and exclude European dances where dancers must engage in it with the members of the opposite sex in most cases people of no relation. We have had evidence of the results of the promiscuous coming together in the courts of law and there has been as much evil from the European dances to equal that produced by intoxicating liqour. Family relations have been destroyed and hatreds engendered by this form of dancing. This cannot be said of the so-called Zulu dance except perhaps that it sometimes, and those rare ones, rouses the young men to fight to right old wrongs.

The question discussed in this Conference as in many others like this one, of whether a Christian can have more than one wife and still be a good Christian has been shown to be wholly on the side of monogamy. Even the times are against the continuation of this custom. How can a man who is divorced from a livelihood on the farm be able to maintain more than one wife at the income at his command with no gardens nor cattle to help ward off expenses The custom must die a national death even if the Churches remained inactive about its evil.

As to the drinking of beer this has been a perennial problem and now made much difficult by the concoctions invented by Natives as the result of the prohibition of Native beer even for home consumption. We are here speaking as men of the world not as voicing the Church's views that it is a natural privilege for citizens to drink though we must acknowledge the fact that it is a greater and higher privilege to abstain from drinks even if the laws of the country allowed it. The Christian's choice should be the higher, that of voluntary abstention from all intoxious beverages whether Native, European or concocted mixtures.

At this Conference the subject of tribal control was also brought forward it being regretted that some of its good points were swept away with the coming of European rule so that now it is hopeless to restore it to its former salutary application to the members of the family or tribe.

fresh from their training to a task which would have severely tested even experienced nurses. They each tackled it with courage and ability, never once complained of the long hours and irregular nights, and in addition to their professional skill they showed the true missionary spirit in the sympathy and tact with which they dealt with the fears and difficulties of people to whom hospital treamnt is new and strange. Their knowledge of the vernacular has been of great usefulness, establishing the closest contact between patients and the head of the nursing staff.

The African Protectorates

General Hertzog is evidently determined to keep the question of the Union's incorporation of the native protectorates continuously before the public in South Africa and here. But it is hard to see what evidence he has for the belief that the Union will take over Swaziland "in about two years' time" and Bechuanaland and Basutoland soon afterwards. He may be merely optimistic in "trying it on." If so, the outburst of native apprehension and alarm which has followed his speech should disappoint him. The situation has not changed for the better from the South African point of view since the British Government stated last year that any immediate incorporation was impossible. The memorandum (which General Hertzog accepted as accurate) giving the terms of the agreement reached in London between General Hertzog and the then Dominions Secretary reaffirmed past British pledges—that transfer would not take place till the native population and the British Parliament had been consulted. It added that "all our "information goes to show that at "present native opinion in the "territories is very strongly opposed "to the transfer." Native opinion does not seem to have grown less opposed since. The one new point in the agreement was the decision on "the closest possible co-operation" between South Africa and the protectorates' administration with a view to making ultimate transfer easier. In its last Budget South Africa included £35,000 "for the assistance of the native territories." Tshekedi's people, however, announced at a tribal council that they viewed this offer with "great alarm and suspicion" as placing Bechuanaland under an obligation, and added that the recent Union native legislation—the deprivation of a vote in the Cape Province and other discriminatory measures—made the free consent of the Bechuana natives to incorporation "more remote than ever." Extraordinary rumours have recently been circulating that South Africa might try to barter naval expansion at Capetown against Britain's approval of transfer. But that is absurd: incomparables cannot be exchanged against each other.

General Hertzog and the Natives

General Hertzog created some excitement during the week by a speech confidently proclaiming that South Africa would take over Swaziland "in about two years' time" and Bechuanaland and Basutoland soon afterwards. Since the British Government has repeatedly made clear its unwillingness to consider transfer of the protectorates to the Union there was much speculation over the basis of General Hertzog's predictions. The most common theory is that he was merely "trying it on," being unwilling that either his own public or the British Government should be allowed to forget South Africa's claims to the territories. The position itself is unchanged since last year, when General Hertzog himself accepted (at a London meeting) the British interpretation, first, that transfer could not take place until both Parliament and the natives had been consulted, secondly, that the time was not yet ripe for transfer. General Hertzog's speech has been followed by demonstrations of protest from the tribes of the protectorates, who are apparently as much opposed as ever to incorporation in the Union. (p. 498)

Two Exits

A crowded House of Commons heard the personal statements which Mr. J. H. Thomas and Sir Alfred Butt made on withdrawing from the House after the findings of the Budget Secrets Tribunal. Mr. Thomas's frank Tribunal. Mr. Thomas's dignified statement, in which he reiterated his innocence of any conscious disclosure of State secrets but accepted the findings of the Tribunal as the findings of a fair and impartial inquiry, had a sympathetic hearing. Sir Alfred Butt also had the same kind of reception, though the tone of his speech was more combative, expressing resentment of his inability to make any appeal from the Tribunal's finding. Each speaker as he closed his statement bowed to the Speaker and walked to the bar of the House. In Mr. Baldwin's words, "They had left the House for the last time, and it was closed to them." It was a tense and painful scene, relieved by the sympathetic demeanour of the whole House and by the absence of the least sign of personal bitterness or derision. (p. 485)

Irregularities in Native Taxation.

The system adopted by the Government of the Union of South Africa in taxing Africans out of proportion to their income has been insistently deprecated in these columns. A slight measure of relief was granted by Parliament last year when it passed the Act that exempted all Natives who had attained the age of 65 years from paying the general (£1) as well as local (10/-) taxes. There still remained the major aspect of estimating the burdensome incidence of Native direct and indirect taxation which this community paid in various forms like fees derived from the issue of pass law certificates, customs duties on cotton blankets and other imported or subsidised kaffir truck, fines derived by the State for technical breaches of the law in Native reserves and urban areas etc. When these have been accounted for, the next problem to settle was how and to what extent these funds were utilised for the benefit of those who paid them.

It is interesting to quote the findings of men who are acknowledged as experts by virtue of wide experience in Native administration, when they discuss this question. The problem Rankles with injustices perpetrated on a race that is least able to afford taxation of any kind.

Mr. Frank Brownlee, an ex-government official of high standing, who has grown up and administered laws among Natives, states in the "Daily Dispatch," inter alia:

"There would seem to be at least three essentials to any scheme of taxation: firstly that particular taxation is necessary; secondly, that the amount of the tax is in proportion to the means of the person upon whom it is levied, and thirdly, that the citizen receives some benefit in respect of his direct contribution to State funds. The Native Taxation and Development Act of 1925 lays down, inter alia, that a tax of £1 per annum (known as the General Tax) shall be paid by every adult male Native domiciled in the Union, and that one-fifth of this tax shall be devoted to Native development by way of educational facilities, the development, advancement and welfare of the Natives, and the payment of Native liabilities to divisional councils."

"This on the face of it looks fairly just and reasonable, but there are certain classes of Natives who do not seem to have been considered when the Taxation Act was passed, in particular the farm labourer, whose permanent home is on the farm and who has no association whatsoever with the Native reserves.

Here is a resume of these points of view:—

(1) The tax is out of all proportion to the labour's earnings, the average wage ranging from about £8 to £18 a year.

(2) The poor white and the Coloured man are exempt from taxation though their wages are higher than those of the Native.

The Native farm labourer receives no benefit from the tax.

The first point needs no analysis, the position is self-evident, but it may be as well to quote here an extract from a classic speech made by Lord Grenville before the House of Lords in 1813 when the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company was under discussion:-

"The resources which they (the people of India) can furnish to the Metropolis must be proportioned to the prosperity which they themselves enjoy."

Prosperity is a relative term, and even as such it can hardly be applied to the farm labourer who ekes out a hand-to-mouth existence, which depends to a certain extent on the generosity or otherwise of his master. "I think the tax is iniquitous," said a farmer to me: "I pay it for the 'boys' myself and be damned to it." It is not always that one finds the farmer taking such a generous and strong view of the matter.

Then compare the position of the Native farm servant with that of the poor white and the Coloured man who may be working on the same farm. The latter are not liable for the tax, though in general they are, or should be, in a better financial position than the Native. "These things are not equal."

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General Hertzog and the Natives

General Hertzog created some excitement during the week by a speech confidently proclaiming that South Africa would take over Swaziland "in about two years' time" and Bechuanaland and Basutoland soon afterwards. Since the British Government has repeatedly made clear its unwillingness to consider transfer of the protectorates to the Union there was much speculation over the basis of General Hertzog's predictions. The most common theory is that he was merely "trying it on," being unwilling that either his own public or the British Government should be allowed to forget South Africa's claims to the territories. The position itself is unchanged since last year, when General Hertzog himself accepted (at a London meeting) the British interpretation, first, that transfer could not take place until both Parliament and the natives had been consulted, secondly, that the time was not yet ripe for transfer. General Hertzog's speech has been followed by demonstrations of protest from the tribes of the protectorates, who are apparently as much opposed as ever to incorporation in the Union. (p. 498)

Two Exits

A crowded House of Commons heard the personal statements which Mr. J. H. Thomas and Sir Alfred Butt made on withdrawing from the House after the findings of the Budget Secrets Tribunal. Mr. Thomas's frank statement, in which he reiterated his innocence of any conscious disclosure of State secrets but accepted the findings of the Tribunal as the findings of a fair and impartial inquiry, had a sympathetic hearing. Sir Alfred Butt also had the same kind of reception, though the tone of his speech was more combative, expressing resentment of his inability to make any appeal from the Tribunal's finding. Each speaker as he closed his statement bowed to the Speaker and walked to the bar of the House. In Mr. Baldwin's words, "They had left the House for the last time, and it was closed to them." It was a tense and painful scene, relieved by the sympathetic demeanour of the whole House and by the absence of the least sign of personal bitterness or derision. (p. 485)

Irregularities in Native Taxation.

The system adopted by the Government of the Union of South Africa in taxing Africans out of proportion to their income has been insistently deprecated in these columns. A slight measure of relief was granted by Parliament last year when it passed the Act that exempted all Natives who had attained the age of 65 years from paying the general (£1) as well as local (10/-) taxes. There still remained the major aspect of estimating the burdensome incidence of Native direct and indirect taxation which this community paid in various forms like fees derived from the issue of pass law certificates, customs duties on cotton blankets and other imported or subsidised kaffir truck, fines derived by the State for technical breaches of the law in Native reserves and urban areas etc. When these have been accounted for, the next problem to settle was how and to what extent these funds were utilised for the benefit of those who paid them.

It is interesting to quote the findings of men who are acknowledged as experts by virtue of wide experience in Native administration, when they discuss this question. The problem Rankles with injustices perpetrated on a race that is least able to afford taxation of any kind.

Mr. Frank Brownlee, an ex-government official of high standing, who has grown up and administered laws among Natives, states in the "Daily Dispatch," inter alia:

"There would seem to be at least three essentials to any scheme of taxation: firstly that particular taxation is necessary; secondly, that the amount of the tax is in proportion to the means of the person upon whom it is levied, and thirdly, that the citizen receives some benefit in respect of his direct contribution to State funds. The Native Taxation and Development Act of 1925 lays down, inter alia, that a tax of £1 per annum (known as the General Tax) shall be paid by every adult male Native domiciled in the Union, and that one-fifth of this tax shall be devoted to Native development by way of educational facilities, the development, advancement and welfare of the Natives, and the payment of Native liabilities to divisional councils."

"This on the face of it looks fairly just and reasonable, but there are certain classes of Natives who do not seem to have been considered when the Taxation Act was passed, in particular the farm labourer, whose permanent home is on the farm and who has no association whatsoever with the Native reserves.

Here is a resume of these points of view:—

(1) The tax is out of all proportion to the labour's earnings, the average wage ranging from about £8 to £18 a year.

(2) The poor white and the Coloured man are exempt from taxation though their wages are higher than those of the Native.

The Native farm labourer receives no benefit from the tax.

The first point needs no analysis, the position is self-evident, but it may be as well to quote here an extract from a classic speech made by Lord Grenville before the House of Lords in 1813 when the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company was under discussion:—

"The resources which they (the people of India) can furnish to the Metropolis must be proportioned to the prosperity which they themselves enjoy."

Prosperity is a relative term, and even as such it can hardly be applied to the farm labourer who ekes out a hand-to-mouth existence, which depends to a certain extent on the generosity or otherwise of his master. "I think the tax is iniquitous," said a farmer to me: "I pay it for the 'boys' myself and be damned to it." It is not always that one finds the farmer taking such a generous and strong view of the matter.

Then compare the position of the Native farm servant with that of the poor white and the Coloured man who may be working on the same farm. The latter are not liable for the tax, though in general they are, or should be, in a better financial position than the Native. "These things are not equal."

Race Problem - 1936

Africa.

Fort Hare Attains Puberty..

Native Opinion

Saturday, 28th. March was an epoch-making landmark in the annals of higher education among the Bantu tribes of South Africa, for it marked the coming-of-age of the South African Native College, Fort Hare. Full justice was done to this glorious day by the elaborate plans for its celebration at Fort Hare, inaugurated by Dr. Kerr, the principal of the College, and his loyal staff. The European and Bantu public extended a response that was compatible with the auspiciousness of the occasion by participating in the programme of celebrations in their huge numbers, despite the inclement weather.

The notable events of the day included the Graudation Ceremony. The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on the principal of Fort Hare, Mr. Alexander Kerr, of Greenock, by the University of South Africa. Professor G. F. Dingemans, acting on behalf of the Vice-Chancellor of the University, capped Mr. Kerr and ten of his students, one Indian and nine Bantu, who have passed the B.A. and B.SC. examinations prescribed for European students. Professor D. D. T. Jabavu, secretary of the Senatus, presented the graduands as follows :—J. Gabriel (Durban), V. Kwinana (Herschel), V. Mbobo (Mt. Fletcher), E. Mesatywa (Maritzburg), R. J. Huria (Durban), S. Phooko (Matatiele), M. Toni (Buntingville), W. Tsotsi (Tsomo), all for the B.A., with two others for the B.Sc. degree, namely, C. Bikitsha (Butterworth) and L. Tshiki (Umtata), and these were all duly capped. After this the graduation oration was delivered by Dr. Edgar H. Brookes (principal of Amanzimtoti Institution, Natal and member of the senate of the University of South Africa) on the subject, "The Past and Future of Fort Hare." Dr. Brookes paid a well-deserved tribute to Dr. Kerr's work as principal and to the sound basis which he had established for the future work of the South African Native College. Fort Hare had given the Bantu self-respect. It had won them the respect of other races. It had forever dispelled the heresy of the inferior mental ability of the man of colour. Up to a point, it had succeeded in providing the Bantu with sane and wise leadership. He proceeded to discuss from this point of view the "Native Bills." He felt that they should not be faced by the Bantu or their friends in a spirit of "defeatist." There were grounds for thankfulness even in the so-called "compromise." Dr. Brookes, defended the reliance on moral and spiritual forces rather than on direct action. He did not advise however, how the Africans were to combat the forces of direct **action adopted with a vengeance by the Union Parliament in obliterating all political rights that were sacred to the** Bantu races." While it is admitted that the moral and spiritual forces have made the African races what they are to-day, it must be conceded that the white-man who controls the ship of State has abandoned such forces and substituted the iron rule of repression, and "right is might." From this it is apparent that the Bantu races must implement their reliance on moral and spiritual forces by measures of defence approximating the weapons of political warfare now used by their oppressors in Parliament "There is a tide in the affairs of men, which, taken at the flood leads on to fortune, omitted, all the voyage of life is bound in shallows and in miseries." The tide in the political being of African races has reached the stage when they must decide in clear and concise language how they themselves are going to shape their destiny. So much for the views of Dr. Brookes on the Native Bills and our brief reply thereto.

Owing to the inclement weather the visitors and students had to gather in the S.C.A. Hall at Fort Hare in the afternoon while Senator F. S. Malan laid the foundation stone of the new science and medical aid block at Fort Hare Native College. The Vice-Chancellor, Professor G. F Dingemans, M.A., who saw it done, and subsequently took the chair at the gathering, reported it well and truly laid.

After devotions, Principal Alexander Kerr, M.A., read messages of congratulation which included one from the Governor-General and one from the Minister, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr. He mentioned too that as a result of donations received they were within reasonable prospect of having raised their share of the finance; £1,000 had been received from the Taberer Memorial Fund and one of the laboratories would probably be given that name.

He then introduced Senator Malan who, as Minister of Education in 1915, had been the means of securing the first annual grant for the maintenance of the work. For ten years before that the churches had been valiantly endeavouring to secure the interest and sympathy of the Union Government. He would therefore be delighted to day to see the progress of the work.

Senator Malan's address will appear in full in a later issue.

All African Convention

(By H. S. Selby Msimang.)

Native Opinion

For many years, African people could not understand the motive for many differential laws which have found their way in the Statute Books of the Union. The talk of territorial segregation seemed so much a political stunt with nothing ulterior about it, save and except a desire for segregating Africans from Europeans on lines never likely to impose any hardship on any section. 4-4-36

The Native Bills have removed the veil. We now know why the Cape Native vote has been attacked or rendered impotent and ineffectual. We know why it is that Africans who are estimated to number about six millions are to be crowded together within a twelve percent of the whole area of the Union, when Europeans who number about two millions are to have 88 per cent. General Hertzog has told us in brutal language that the first duty of the white-man is to himself. We have no right, he says, to ask the white-man to do anything likely to jeopardise his supremacy.

Prof. Eric Walker tells us in cold language that the policy underlying these Bills is based on the principle that we do not form part of the South African community and that the interest of the country is distinct from our interest and that therefore we shall for all time be considered a separate dependent community.

I understand this to mean that the Union Government and Parliament represent exclusively the European community in this country, that economic interests of the country are not and should not be mixed up with our interests who must for all time be dependent to the Europeans for anything we may require. In other words, we should have no aspirations other than such opportunities as the white community may condescend to extend to us.

The fact that we shall be crowded together within the 12 per cent area of land in the Union and that in terms of Chapter IV of the Native Land and Trust Bill we are to be thrown to the mercy of the white farmers who are armed and are to be armed with the big sjambok provided by the Service Contract Act and the Masters and Servants Amendment Bill now before Parliament, must make any African think and think furiously.

The Convention at its emergency meeting to be held in June at Bloemfontein will be called upon to decide whether or not Bantudom can reasonably accept the position created by the Bills. It is no longer the question of the Cape Native vote or any other law or bill, but whether Bantudom can submit to the Government and Parliament whose policy negatives all ideas of trusteeship, denies the African every right to hope, to aspire, and to strive for the attainment of economic independence, of a voice in the councils of State, and of shaping his own destiny within the ambit of the Union Parliament.

Those who talk glibly and sympathetically of the Native Representative Councils held out in the Bills have to reconcile them first with the accepted principle, namely, "that the interests" and satisfy themselves and the masses as to where a line can be safely drawn between European and African interests in a country like South Africa. If the country's interests are indivisible, what are the powers of such Councils against the powers of the European Parliament?

With such stupendous problems before us, such momentous questions we have to answer, not for ourselves but for posterity. Can we afford to stay

at home, to keep away and not be represented fully on the 29th June at Bloemfontein? Can we hold our hands and not give liberally to make up the five million shillings the Convention asks for? These questions must be conscientiously answered by every leader, chief, minister, teacher, worker, farmer and any person who regards himself a true African.

MANDATES IN AFRICA DECLARED A FAILURE

CAPETOWN, Union of South Africa, June 13. (AP)—The present form of government in the mandated territory of southwest Africa, formerly German, is a failure and should be abolished, a commission of inquiry appointed by the South African government declared tonight.

The commission also unanimously found there was no legal obstacle to governing the territory as a province of the Union of South Africa.

KENYA WOMEN HELD AS TAX HOSTAGES

British Method of Forcing Payment of Levies

London—Native women in Kenya, a British crown colony, are being seized as hostages by minor government officials and held captive until their male relatives pay their poll tax.

This is but one instances of the unchecked exploitation of the native population in the army-aristocratic "old-school-tie" colony according to Mr. W. M. Gregory Ross, formerly in charge of the Kenya public works department and a member of the Kenya legislative council.

"This sort of thing has been going on for some years," he says. "Junior officials, in immediate control of the tribes, know that they have the whole power of government behind them, and their word is absolute law.

"It is a common practice to seize a native's cattle and impound the animals until the tax is paid.

"Sometimes women are seized as well, and held captive until their husbands or brothers secure their release by coming to pay their poll tax.

"In 1933 there was an outcry against the burning of natives' huts. The unfortunate owner, if he had not paid the hut tax, was driven out of his home, and, if the tax was not paid within a short time, the hut was burned.

The colonial office at first poohpoohed the matter when it was raised in the House of Commons, but at length it had to admit that the practice did exist, and, finally, put a stop to it.

About $2,800,000 a year is raised from the natives, who, Mr. Ross declares, do not get anything like full value for their money.

"Sir Alan Pim is shortly to issue a report on the finances of the colony," he continues, "and I shall be very surprised if he does not agree with many former commissions and reports that the natives pay much too parge a proportion of the direct taxation."

There is a native hut tax of $3 and a poll tax of the same amount is levied on all adults who pay no hut tax. In the Masai Reserve there taxes are $5. Few natives earn more than $2 for a month of 30 working days. Even in the goldfields the wage is only $2.50 a month.

Finally, the native has not a full year in which to raise the money to pay his taxes. The government gets many thousands of dollars worth of forced labor by making those who do not go out to earn wages put in 24 days' free labor annually. And he still has to pay his tax!

Bantu Day at Kroonstad

The Comet

MONSTER SHILLING COLLECTION.

(Mochochonono)

The Editor,
Mochochonono,

Sir, 5-9-36

In pursuance of the resolution of the All African National Convention on Native Bills, the local Committee of the Convention has asked the assistance of Ministers, Teachers Women Associations of different types, and the general public to give their support to this monster collection for the purpose of raising shillings for the Convention. The Committee has set asid the 2nd day of May (saturday) 1936 for the collection of this fund and all members of the Marabastad Locations public have been informed that this day shall be known as BANTU DAY. Pathfinders and Wayfarers of all the Schools have been asked to make a house collection on this day. The Committee has printed over a thousand tickets with the inscription: "SUPPORT THE ALL AFRICAN CONVENTION" written on each ticket so that all people collecting or subscribing shall each receive this ticket which automatically serves as a receipt of the money paid. The Child Welfare Society led by Mrs Eva Kobeli, has agreed to support the children in their labours to collect the funds. Mesdames E. Khese, D. Tekane, H Litheko, A. Garekoe, and others are taking a prominent lead in this monster national effort. The local Treasurer. Rev J. S. Litheko, will receive the collected sum and forward same to the Convention Treasurer, Dr. J. S Moroka of Thaba-Nchu

On the evening of the same day a Support Feature Film will be screened in the Location Theatre by the kind permission of Mr J. R. Brent the Location Superintendent and the funds will be added to the day's takings. The Bantu District Nurses will also play their part.

We appeal to all sons and daughters of Kroonstad in town and out of town to rally to the cause of the African Convention and to forward their shilling donations to the local Treasurer.

We further appeal to all friends and sympathisers to assist in this paramount cause of the Africans, and we shall be pleased to receive any small donations we get from them.

In the meantime Messrs R. A. Sello and T. W. Keable 'Mote are staging meetings in the Locations preparatory to the 2nd of May. Arrangements have also been made to get hese two Organisers to visit District towns like Viljoenskroon, Ventersburg and Steynsrust to hold similar meetings. The Kroonstad public are exceedingly enthusiastic and are eager to smash all records.

Above all we invoke the prayers of all African Churches to ask for the Almighty's blessing in the endeavour to raise the standard of the African people to higher standard of life.

Yours in the cause,

SAMUEL MANGAKANE,
SECRETARY

JOHN MARABA,
CHAIRMAN

KROONSTAD EXECUTIVE
ALL AFRICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Race Problem – 1936
Africa

West Africa

The Hon. E. S. Beoku Betts, M.B.E., M.A., B.C.L., LL.B., the First Municipal Member on the Legislative Council of Sierra Leone. Keenly interested in all that affects the welfare of the community, not only of Freetown, which he represents, but also of the wider interests of the Colony and Protectorate. Mr. Beoku Betts takes up an independent stand in the Legislative Council, and his contributions to its debates are both critical and helpful. To the City of Freetown itself he has proved an active and useful public-spirited citizen.

West African

Sheikh Omar Fye, unofficial member of the Legislative Council of the Gambia. He is one of the members nominated to represent the Moslem community.

FASTING IN THE MONTH OF RAMADAN.

Weekly News

To-day's issue of the Sierra Leone WEEKLY NEWS, (14th November) synchronises with the appearance of the Crescent of Ramadan, which ushers in Islamic Fasting from tomorrow. Last year fasting started on the 27th of November, and the year before i.e., 1934, it started on the 8th of December but next year it will start on or about the 3rd of November. The irregularity with these dates in Solar Calendar is based on movements of the Moon, just as Easter is, in Cristendom. Ramadan is the Arabic name for the ninth month of the Arabian year of twelve—and it was in that month the revelation of the Holy Quran—the most sacred book to Muslims commenced. To confirm, see ch. 2 verse 185 of the said book. This particular verse conveys clearly and definitely the Divine instructions to fast during this month —Ramadan—not for a day, not for a week, not for a fortnight and not for any period less than twenty-nine to thirty days. The allegation therefore, that only a day's fast is required and as the Muslims could not ascertain that day, they have been obliged to go through a period of the ordeal, is absolutely baseless and a mere conjecture.

The Holy Month of Ramadan is held in veneration by Muslims the world over and they observe fasting on all its days beginning at the sight of the New Moon (Ramadan) and lasts until the appearance of the next New Moon (Shaawal). There are rules and regulations for the observance of fasting which clearly distinguish it from mere ordeal of starving. These rules and regulations make it one of the most powerful and ethical institution that are yet known to man. As such the commencement of Ramadan introduces a visible change in the daily life of Muslims. Islamic fasting is for the improvement of the moral and spiritual condition of man.

A day fast covers beteen 13-14 hours. It begins with the Aurora and continues until Sunset. During this time, is observed complete abstinence from food and drink, and even from smoking and using of snuff, so that not the slightest particle of food or liquid is permitted to pass the lips. Indulgence in physical delights is also forbidden and no sign of temper is allowed. All dissensions must be forgotten; malice must cease and all vicious pursuits abandoned to render the services of a fast an acceptable offering to Allah (God).

In the above quoted chapter, verses 183-4, it is ordered:

> "O you who believe! fasting is prescribed for you, as it was prescribed for those before you, so that you may guide against evil. For a certain number of days. But whoever among you is sick or on a journey, then (he shall fast) a like number of other days; and those who are able to do it may effect a redemption by feeding a poor man; so whoever does good spontaneously it is better for him, and if you fast it is better for you if you know."

This verse besides making some concessions, emphatically shows that fasting as a religious institutions did not originate with Islam. This incidentally present an historical survey showing that peoples of antiquity had their periods of annual fast. It is believed that the followers of Confucius as well as Zoroaster practised fasting while Judaism observes fast annually, on the Day of Atonement in commemoration of the descent of Moses from Mount Sinai. The history of all the Prophets of Israel—Moses, Elias, Ezra and John the Baptist, furnishes examples in which fasting is commanded and Jesus also fasted for forty days in the desent and commanded that fasting should have a place in the practice of His followers (Matt. 4 : 2 & 16, Luke 4 : 2; and Mark 2 : 19).

The experience gained by fasting for a period makes one realises what starvation means to the very poor and needy and so call forth sympathy and charity from those better placed to the less favoured ones of humanity. A month thus spent in charity and abstemiousness would never fail to yield the best of results for the rest of the year.

On the 26th eve of fasting, comes the Grand Night—(Laila-tul-Quadri) which is the holiest night of the whole year for Muslims and in Quramic terminology, this night is said to be better of, than a thousand nights; but, alas! It has always been desecrated by the mob here; however, thanks to the efforts and effective influence of the local branch of the All Muslim Congress, the observance of the Grand Night last year was about the best. Moreover, this Congress has justified its existence by the Mass Eid Prayers, which materialised at Cline Town in 1935 through its instrumentality; and it is hoped that this is a true and firm beginning of genuine understanding among the varied Community and Nationalities which form the Muslim population in this Colony. The Congress must realise that there is much to be done as the Community it represents, has in the past been slow and lethargic.

May God assist and endow our leaders with wisdom and patience to work up the Congress to an ideal stage. So let it be.

HAZRAT.

NATIVES AND TAXATION.

Position Defined by Mrs. Reitz.

Mrs. Deneys Reitz, M.P., in a recent interview with Reuter, in the course of which she quoted some interesting figures, rebutted the statement that native taxation in the Union of South Africa was too high.

The direct taxation payable by natives consisted of: (1) A general tax of £1 per year, payable by every male native between the ages of 18 and 65 years, and (2) a local tax of 10s. but a year, payable by the occupier of every hut or dwelling in a rural native location or reserve. The latter tax was not payable in respect of land held on quitrent tenure.

MRS. DENEYS REITZ, M.P.

Three-fifths of the general tax went to the Consolidated Revenue Fund, while the remaining two-fifths was paid into the Native Trust Fund for native development and education.

The proceeds of the local tax and quitrent were paid to the various Native Local Councils, or, if collected in areas where there was no local native council, to the Trust Fund.

The following figures, for the last financial year (1935-1936), should, she thought, be a fairly convincing reply to the charge that the native got little or no return for a heavy burden of direct taxation.

Revenue: General tax, £1,275,166; local tax and quitrent, £273,699; total revenue, £1,548,865.

Expenditure: Grants to provinces for native education, £36,479; equipment, livestock, and buildings, £5,611; irrigation and boring operations, £4,581; grants to hospitals, £8,193; payments to native local councils, £208,631; dipping of stock, £28,855; roads, bridges, and irrigation, £1,610; local fencing £1,216; miscellaneous, £1,461; total, £969,424.

To this had to be added the cost of administering the Native Affairs Department in the interests of the natives, which amounted to £467,488; the purchase of land for native settlement amounting to £68,371; special grant for relief of distress, £50,000 making a total of expenditure of £1,555,283.

This left a debit balance of about £7,000, which had to be made up by Parliament.

Then there was a further additional item voted for anti-soil erosion work by Parliament, the actual amount spent on reclamation of native reserves being £36,595. This year the Union was spending far more, and Parliament had voted sums of £35,000 for education and £1,000,000 for the purchase and development of land, and the amount they received from native taxes would not nearly meet the expenditure they were incurring.

The position was that to-day the native population was spending nearly as much again as the natives themselves had paid in any taxation, concluded Mrs. Reitz.

Unconvincing.

IN last Saturday's "Mercury" appeared an interview by "Reuter" with Mrs. D. Reitz the woman M.P. and wife of a Union Minister. The interview was occasioned by the growing feeling among Europeans in the Union that Native Taxation in this country was too high and unfair, considering the earning capacity of the Natives thus taxed as compared with the other more privileged classes who can well afford such taxation but which is not imposed on them. She admits that Natives pay indirect taxation of the amount of £1 while in some districts they are required to pay an additional ten shillings per hut for other wives in addition to the first. In proof of her contention she quoted figures calculated to show that the Administration had to make up the shortage by an amount of over £7,000 per annum.

It is common knowledge that a petition is being circulated for signatures by Europeans to be presented to Parliament for the repeal of this taxation or give some relative relief or reduction. These European ladies and gentlemen who feel the injustice of this tax upon a class who are the least paid and the poorest, deserve all the encouragement, possible from men and women of goodwill and who are wishers of fairplay and justice. It is our hope that the petition will be favourably considered and effectively supported so that it will have so many names that the Administration as well as Parliament will be influenced to repeal or at least reduce the obnoxious taxation.

Mrs. D. Reitz's figures show that this direct Native taxation brings into the Government coffers the great amount of £1,548,865 or thereabouts, in one year, but that the expenditure is such that it becomes necessary to make good the deficiency by the amount of £7,000. This is unconvincing as this is not the only taxation from Native sources. The kind of goods styled Kaffir Truck which are imported into this country specially for Natives has a heavy import duty imposed upon them, which comes to a considerable amount into Government Revenue, a fact which has not been taken into account by Mrs. Reitz. Government expenditure does not depend upon any Department's income.

We also think that the expenditure could be considerably reduced if the funds were economically used. Under the Native Administration Department we think a sufficient number of European clerks and supervisors could be replaced with Natives to follow Gen. Hertzog's dictum that in areas where Natives formed the greator proportion of the population it should be Natives who fill official positions. Recently at a meeting with Natives in Durban it was shown that the pass offices were daily besieged by Natives but there were many who were dismissed unattended to when the day's work came to an end.

This is said to happen almost daily. It is well-known that there are many African young men who could be employed at these offices throughout the country at a fourth or less of the salaries now paid to European clerks.

Some European supervisors in Native rural areas could give place to Africans who would still be under an Inspector to visit the various districts to see that the work is carried on according to instructions as is done to combat the Malaria Fever in Native areas.

Mrs. Reitz cannot convince any one that it is justice to tax Natives 30s. when their average wage is compared to that of Europeans. The country is this year enjoying a surplus and it were only right that this direct taxation were abolished or considerably reduced.

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

Native Convention Scores A Victory.

(Mochudi mono)

The Bantu World

A determined fight against the abolition of the Cape Native Franchise by the African National Convention has resulted in what may be regarded as a victory for them. They maintained a united front against it and were successful in forcing the invincible General Hertzog to retreat. His Bill was at the last minute amended in such a way as to allow the Native Franchise to continue though it provides for a seperate roll for them from that of the Europeans and that in future they will be allowed to elect three European representatives in the House of Assembly.

2-29-36

According to the Amended Bill Natives qualifying for the vote will be entered in the register though their increased numbers will not affect the number of their representatives in Parliament. The voters will, however, continue to enjoy their rights under the existing laws of the Cape.

The attitude of the Ex cutive Committee of African National Convention that interviewed General Hertzog lately at Cape Town and rejected the compromise has been highly applauded by the Native press all over South Africa, and even by a section of Europeans who are sympathizing with the Natives.

The abrupt change of front by General Hertzog appears to have been brought about, not so much by tne strong fight made by the Convention delegates, but by the uncertainty of obtaining the required two thirds majority of the votes in the joint sitting of Parliament to pass the Bill into law. Some of the Cape members of the United Party, according to reports, seemed to be reluctant to vote for the Bill in its original form. Thus its success was doubtful. In order to remove the doubt, therefore, General Hertzog condescended to meet them and amended the Bill to its present form.

While this seems to satisfy the Northern Provinces in that it does not extend the voting power to Natives of those parts, yet there are some who are dissatisfied with the amendment as they think, that it does not settle the Native question for good. That the Bill will give rise to future complications that will require new resolutions.

The Native Bills In Parliament.

(Francis Lose Natal)

The Sun of Natal

NATIVES all over the country are aroused as they had never been before by the introduction in Parliament during the past few days of the Representation of Natives Bill. One is struck by their unprecedented political solidarity evidenced in this instance aad by their watchfulness of the events and eagerness to follow the discussions of the Bill in Parliament.

2-22-36

When William Porter's constitutional draft of 1853 was adopted by the Cape, there was much rejoicing among both the Europeans and the Natives for that measure provided that "all adult male British subjects. without distinction of class or colour, were to be entitled to the franchise on fulfilling certain stipulated conditions.

For eighty years the Cape Natives have enjoyed these political rights. They have participated in the civic affairs of their country. They have developed their political institutions, the most notable of which is the Bunga system, to organisations most fitting to western civilisation. They have had a voice in the government of their country, and that voice has always been strong enough to protect them and command respect. The Cape Natives have not felt the pinch of the Native Service Contract Act which was enacted for the natives of Natal and northern provinces. They have not been affected much by the provisions of the Natives' land Act of 1913 for the Cape Natives are buying land when and where they please. They have not been turned into criminals by the notorious Liquor laws because as long as they are registered voters they can drink when they please They have had a good share of moneys voted for their education, and their teachers have always been the best paid with the increments added annually to their salaries, advantage and privilege denied the other natives in the Union. They have had all these because they had a weapon which they effectively used---the franchise.

Gen. Hertzog after the passing of the first reading of the Native Representation Bill, doubtful of his two-thirds majority has amended the bill, with a compromise. The compromise was first suggested to the executive of the All Africa Convention, but when the executive rejected the compromise, it is now crammed into their throats. This new bill provides for a separate roll for Native voters. The Natives in the Cape are to be entitled to elect three representatives in the House of Assembly and two in the Provincial Council. All to be Europeans. The other provisions of the Bill are the same. The three M.P.'s will represent the Transkei, the detribalised Natives, and the rest of the Cape.

When their political rights are infringed, the Cape Natives refuse to bargain. They will not sell their civil rights for a mess of pottage. It is the inheritance of British ideals and principles of justice and fairplay handed down to them from the pre-union days that they value most, and refuse to let it go. We in Natal are heart and soul with them and we do not want to see them losing their vote, rather we would wish to see it extended to the rest of the Union Natives. In this dark hour the growing conciousness and solidarity of race should make us ONE, a union that may never be dissolved in spite of the sallow-brained agitators, scheming politicians, and tricksters who promote the disunion of people who ought to consider themselves as one.

One wonders why the other non-Europeans do not join with the Natives in the fight for the retention of the Cape Native vote for, as certain as the sun rises from the east, the next step of White South Africa will be to take away their vote too. In our fight for existence and a place in the sun we need not only to co-operate among ourselves, but to look around for allies. Our allies will be found among those whom the white man also oppresses because of their skin.

In this country there must be no sectionalism and no looking backward into the past, but a constructive far-sighted policy of the future. We, like other races, must demand and fight for our place in the sun. Let our government learn to think in terms of world policy and to act in harmonious unity.

Native Petition Withdrawn.

(Bantu Press Natal)

The Sun of Natal

Senator F. S. Malan has withdrawn the petition signed by Professor Jabavu, Wilton Ngcuka and Cumming Nodanda asking that Sir James Rose Innes be permitted to appear on their behalf at the bar of the House. The petition represented that the franchise rights of the Cape Natives were adversely affected by the Representation of Natives Bill.

2-3-36

Native Representation Bill Withdrawn.

Natal Mercury (The Sun of Natal) 2-22-36

"Compromise" Bill Introduced

Separate Register for Cape Natives.

The Prime Minister has decided to withdraw the existing Representation of Natives' Bill which passed its first reading last week and to introduce a New Bill which embraces the vital compromise put forward during the last few days.

The New Bill provides that Native voters on the existing roll will be transferred to a special register, on which also will be registered Natives who in the future obtain the necessary qualifications. The Native voters so registered will be entitled to elect three members to the House of Assembly and two to the Provincial Council. Members so elected will conform to the qualifications laid down in the South Africa Act for members of the House of Assembly, that is, they will be Europeans.

In other respects the Bill will be substantially on the same lines as the one now withdrawn.

Compromise Bill Debated in Joint Sitting.

Natal Mercury (The Sun of Natal) 2-29-36

Fear Complex of White South Africa

The Prime Minister last Tuesday in moving the Second Reading of the Representation of Natives Bill at the Jeint sitting of the two Houses said that the subject of the Bill had for the last 50 years or more enjoyed the serious attention of the whole European population of South Africa.

"If there are two things which have caused constant anxiety to the white people in South Africa they are the danger of being overwhelmed by the Natives and the danger of mixed blood. Since the time when the Europeans first came into contact with the Natives they have realised the danger of their small numerical strength against the vast numbers of the Natives.

"The Europeans of South Africa have always felt that in view of the circumstances the possibility of a mixture of the races was a peril against which they must be constatly on the watch"

The Prime Minister went on to say that during the past 10 years the number of registered Native voters had increased to a considerable extent. He was confident that the Natives if not checked would use their numerical voting strength to swamp the small minority of Europeans.

He had always felt that it was possible to solve the Native problem, but he had felt, too, that it was essential in solving it to gain the goodwill of the majority of the Natives and the assent of as many as possible of the Europeans. In order to obtain support of as many as possible of the Europeans and the goodwill of the majority of the Natives they must ensure that they did not do anything that the Natives would regard as unjust or of which the consensus of European opinion could not approve.

By giving the Natives the representatives in the House of Assembly he felt they could honestly say that they were acting fairly towards the Natives. They were actually giving them more than they possessed.

Finally after all had been said and done, General Hertzog admitted that the present Bill was not the best solution of the Native problem.

THE GHOST OF BLACK DOMINATION.

In supporting the Bill Mr. Parow, the Minister of Justice said that the passing of this Bill would lay the grim ghost of Black domination which had been responsible for a wrong attitude towards the Natives and that under the new law there would be a better attitude towards the Native, and the Native himself would be happier, while the European would be guaranteed security.

DOMINION PARTY MOVE AMENDMENT.

The leader of the Dominion Party Colonel Stallard, moved an amendment that the Bill be read six months hence because the atmosphere in which this matter was being debated at that time was not the right one and because he submitted that an analysis of principles of the Bill as an entity were not such as to recommend themselves to their good sense, nor were they so ambitious.

He contended, that the Bill imperilled the future of the good relations and goodwill between White and Black in South Africa.

CHRISTOPHER'S WARNING.

Mr. R. M. Christopher (East London North) warned the Government not to rush the Bill. The eyes of England, the Dominions and other civilised countries were focussed on South Africa to see how they would tackle the great problem. It was a most inopportune moment to bring the matter of Native rights before the House. There were dark clouds in the North of Africa and the Natives of South Africa followed the trend of events with the greatest interest.

COMPLETE SEPARATION OF EUROPEANS FROM NATIVES.

In moving the discharge of the second reading of the Bill, Mr. Madeley requested the Government to bring in a measure that would provide for complete separation of Europeans from Natives electorally, territorially, socially and industrially (a) by the provision of suitable land for all Natives apart and distinct from European areas; (b) the encouragement of Native cultural, agricultural and industrial development in their own territories by means of assistance where necessary; (c) the institution of Native Councils primarily under European guidance, but antonomous and subject only to Parliament (d) the establishment of European standard minimum wage consistent with standard European requirements for Natives in European areas

Race Problem – 1936

Africa.

SOUTH AFRICAN ATROCITIES VISITED UPON NATIVE BLACKS BY RUTHLESS EUROPEAN WHITES

Black Dispatch

LABORERS ASSAULTED, RAPED, BURNED WHILE GOVERNMENT CONDONES OFFENSES

3-12-36

Confession Racket Squelched By Jans Smuts

CAPE TOWN, South Africa, Mar. 12.—(ANP)—Natives, although they greatly outnumber whites in South Africa, nevertheless suffer from many of the atrocities, prejudice and miscarriage of justice so prevalent in the southern part of the United States. the first annual report of the Council of the South African Institute on Race Relations, released recently by J. D. Rheinallt Jones, reveals.

On the other hand, the number of natives and whites are on the increase which causes more friction, the institute reveals, adding that knowledge of such incidents is much more general because of a sounder public opinion on such matters and a constantly increasing sensitiveness, as well as the fact that many cases have shocked the public and have received wide publicity in the press.

Assaults on Natives

Many cases in which native Africans were assaulted and victimized by Europeans were given, among them the sentencing of two men to hard labor for three months for beating up a native woman and hanging her from a garage beam for alleged theft; blinding of two natives by whites, conviction of a European for putting paraffin in a native's head and setting it afire and conviction of another for the murder of a 10-year-old boy.

In several instances white road gangs attacked educated Negroes, and several cases were on record of Europeans using guns to frighten natives into obedience, leading one judge to say, "You seem to treat natives as though they were buck or wild dogs."

Police Attacks

Several police were convicted of assaults during 1935, among them a sergeant sentenced for eight months after kicking his 16-year-old colored servant girl and cutting off her hair, and two others sentenced for beating up a native whose house they entered and searched without a warrant.

Complaints of thrid degree methods used by police officers are so frequent that recently a bill was passed acknowledging only those confessions confirmed and reduced to writing in the presence of a judge. An attempt to have all confessions made to police be excluded as evidence was blocked by General Jan Smuts as Minister of Justice.

Native Attacks on Police

In Benoni, five members of the police force were seriously injured in one month in attacks by natives, according to the report. In Johannesburg, a native detective was paralyzed after being stabbed in the brain. There is considerable friction between police who attempt to close up illicit liquor dens and natives, in which knives are often used.

Colored people here also protest the use of patrol wagons, declaring that often they are arrested and taken to jail and there faced with fictitious charges.

Sheep stealing is a stock complaint against natives, but recently a judge declared that nothing else could be expected from the low wages paid by farmers to their colored help.

Several Rape Cases

As in the southern part of the United States, there are many complaints of rape reported to the courts. In 1935 one native was executed for the rape and murder of a white woman, and a magistrate spoke of "the alarming number of sexual crimes during October." One legislator went so far as to suggest in parliament that rapists be amasculated by the government.

Among grievances by natives is that of miscarriage of justice through the wrong convictions and exorbitant sentences. The most striking case of the former was that of a native twice convicted and sentenced for the same offense of not paying the general tax while he was in a prison over nine years.

Unfair Sentences

Many sentences are considered unfair because fines were out of proportion to the offense and the accused's ability to pay and were far greater than those imposed on whites for similar infractions of laws.

In one instance, a white farmer who flogged a native of 60 until he could not stand and whipped his wife until her body was a mass of welts, was fined $75 or two months and 24 days at hard labor. For stealing a fowl, a native was sentenced to two months in jail at hard labor and eight strokes with a cane.

Morija Training College.

The Leader (Mocdoc[illegible])

After a seven weeks' lull things are again on the move. On the date of arrival—Wednesday, January 29th—136 students were registered. At the time of writing, the number is in the neighbourhood of 170, so that some of us who are ultra-optimistic hope to knock off 200 before long. We regret to mention that 'climate' refuses to be good—just 4 of the fair ones. 2-15-36

On the 30th the Director, the Rev J M Burton, B.A., A.K.C., S.T.D, performed the opening ceremony. He welcomed all the scholars, old and new, and remarked on the good examination results in the J.C.—100 per cent passes—P.L. 3—20 out of 25—,and Standard VI—10 out 14. Having requested Mr Malakane to read a notice with regard to permissions, the Director, who is going to England on furlough introduced a new teacher Mr Engela, and then handed over to Mr Germond, B.A., L.S.D.

Mr Germond Bantu Studies

The Acting Director mounted the platform and thanked Mr Burton for his beautiful words. On behalf of the College he wished Mr and Mrs Burton and family an enjoyable holiday, assuring them that the College was eagerly looking forward to their return. Hereafter a few intimations concerning the programme of the day were made, and the Students went to their classrooms.

In the evening of Friday the 31st the Library and Debating Society held a meeting in Robertson Hall to elect office-bearers for the ensuing academic year. The following were elected: President and Vice-President (who must be teachers), Messrs C van Haght and J Mohapeloa; Secretaries, A Mosela and K Mathule; Committee members, E Mohapeloa, J Seisa and C Mohase.

Cape Bantu Appeased

Native Opinion

The Union Government has done nothing but justice to the Bantu races of the Cape Province by appointing Mr. J. Mould Young to fill the vacancy on the Native Affairs Commission caused by the death of Mr. "Pen" Weston. 2-15-36

Mr. Young's wide experience in Native Administration in the Transkei, Ciskei and Natal, coupled with the unbounded popularity he enjoyed among the Africans of the respective reserves, all make him a singularly fortunate choice among our people. This ex-Chief Magistrate endeared himself so much that he gained the Xhosa name of "Zithulele" (the Quiet One). This is meant to be discriptive of one's tame and unassuming nature. Mr. Young was appointed to the Natal chief commissionership at a time when the Zulu tribes in certain reserves were captivated by the warlike spirit of their former chiefs. Internecine strife had risen to a pitch that almost defied peaceful interruption by Government officials, but the careful and experienced handling of ugly situations by the new commissioner brought in a period of peace. It is significant that during these troublous times in Natal, no deportations were ever necessary in Mr. Young's time, and this alone proved the personal respect the Natives had for him without resort to the spectacular warpaint of military authority.

What we regard as an offset against this popular appointment to the Native Affairs Commission is already in

the offing. From authoritative sources we gather that the appointment of a fourth member to the commission will soon be made from the ranks of members of Parliament. Such a step has always given the commission a touch of political partisanship whose undesirability cannot be overstressed. The decisions of members who are under no political influence are bound in some cases to be at variance with those affected, and anomalies such as minority reports become disquietingly common. Hence our regret for the pending political appointment.

THIS NATIVE PROBLEM

WHAT in South Africa is called the Native Problem is in fact what serious clear-minded people would simply, and rightly too, term "The Fear Complex" of White South Africa.

Fear arouses a condition of intense awareness and alertness when every sense we possess is strained to the utmost. Fear deprives one of one's better senses and makes one act foolishly where otherwise one would act in a sober manner. Fear has been responsible for serious disasters and calamities which would have been avoided had the people affected first got at the root of their imaginary fears and nipped danger in the bud.

There are many factors that contribute to the fear of the black man by the white in this country.

In the first instance there is fear that the conferring of political rights on the Natives of this country may include social privileges. When we examine facts we find that this fear is unfounded. The Natives are the customers of merchants and banks, they are the clients of lawyers, and the members of the same religious sects and denominations as their white friends, but has social separation ever been a problem in these cases, or has it ever been impaired? Why then should political rights be suspected of bringing with them social privileges?

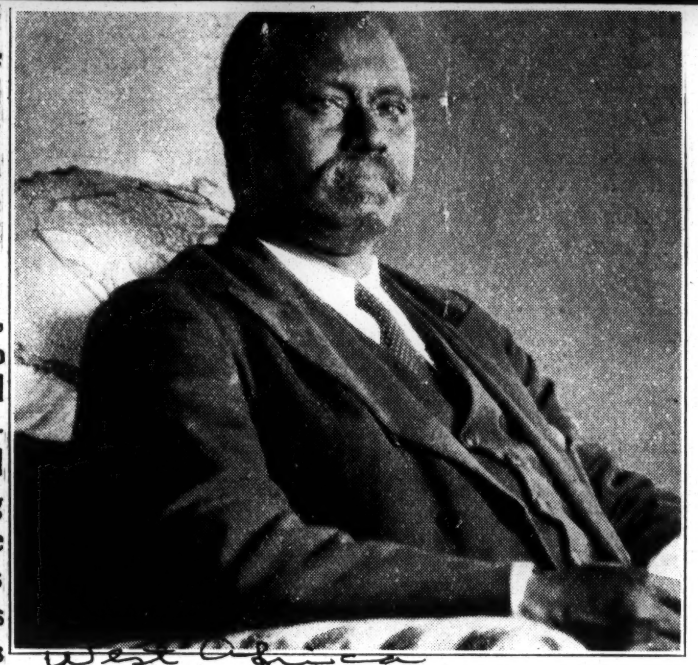
Secondly the Cape Native vote is in danger of being taken away only because there is fear that if it is kept long enough it might, in the near future, determine the political atmosphere of the Cape, and shape the civic affairs in that province. Our white rulers have long realised that the ballot is the greatest weapon that has ever been contrived by human mind, and the only super-king they know, honour, respect, and revere. We might assure them in this respect that even if the Cape Natives who are qualified by literacy and property holding were to be registered as voters the white voters would still remain with a good majority.

Thirdly there is that fear of valuable land being occupied by Natives who may become independent farmers and compete seriously with the whites. To our white friends the Native is an economic necessity in the farms. He does the work which the white farmer is not accustomed to doing. The result of this fear has been to deprive the Native of his right of acquiring land, to restrict his free movement by the introduction of laws like the Native Service Contract Act which forces labour on Natives in the farms, the Native Administration Act which stops the Native from running into industrial centres when farm conditions, which more or less reduce him to a state of serfdom, are unbearable to him, and lastly there is this much talked of Native Lands Bill which aims at territorial segregation.

Fourthly there is that fear of the Native competing with the white in industrial centres, and this fear has resulted in the passing of the Colour Bar Act which in simple language makes all Native labour unskilled. In the eyes of South African law no Native can offer skilled labour. Prejudice, in this country, never stops to reason. The Native is denied the opportunity of a special training to fit him for his duties, and he is then charged with being incapable of performing those duties. Economically, there is much thumb-pressing and this has re-acted dangerously on the whites themselves and is responsible for the "bywoner" (poor white) section of the white community.

Lastly there is that unknown, unnameable impending danger which the whites are aware of in their relationships with the blacks, which danger in reality is non-existent except as a fantasy in the minds of our white rulers.

These fears ought not to exist in a country like South Africa where the Native is hundred per cent. loyal, and responds heartily and cheerfully to every reasonable demand made upon him. The Bantu are by nature docile, respectful, and loyal to their rulers be they Native or White.



Mr. Peter J. C. Thomas, the Lagos merchant prince and man of affairs, who some years ago had the distinction of being elected Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce—the first African to be head of this body, which is largely composed of Europeans. Mr. Thomas is the distinguished father of Miss Stella and Mr. Stephen Thomas, who were not only called to the Bar together at the Middle Temple three years ago—the second time in history that a brother and sister have achieved this feat—but were notable for the valuable effect they had in this country in their social work and in educating stay-at-home people in regard to racial problems.

NATIVE FRANCHISE IN CAPE PROVINCE.

Representation Bill Passes Second Reading.

CAPE TOWN, March 4.

The second reading of the Cape Native Representation Bill was passed in a joint sitting of both Houses to-day by 132 votes to 11. Replying to the debate, General Hertzog, the Prime Minister, developed his point that so long as Europeans feared black domination it was impossible to expect Europeans as a whole to try very hard to assist native progress.

Giving the natives political equality, that is, giving them an unrestricted franchise throughout the Union, would, he argued, mean that Europeans would be swamped by the superior numbers of the natives. If European domination were permanently assured, there would be greater willingness—even eagerness—to assist native progress.

He ended up with an undertaking that the present Government regarded the Native Lands Bill (which will come on later in the session) not as a window-dressing measure, but as a sincere attempt to help the natives by providing them with more land. He himself felt, and the Cabinet felt with him, that it was their first duty, once the Native Representation Bill was passed, to provide "such funds as would give the natives the greatest possible measure of assistance."

Regarding future development, he said he believed that native progress, provided it was consistent with the interests of Europeans and the retention of European domination, could only lead to the progress of the white man, and in that sense everything possible would be done to help the native to develop. When it was felt that the danger of black domination was past, then the native could look forward to better recognition.

Committee Stage Debate.

CAPE TOWN, March 5.

At the beginning of the joint sitting of the two Houses of Parliament to-day, Mr. Pirow announced, for the Government, that the debate would go on to-day and to-morrow on the committee stage of the Native Representation Bill, after which the House would adjourn, to meet again from March 30 to April 8.

Notice has been given of a multitude of amendments to the Bill, but it is unlikely that any really material alterations will be made.—"The Times."

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

Dr. Seme and Native Bills.

In his personal capacity as well as that of President-General of the African National Congress, the views of Dr. P. ka Isaka Seme carry much weight. He says :— 3-7-36

"I have seen in the "Star" that the Prime Minister, the Honourable General Hertzog has given an interview to Prof Jabavu and the officers of the last African Convention, at Cape Town. We all approve the stand taken by the Professor and other members of the deputation during the course of the interview as reported in the press. I note that the Prime Minister said that he will not agree to any compromise with regard to the abolition of the Cape Native franchise.

I have no doubt that the whole world must regret the false backward step which the Union leaders intend to make today. It sounds like the dictatorship of the White versus Black. There can be no justice about taking away a vested right from the black owners without their consent unless such a right had been abused. No Parliament in the history of the world has ever allowed itself to fall beneath such temptation. Moreover this Parliament should respect and honour the pledges made to the voteless Natives by the great founders of the Union of South Africa in that Great Convention of 1909.

The Government has taken trouble to consult Native chiefs and leaders throughout the Union, in connection with these Bills. The reply which the Government has received from all these conferences was that the chiefs and the leaders all unanimously and strongly opposed the abolition of the Cape Native franchise. If the Government was so determined to disregard the opinion of the Africans then why did the Native Affairs Department take the trouble to consult Native opinion at all.

I am not surprised to read in the same report the intimation that the Prime Minister was prepared to discuss the other parts of the Representation of Natives Bill with the African delegates. The fact is that the proposed machinery for the election of Senators and Native members of the Native Representative Council, under the Bill is almost valueless. The Bill fails to create any constituencies within any reasonable reach of those candidates and vice versa the members of the Electoral Colleges of each Province are left without any chances of ever being able to consult one another. All what the Bills do is to put up the powerful chiefs against all other Natives of the Province especially against the educated ones. The only exception is with regard to the Transkeian Territories. There the proposed machinery will work perfectly smooth, and that is because everything is to be done through the United Transkeian Territories General Council.

Therefore, if the Government intends to do well for the other parts of the Union also, let it first establish Provincial Bungas under the control of the Chief Native Commissioners of each Province, just as in the Transkei. The election of Senators or Members of the Legislative Assembly to represent Natives in Parliament as well as the members of the Native Representative Council, would be properly and safely entrusted to the Provincial Bungas. Moreover these Bungas cannot fail to perfectly represent Africans in their own provinces and to keep those representatives up to date and effecient in their services.

Again, if the Government wants to give us a Native Representative Council for the Union, then it is only fair that this Council shall be vested with legislative powers over the Natives and given special powers over the scheduled Native areas and over all revenues from Native sources, including the contribution of Native labour in the mines and all other industries, and Native fines under the pass and liquor laws. These revenues will give us enough to maintain a Government Native bank of our own to assist Africans too. Is it not really the fact that the Government is using our own money to support the "white labour policy" and doles and pensions to everybody except the Africans? The Natives are the greater contributors to the wealth of this country and yet we get very little return or thanks for it. Let us grasp the opportunity given to us under these Bills and build up a Government of our own under the control of His Majesty's High Representative, the Governor General or his deputy, the Minister of Native Affairs.

The granting of legislative powers is the only condition which will make the Natives Representative Council honourable and respectable in the eyes of the Africans as well as before the general public of this country. It will restore the lost respect for the chiefs who no longer can enforce the Native Laws and Customs of morality and good discipline among members of their own tribes. The evils of insubordination, vagrancy and crime within the Native areas will demand that such powers shall be given to the Native Representative Council.

The existing Native Laws and Customs, in a progressive modern society must constantly require progressive interpretations and amendments to suit new conditions of life and employment which did not exist before. For instance the "lobola" custom today needs some readjustment by a competent Council representing all tribes and chiefs in the Union. This Council can also help to adjust the conflicting Native customs, which trouble the courts today, when members of these various tribes live and work together. The conflicts between their respective laws need to be adjusted by such a Council.

It is a great pitty that the Prime Minister is not giving urgent consideration to the land question. The Union Parliament should now be told to redeem its promise to find enough land for the Natives. The granting of such land should not be made a subject of any bargain, or be attached unto the Cape Native vote. Let Parliament respect its own pledges and promises made to the Natives.

In conclusion, I hope that the African leaders when they meet again to consider these Bills, they will seriously consider constructive criticisms and show greater respect for one another. The General Annual Conference of the African National Congress will meet during Easter holidays to finally review these Bills. Let every province make ready to attend this important conference."

Distribution of Mealies.

The action of the Government in distributing hundreds of thousands of mealie bags to starving Natives in the reserves is highly appreciated. The relief afforded is of immense benefit to the needy, for the present crops, taking the situation generally, are a distinct failure. What makes the Government's scheme all the more helpful to our people is the control of prices charged the Natives by traders. The maximum price of 10/- per bag plus reasonable charges, has totally eliminated profiteering, an evil which in former periods of drought, was the chief instrument of the black man's economic repression. From what we see of the system of distribution, huge quantities are literally "snatched up" on arrival of a consignment, and Native Commissioners in the reserves are experiencing a busy time in order to cope with the heavy demands. The paths leading from crown locations to the Commissioner's office are thronged throughout the week with Natives on horseback in quest of supplies. It has often been found necessary to adopt the quota system for each location, to complete the rounds.

Relief works opened by the State have provided the wherewithal to pay for grain supplied to the impecunious Africans, and though the wages are on a miserably low scale, the bare subsistence is maintained under almost impossible conditions. For these mercies we must be most thankful. The sheep-shearing season is now in full swing, and incomes however small from this source will go a long way to keep the wolf from the door. In certain areas the birdseed and wheat crops have proved highly

satisfactory, but the principal setback herein is the scarcity of threshing machines to work the yield. In a sense, many Natives are starving amidst high stacks of wheat which stand in the fields for indefinite periods, wholly exposed to devastating hail-storms and the gradual demolition by rodents. It would be supplying a sore need if the Government, through general or local councils, saw its way to authorise the purchase of several threshing machines of the latest type for work purely among the Bantu peasantry. Starvation has to be combated in various forms, and this is one of them.

Native Bills in England.

Indicative of the extent to which interest has been aroused even in England on the Native Bills in the Parliament of South Africa, are the following notable expressions of authoritative opinion:—

"Commenting on the Union's Native Bill, the Manchester Guardian asks what will South Africans a century hence think of the legislation on the Native question that is now passing through the Union Parliament.

"Fear is a poor source of inspiration for statesmanship," says the Guardian, "but General Hertzog is frank in his admission that fear of black domination is the motive for depriving the educated and propertied Native of the parliamentary vote in the Cape Province.

"The constitutional character of the action was questioned this week in the British House of Commons, but about that there can be no doubt. The Statute of Westminster gave South Africa the right to amend her own Constitution, but the justic and, on the long view, the wisdom of General Hertzog's step may well be doubted.

"For how long will the Native be content with the right to vote for three members, whatever his qualifications in numbers and cultural development?"

MEMBER'S COMPLAINT.

Mr. Patrick Donner, M.P. for Basingstoke and a director of the National Review, writing in the Daily Mail, says that several members have in vain attempted to table questions to elicit information with regard to the Native Representation Bill in South Africa, but the questions were ruled out of order because they conflicted with the provisions of the Statute of Westminster.

"Nevertheless," he adds, "members of all shades of opinion are united in a sense of duty regarding the welfare and status of the Native populations within the Empire."

"A meeting of the Executive of the London Group of African Affairs under the chairmanship of Lord Sanderson resolved to write to the Secretary of State for the Dominions urging th postponemet of any further consideration in the transfer of the Protectorates to the Union until Union legislation, as it affects the Natives, is deemed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom to be consonant with British ideals and principles of colonial administration.

Leaders' Action Approved

Dear Sir,

The event of the firmstand taken by the Executive of the African National Convention in opposing the Native Bills shall not pass unhonoured. It is worth a prominent space in the annals of this country. I like to regard it as a writing on the wall. The interpretation is firstly that the marshalling of Native opinion with regard to their rights in this country is complete. Secondly the passive obstinacy of the members to be decoyed into the snares of political manouvres might swing the pendulum into an unwelcome positive expression. That might cost the Natives dear. But, certainly South Africa would not profit by the loss.

While chewing these facts we must bear in mind that the Executive was chosen by a body fully representative of Africans. The Executive itself was unanimous in fulfilling the mission of the people in the way it did. Hitherto, not a word in disagreement with their line of action has been uttered by any of the Convention members.

The life of negotiations was cut short because the Natives were asked to violate a principle an offshoot of the law of God. The principle, in short, is no taking away from a people rights of citizenship enjoyed for years without a faint of abuse. They bluntly refused to meddle with it. Their hands even now are clean. They will not be parties in giving birth to a legislation which will make their sons purse up their lips and shake their heads as they enter their graveyards No! Not they.

This is noble history. It emdies a Roman adage that it is better to die honourably than to live disgracefully. European youth in their time shall read of it. My firm conviction is that their difference from their fathers in judgment might be expressed well by the gulf we see between the east and west. Science not prejudice shall rule over them.

There was a time when a Native deputation had no support of public opinion. People mistrusted one another. The represented would follow stealthily and peep through windows while their chosen men consulted the dreaded Westerners. Those days are now no more. Better days have come, Africans shall be bound to their leaders by links stronger than those of platinum chains.

HALIFAX.

Protest Against Union's Native Policy!

Protests against the Union Government's White labour policy and its Native laws were made at a meeting of Natives in the hall of the Natal Worker's Club in Old Dutch Road yesterday afternoon.

Mr. A. W. G. Champion, General Secretary of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union in Natal, explained that the meeting was to hear an address by Mr. H. Selby Msimang, General Secretary of the All African Convention. The Convention, he said, aimed at strengthening the existing Native organisations as much as possible, and it provided a common platform on which all Native organisations affiliated to it could discuss matters affecting the African people.

Parliament's disregard of the reasonable appeals of the African peoples through their organisations had forced the Native leaders to adopt a line of despair and disappointment. Mr. Champion added. The Natives were called on now to defend themselves and their interests.

They had no guns, no aeroplanes or poison gas, but their purcha ing power practically controlled the commercial structure of the country. They must organise to solve the White problem.

The lesson taught by the White people in Abyssinia ran parallel to the policy followed by the Parties of the Union Parliament when dealing with the Native question. The Bantu race had lost everything but its economic powers.

Economic Independence.

The Natives must strive for their economic independence, said Mr. Msimang. They were facing the climax of a crisis today and criticising the Native laws would do no good now.

Only 12 per cent of the land in the Union was to belong to the Natives, who were three times as numerous as the Whites. The squatters were to be driven from the farms and the urban Natives would be forced in l rge numbers from the towns, while other would be prevented from entering.

The areas set aside for the Natives would be barely sufficient for the present generation. Many Natives would remain landless, for the Government had no intention of giving them more land. Many families would starve, as they would have no means of living.

In the towns the Whites were taking up the work hitherto done by the Native. The Bantu would be faced with utter slavery.

The Primer Minister had told them in most brutal language that the first duty of the White man was to himself. The Government had disowned all responsibility over the Native peoples. It was a challenge to the Native to find his salvation in whatever way he could. It was a question of self-preservation.

Abyssinia

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

War Danger Grows With Fascist Victory

Period of Stubborn Fight of People Against Slavery Now Begins in Ethiopia as British Interests Conflict With Aims of Italian Fascist Program

By Harry Gannes

Ethiopia has been struck a dreadful blow. All toiling humanity will feel its effect. The capture of Addis Ababa and the exile of Haile Selassie instead of bringing peace nearer in East Africa will bring war closer to the whole world. When the Italian fascist troops march into the capital of Ethiopia on Monday or Tuesday the first phase of the Ethiopian war will be over; that is, the phase of organized, centralized and mass defensive warfare.

The second and more prolonged period of guerrilla warfare, of the stubborn fight of a whole people against enslavement by an imperialist-fascist power, will then begin.

Serious tactical errors from the very start on the part of the Ethiopian command played into the hands of the Fascist hordes. First the Italian general staff was hard pressed by the Ethiopians' offensive in the Makale region. Fearing that this would bog the Fascist war machine at Makale through the rainy season, the Fascist general staff ordered unrestrained gas attacks on Ethiopian civilians behind the lines.

Then, with the Ethiopian troops massed for battle, the fascists unloosened bestial poison gas warfare, supplementing it with a withering cannonade and aerial bombardment along the whole northern front.

Fascists Rush Through

The Italian planes concentrated their gas attacks then on the massed Ethiopian troops. The cotton shama robes were poor protection against the lethal, searing choking, burning gasses of modern "science." Massed against the invisible enemy, poison gas, the Ethiopian troops broke ranks, and the Fascist armies rushed through.

The Ethiopian armies, organized in huge bands, with very little supplies of food and ammunition, counted on swift, overwhelming thrusts to drive the Fascist enemy back. The Ethiopians were concentrated at three points: (1) Near the Webbe Shibeli river to the southwest; (2) around Jijiga and Harrar to the southeast; (3) the biggest sector, in the North, massed in the path of the main Italian army under Marshal Badoglio.

The massed Ethiopian attack failing in each instance, the militarily superior Italian Fascist murder juggernaut broke through the gap, and by swift, desperate pushes drove ahead. Kept on the run, lacking modern communication, transport, and adequate food supplies, the Ethiopian armies could not reorganize themselves.

No Regard for Losses

On orders from Rome, the Fascist commanders strove for spectacular gains regardless of cost in men and materials.

Oncoming rain in Ethiopia and a gold drought in Rome forced this strategy of desperation.

Dessye was captured, and then the juggernaut was aimed at Addis Ababa.

For a long time, the heroic Ethiopian fighters held back the advance of General Graziani from the South at Sasa Baneh, protectnig the approaches to stratetic Jijiga and Diredawa. But the latest reports indicate that this gate has also been blasted open by Fascist planes, tanks and the ever-present poison gas.

For Fascism these are spectacular military victories indeed. But the history of colonial warfare shows that the fight has just begun.

Manchurian Comparison

The most comparable example is, of course, Manchuria. The Japanese Army in Manchuria in September, 1931, was larger and superior to the Italian Fascist Army of today in Ethiopia. The Japanese had the advantage of having ruled through General Chang Tso-lin for some six years. Since 1905, the Japanese controlled the South Manchurian Railway, the key to all Manchuria. Japanese agents had penetrated the country for years. Ethiopia has one small-gauge railway. Manchuria has the largest railway network in China. Manchuria is criss-crossed with roads and paths. Ethiopia has only a few roads and impassable mountain ranges.

Yet it took the Japanese two years of hard fighting before they could subdue the organized armies of the Chinese partisan troops defending Manchurian independence; and even today scattered guerrilla bands keep up incessant barrages against the invaders. In fact, it was only last week that the Japanese executed four of their highest puppet Mongolian officials on the ground of "plotting insurrection against Manchukuo," Japan's Manchurian puppet government.

The Economic Considerations

Thus far we have dealt mainly with the military angle. Economically, the Manchurian adventure has cost Japan heavily.

Yet to reach the present industrial level of Manchuria, at the minimum, will require ten years of intensive exploitation in Ethiopia by Italian Fascism. Furthermore, Italian Fascism does not have the sources even to begin these ventures, assuming that it is able to conquer Ethiopia to the point where it can try to reap a golden harvest from the enslavement of the Ethiopian people.

The expenditures already made for the Ethiopian war and the cost of maintaining a gigantic Italian Army in Ethiopia from now on will not be met by any profits that Mussolini can get out of Ethiopia in the next ten or twenty years, if fascism can be imagined to last that long.

Conflict With Britain

Since every attempt to strengthen Italian Fascism in Ethiopia weakens British imperialism in two of its most vital spots (Africa and the route to India) there must arise, sooner or later, out of Mussolini's gains in Ethiopia, the bitterest conflict between Britain and Italy.

Just now it appears as though the Baldwin cabinet is ready to sacrifice some of its immediate interests in Ethiopia to Mussolini in order to continue to encourage Hitler in Europe. When the Fascists marched into the Lake Tsana region, chief British sphere of influence in Ethiopia, there was virtually no protest in London. Yet this was an important step for Mussolini to protect the rear of his advancing troops.

Serious Consequences for Britain

Even now the British outcry over Mussolini's victories, which, if they are consolidated in the future will have the most serious consequences for Britain, is surprisingly weak. The New York Times, in fact, informs that Sir Anthony Eden, British Foreign Minister, is anxious to consider Ethiopia "a closed chapter." The headline over this London cable reads: **"Eden Asks Britons to Accept Lessons. Implies Ethiopian Crisis Had Better Be Regarded by the Nation as Closed Chapter. Cites Need for Realism."**

British "realism," in this instance, consists of granting concessions to Mussolini in order to keep on encouraging German Fascism in its war preparations against the Soviet Union. The ironic feature of this situation is that it is a triumph for that phase of French foreign policy which favored Mussolini as an antidote to Hitler. This policy insisted that the British support Mussolini and refrain from helping Hitler. The British, in order not to allow the breach with France to become too wide, therefore, for the time being, considered the Ethiopian crisis "as a closed chapter," and cited the "need for realism." Thereby both Mussolini's and Hitler's war ambitions were strengthened.

War Danger Increased

In each instance the needs of a new world war and not of peace were served. British imperialism, granting concessions to Mussolini, gives stimulus to Hitler, without in the least diminishing the fundamental antagonism with Italy. For sooner or later, Italy in Ethiopia must threaten British imperialism in its two strategic routes, from the Cape to Cairo, in Africa; and from Gibraltar to the Straits of Bab El Mandeb in the empire "lifeline" from Europe to India and the East.

Finally, there are the circumstances surrounding the flight of Haile Selassie. London reports have it that before he left for Jibuti, French Somaliland, with his family, Emperor Haile Selassie consulted with Sir Sidney Barton, the British Minister in Addis Ababa. Sir Sidney, it is intimated, advised him to go, and leave the outcome of the situation to London and Rome. Selassie is reported to be heading for a British warship which will take him to a Palestinian Coptic monastery.

That Italy was also consulted by the London Foreign Office on these moves seems highly probable.

Repercussions in League

The blow struck at Addis Ababa will also have the gravest repercussions on the League of Nations. The League's weak efforts to block Italian Fascism now stand exposed. The British workers now see how British imperialism played with sanctions but never enforced them. They will also learn how their Labor Party leaders supported sanctions only in so far as they met with the needs of British imperialism, but shied away from independent action to force them through against the wishes of British diplomacy.

The new crisis of the League will set out in the boldest relief the consistent and powerful peace policy of the Soviet Union, which, amidst the growing shocks and war quakes, stands out as the only bul-

Montreal, Prime Minister King has informed the House of Commons that you were not invited by the Canadian government to visit this country. Mayor Houde of Montreal has stated you will not be cordially received by the citizens of that city. Suggest therefore that you abandon plans for call at Canadian port. The people of Canada will deeply resent a visit from representatives of the most brutal government in al history, the oppressors of the great German people and the main instigator of war in the world today. This advice is sent you on behalf of 350,000 members of the Canadian League Against War and Fascism."

Mr. MacLeod at the same time wrote to Mayor Houde of Montreal urging him to stand by his original position against a civic welcome to the Emden. Houde recently complained to the government at Ottawa that he "feared trouble" if the warship docked.

The League head asked Mayor Houde to refuse to receive the Emden officers and stated that by so refusing he would aid the German people in their fight against Hitler, who, MacLeod said, is as much an enemy of the Germans as he is of the Canadians.

ROGERS ARRIVES IN U. S.

WAR CORRESPONDENT FOR COURIER LANDS; AT FRONT 5 MONTHS

By IRA F. LEWIS
(Special to The Courier)

AT QUARANTINE, New York City, April 21—Met by a delegation which included the Hon. John H. Shaw, Ethiopian Consul-General in this country, newspapermen, photographers and others, J. A. Rogers, War Correspondent for The Pittsburgh Courier, and the only Negro from the United States to cover war activities in Africa, arrived here this afternoon aboard the Ile de France from Paris.

Darkened by tropical suns and looking thinner than when he left America in September, Rogers, who has spent five months in Addis Ababa, capital of Ethiopia, greeted reporters with the terse remark:

"Ethiopia needs money, not manpower!"

Courier 4-25-36

Ethiopia Not Beaten

Rogers, who visited the League of Nations session at Geneva, and also jumped over to London before returning here, made the significant statement that Ethiopia is not beaten, even though Addis Ababa is captured.

Pittsburgh Pa.

"Ethiopia is not beaten," said Rogers, "and will not be, even though Italian troops do capture Addis Ababa, which is doubtful. Knowing the country, I realize that Mussolini's troops are still many miles away from the capital."

"In case they do capture the city," he continued, "the capital will be moved back into the mountains. This was even done in this country during the Revolutionary War.

"Unless Emperor Haile Selassie abdicates, Ethiopia will not be beaten . . . at least not for many years."

To Tour and Write

Mr. Rogers has returned to this country for a limited period to engage in a lecture tour under the auspices of The Pittsburgh Courier.

The tour will be under the direction of George S. Schuyler, now on the Pacific coast. Mr. Schuyler will return to The Courier office early in May to complete arrangements for the tour.

Meanwhile, beginning with next week's issue of The Pittsburgh Courier, Mr. Rogers will begin an exclusive series of articles on "The Inside Story of the Ethiopian War."

These articles will deal with hitherto unrevealed information and promise to be sensational startling and highly informative.

ROCKY MOUNT, N. C.
TELEGRAM

MAY 14 1936

WHITE MAN'S PRESTIGE IN AFRICA

Declaring that Mussolini has "betrayed the whole white race. . .has sorted out all the vices and all the meannesses and all the weaknesses of the whole Caucasian branch of humanity and written them high on the wall of history for the blacks and the yellows and the reds to ridicule and revile," the Vancouver (Canada) Sun presents an unusually well-written treatise on the Italian invasion of Ethiopia.

We quote from The Sun:

We have heard it said—with a good deal of truth—that Mussolini's African campaign is an evil thing because it was conceived primarily as a national diversion to keep the Italian people from brooding over Fascist oppression.

We know now that the campaign's inherent viciousness goes a good deal deeper than that.

The Italo-Ethiopian rout has done more than offend our sense of political morality and endanger the headwaters of the Blue Nile.

It has definitely lowered the white man's prestige in Africa and, in fact, in every colored part of the world.

It has definitely depreciated the finest asset possessed by the white man to keep him top dog on this very uncertain earth.

In all his dealings with the colored races, the white man has possessed three definite advantages:

1. The belief among colored people that the white race possesses a moral vitality which enables it to get things done with a minimum show of force.

This belief is what permits the British to control India with a handful of white officers and permits lone white commissioners in Africa to subdue and placate thousands of restless blacks.

What a blow to that belief when a powerful white nation has resorted to armed force for months to subdue a few skirmishing Hamites in Ethiopia!

2. The belief in white man's justice.

The colored races know that Italy has been condemned before the white man's highest tribunal as guilty of a crime in Africa.

She has continued that crime with impunity.

What do the colored races think of "incorruptible" white justice now?

3. The belief that the white man possesses superior virtues which lift him above the cruelties, oppressions and mean greediness of inferior races.

Italy has demonstrated all those vices in Africa.

She has matched cruelty with cruelty, oppression with oppression, greed with greed.

So far as the colored races are concerned, the power behind any white invasion has been the conviction that that invasion represented the march of a righteous and inevitable principle.

So rankly unjustified has been Mussolini's raid on Ethiopia that even the poor, cowering blacks, conscious of their own "inferiority," could find no reason but despicable greed and arrogance behind it.

Mussolini has betrayed the whole white race. He has placed that race in jeopardy.

He has sorted out all the vices and all the meannesses and all the weaknesses of the whole Caucasian branch of humanity and written them high on the wall of history for the blacks and the yellows and the reds to ridicule and revile.

Race Problem – 1936
Africa.

Abyssinia.

Italian Marshal's Book Reveals War Planned By Mussolini Back In '33

ROME, Oct. 25.—(AP)—Mussolini decided upon the Italo-Abyssinian war in 1933 and began his preparations then, Marshal Emilio de Bono, who commanded the Italian troops at the start of the war, reveals in his book on "The Preparation and the First Operations."

In 1933, he writes, "the head of the Government fixed his thoughts on the possibility of military operations in East Africa."

The first point to decide was whether the operations should be initiated with a defensive or offensive operation. De Bono made an extensive survey and submitted his finding to Il Duce.

"His excellency the head of the Government," he writes, "to whom I reported the results of my survey, was not dismayed at the entity of the thing, but he did not decide then and there for the offensive. He, it must be understood, had to take into account above all the international situation and the fact that all our armed forces, although making great progress, had not yet reached the state of efficiency that Il Duce, minister of the armed forces, had preordained."

In 1933, De Bono reveals, he asked Mussolini for the honor of leading the Italian troops, and Mussolini replied "certainly." De Bono inquiried: "Then you don't think I'm too old?" (He is past 70). Mussolini replied: "No, because we must not lose any time."

"From that time on," De Bono writes, "Il Duce had the clear idea that the question must be resolved not later than 1936, and told me so....."

At the beginning of 1934, he relates, the commander of the troops then in Eritrea and the Italian military attache at Addis Ababa came to Italy for talks with Mussolini and himself.

"It being now necessary," he continues, "to pass to the carrying out of the preestablished plans, it was our duty to communicate to the ministry of war, to the chief of general staff and to the command of the general staff what was the will of the chief.

"In order to avoid too much on paper, Il Duce ordered that all the decisions taken with regard to the undertaking should be verbalized.

"He knew that at the opportune moment he would have had all Italy with him. But it was not necessary to conceal the fact that there were not lacking uncertain persons, nor persons as usual desirous of quiet, nor the timid....."

In 1934, he says, began the first meetings, presided over by Mussolini, with the military chiefs.

De Bono then describes the initial preparation in the colony. More native troops were enlisted. Road work was begun. Building of barracks and warehouses started. At the same time a political office was started with the task of undermining the allegiance of the Ethiopians to Emperor Haile Selassie.

"The result of our political disuniting action," he says, "was seen in symptoms for the very beginning of the operations. It subtracted from our enemy not fewer than 200,000 men who either did not take up arms or who, although mobilized and armed, showed themselves inactive."

De Bono left for Africa again Jan. 7, 1935, with the following instructions from Mussolini:

"You leave with the olive branch in your pocket. Let us see how and if the incident of the Ual-Ual will be solved. If it is convenient to accept the conditions which will be given us, you will announce to the Emperor your assumption of the new position, telling him that you have been sent there to clear up misunderstandings and to collaborate toward good neighbor relations in the moral and material interests of the two states. In the meantime carry on actively your preparations as if the case were most difficult and adverse to us.

"If the solution of the incident does not come about or is not to our satisfaction we will follow the events according to our own particular point of view."

Soon after reaching Eritrea De Bono reported to Mussolini that the Negus did not intend to attack. Mussolini then wrote him:

"In case the Negus does not intend to attack us, it must be we ourselves who will take the initiative."

In May when difficulties with England began Mussolini wrote him that "you must have foodstuffs and munitions for at least three years."

At the end of June De Bono received a letter from Il Duce with regard to Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden's trip to Rome.

"In a very secret note," De Bono says, "he (Mussolini) told me that if we got into trouble with the English we would naturally be obliged to renounce our offensive action and content ourselves in the beginning with keeping to a defensive which would have insured the integrity of the colony.

"This was indispensable also to reduce consumption to a minimum because our supplies, with the closing of the Suez Canal and the probable superiority of the British fleet over our naval division would have become more than problematical.

"But even in this to-be-deprecated case Il Duce had decided to take the dare."

"Without the period which we will call 'De Bono,' the ultimate victory of the campaign would have been neither possible nor conceivable."

In the preface to the second book Il Duce writes:

"The considerations which Marshal Badoglio unfolds at the end of his volume will be, as they should, meditated on. This war of people, as he said in his speech at Pontina, was won by the people. Badoglio recognizes this and pays his tribute to the Italian people—soldiers and civilians."

A Talk With Il Duce

As early as September, 1932, de Bono reveals, he made a survey of the situation and reported. He writes:

"To finish my public career as a soldier was, for me, a superb dream. It was not certain yet, in 1933—the year in which we began to think practically of what we would do in case of a conflict with Ethiopia—whether the war would be static or not; but I decided not to waste any time and one fine day I said to Il Duce: 'Listen: If there is to be a war down there—if you regard me worthy and capable—should you not give me the honor of conducting it?' The Head [of the government] looked me over and said suddenly: 'Certainly.' I added: 'You don't deem me too old?' 'No,' he replied, 'because we mustn't lose any time.' Even then Il Duce had it clearly in his head that the problem would be solved not later than 1936, and told me so. I confined myself to answering: 'Very good,' without raising the least doubt as to the possibility of this coming to pass."

When de Bono emphasized the need of money—"molti denari"—Il Duce said simply: "Money will not be lacking." At the beginning of 1934 the military commander of Eritrea, and the military attaché at Addis Ababa came to Rome. With de Bone they formulated a fixed plan, and were introduced to Il Duce so that he might have a clear idea of the real situation. The plan was communicated to the Minister of War and to the general staff, and then an attempt was made to ascertain the will of the Head of the government.

Only Decisions Recorded

De Bono writes:

"So that too much might not appear on paper, Il Duce ordered that all decisions made in regard to the enterprise should be set down. This was done."

Those in authority, from Mussolini down to de Bono then signed the decisions. The work went ahead. More native troops were enlisted in the colony, barracks and storehouses began to rise and, more important than all, a bureau was created to ascertain the attitude of the native chiefs toward the Negus. In this way no fewer than 200,000 natives were subtracted from the fighting force of the potential enemy.

When the military operations were begun and sanctions threatened Mussolini ordered de Bono to make an inventory of what munitions and footstuffs he would need for three years; in a secret note he advised him that "If we get into trouble with the English we would naturally renounce our offensive and confine ourselves to the defensive in order to preserve the entity of the colony." This situation was still developing when de Bono was superseded by Badoglio as commander-in-chief in November, 1935.

When Badoglio Took Hold

The story as continued by Badoglio relates the "anguish" he felt when he arrived and had looked over the situation: the confusion at Makalle and the port of Massawa, the left wing of the front so isolated that no advance could be made without the risk of the center being overwhelmed or made to retreat into the colony.

It was a month before Badoglio was ready to continue the war. Meanwhile, Ras Imru was preparing an offensive in the Scire with 40,000 or 50,000 men. Badoglio neutralized it and began an offensive in the Tembien and won three pitched battles—the second Tembien, Enderta and Scire.

An intercepted dispatch from the government at Addis Ababa to the Negus advised the latter to negotiate for a settlement—"time w" thus be gained during which the reconstruction of the army can be effected."

On the contrary, the Negus tried to reorganize the army in the field and gave battle at Lake Ashangi.

This battle, Badoglio says, was the turning point in the war, for, had the Negus not fought at Lake Ashangi and continued his retreat to Dessie, the Italians would have been lured after him several hundred miles from their base.

MERGUSON NEAR 'BACK DOOR' OF GORE, ETHIOPIAN CAPITOL

Courier 11-17-36

Walter F. Merguson, COURIER WAR CORRESPONDENT, who travelled by water and plane to Khartoum, is nearing the "back door" of Gore, new Ethiopian capital.

Risking his life hourly in the mountain passes of this almost impenetrable country, Mr. Merguson, with his pack-train, is averaging about five miles a day.

The country through which he is passing is the wildest in the world, with constant danger from wild animals, poisonous snakes, deep ravines and swamp land.

When he arrives in Gore, he will be the ONLY war correspondent in the world, to give COURIER READERS the 'OTHER SIDE" of the story.

WAR FOR ETHIOPIA PLANNED IN 1933

Times

Marshal de Bono's Book Tells of Preparations to Detach Natives From the Negus.

11-15-36

BADOGLIO ON HIS BATTLES

Herald Tribune

By WALTER LITTLEFIELD

How the plans for the conquest of Ethiopia were made in 1933, how they were executed in 1935-36, are for the first time officially revealed by the protagonists in two books: "Preparations and First Operations," by Marshal Emilio de Bono, who began the campaign, and "The War of Ethiopia," by Marshal Pietro Badoglio, who completed it.

Mussolini has written a preface for each. The most significant passage in the first is:

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

Abyssinia

Daily Press, Radio Join In Heralding Rogers' Return

United Press Staff Writer's Own Story For Dailies Is Reproduced For Courier Readers—Was Notable Event In Journalistic History.

EDITOR'S NOTE—The following story chronicling the return of Mr. J. A. Rogers to the United States and his reception at New York, was written for the Scripps-Hoawrd United Press Service and released to 1,100 daily newspapers throughout this country and Canada. We are pleased to defer to the report of this great news gathering and distributing agency in recording an event which is of so much importance to The Pittsburgh Courier, the Negro press and The Courier's great nationwide family of readers.

By ROMAN LAPICA
United Press Staff Correspondent

NEW YORK, April 22—(UP)—Emperor Haile Selassie will retreat to the inaccessible mountain regions west of Addis Ababa when his capital falls and will continue to wage guerilla warfare. rather than surrender to the Italians, Joel A. Rogers, only American Negro war correspondent in Ethiopia, said tonight.

"Emperor Selassie told me he has no intention of suing for peace," Rogers said, "and will continue guerrilla fighting so long as he has one foot of free territory remaining.

"The Emperor will move the seat of the government to the wild provinces of Wallega, Djimma or Godjam to the west, and contrary to popular Rome reports, will not abdicate in favor of his son, the crown prince, Asfa Wosan."

Rogers, Pittsburgh Courier correspondent, who interviewed the Negus shortly before he left the country a month ago, said the Emperor insisted the capture of Addis Ababa would not affect his previous statements that the Ethiopians would fight to the last man.

"The Emperor spoke quietly and impressively," Rogers said, "and emphasized that he would be a traitor to his country and to the men who died in its defense if he abdicated or sued for peace.

"He said that the taking of Addis Ababa was not vital to the continued resistance of the nation, because it is an open town, and there are neither ammunition dumps nor fortifications. Emperor Selassie will remain loyal to his people who do not want him to make peace."

Rogers was confident there would be no surrender to the Italians, now nearing Addis Ababa.

"There are two reasons," Rogers said. "The first is the intense loyalty and spirit of the people, who because of their love of soil and freedom, would not accept peace. And the second is use of poison blistering yperite gas by Italians during the latter stages of the war. The hatred the Italians created by using this gas will prevent anyone from weakening."

Because of lack or roads in Western Ethiopia the Ethiopians will never be suppressed, Rogers said.

"The western country, which parallels the British Sudan, is impregnable," Rogers said. "Through the Sudan the Ethiopians will be supplied arms and ammunition to wage war indefinitely. For food the guerilla bands will have fruit, deer, gazelles, lions, hippotami and birds which abound in the country.

"The Ethiopians have learned their lesson in the pitched battles of Amba Alaji, Lake Ashangi and Aksum. Those were costly mistakes, and they realized their only salvation was guerilla warfare. They are retreating now because they cannot withstand poison gas, but the Italians are getting fewer as they penetrate into dangerous territory.

"One must not be deluded by Rome casualty figures. Everyone in Addis Ababa knows that the Ethiopians fight in groups of 500 to 1,000. It is impossible to kill a large number because these bands rush into battle, fire their 20 rounds of ammunition and retreat.

"The situation looks darkest now, but what will the stranded Italians do when they are cut off from their bases by flood rains, beginning next month?"

The same is true of the League of Nations. The League is now acting like a group of firemen, who having been called to put out a fire, sit down before the burning building to argue and to discuss nice rules of order. So far the League's way of settling each crisis in this war has been to adjourn."

While in Ethiopia, Rogers interviewed the Emperor and has brought back a message from His Majesty and the youth of Ethiopia to the Negro people of America.

Rogers says that due to the vastness of the subject it will be impossible for him to treat it in a single meeting and will give different phases of it in meetings to be held in other parts of the city, particularly at Mecca Temple, 133 West Fifty-fifth street, on May 15.

At this meeting one of the speakers will be Miss Paula Lecler, the only woman war correspondent to visit the battle fronts, and who interviewed the Emperor, the Empress and other members of the royal family several times.

Among those present at the dinner were Drs. P. M. H. Savory, C. B. Powell, R. C. Hunt, J. A. Holland and Dr. and Mrs. H. A. Collins. Miss Paula Lecler, H. V. Kaltenborn, popular radio speaker; Mrs. G. L. Keezer, Mrs. Lucille Edwards Chance, Mrs. C. Cordova, Arthur Schomburg, Mr. Gonzalez, James W. Ford, Captain King, Arthur Reid, Harold Williams and W. Ramsey.

Rogers Describes Ethiopian Battles

Honored at Dinner, Writer Pleads for Africans

5-2-36

At a dinner given in his honor by the United Aid for Ethiopia at the Y. W. C. A. Wednesday night, J. A. Rogers gave a graphic picture of the severe difficulties now being encountered by the Ethiopians because of their lack of money to buy the necessary supplies.

"Though for the most part wretchedly armed, sometimes only with spears and rifles dating back to the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, they are waging a fight that will outrank the classic struggles of the Greeks in the Age of Homer, for the ancient Greeks did not have to fight against airplanes and poison gas.

"It will be to civilization's eternal disgrace if something is not done to save such a courageous and devoted people from extermination, for that is what Italian conquest will mean. The liberty-loving Ethiopians will never submit to the slavery that the Italians have imposed on their black subjects in Lybia, Erithrea and Somaliland.

"Future generations are going to execrate such politicians as Pierre Laval, who sold out Ethiopia to Italy.

Honors War Writer

J. A. Rogers.

ITALY LOSES 8,000 MEN IN BLOODY FIGHT

Attempt To Take Capita May Be Turning Point In African War

5-2-36

ADDIS ABABA, May 1—An Italian bombing plane, flying low over Addis Ababa, dropped leaflets written in the native Amharic, begging the inhabitants to surrender without resistance.

The leaflets bore the signature of the chief of staff of Marshal Pietro Badoglio, generalissimo of Italy's colonial armies in East Africa.

"If Addis Ababa is delivered without resistance, we will not bomb the city," the leaflets said. "Otherwise we will destroy it all."

The city will resist any Italian invasion, whether from the sky or land, according to a government spokesman. The supervision of the defense of the capital, together with a means of offsetting the Italian propaganda, brought the emperor to the capital, said one official.

Italians Fear The Capital

Fearing that their objective might not be reached as announced by their headquarters, the Italians have resorted to a procedure of intimidation which they hope will spare them considerable losses of men, besides a loss of prestige at home.

For Addis Ababa may well be the turning point of the six-month-old Ethiopian war. This city may be bombed without demoralizing effect on the natives, who have long ago constructed bomb-proof shelters and dug-outs in anticipation of such an eventuality. But, how to invade this rugged Ethiopian capital is a problem that besets the Italian strategists.

For Addis Ababa, like Rome, is on a hill which makes it easily defended.

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Race Problem - 1936

Africa

Abyssinia

Daily Press, Radio Join In Heralding Rogers' Return

United Press Staff Writer's Own Story For Dailies Is Reproduced For Courier Readers—Was Notable Event In Journalistic History.

EDITOR'S NOTE—The following story chronicling the return of Mr. J. A. Rogers to the United States and his reception at New York, was written for the Scripps-Hoawrd United Press Service and released to 1,100 daily newspapers throughout this country and Canada. We are pleased to defer to the report of this great news gathering and distributing agency in recording an event which is of so much importance to The Pittsburgh Courier, the Negro press and The Courier's great nationwide family of readers.

By ROMAN LAPICA
United Press Staff Correspondent

NEW YORK, April 22—(UP)—Emperor Haile Selassie will retreat to the inaccessible mountain regions west of Addis Ababa when his capital falls and will continue to wage guerilla warfare. rather than surrender to the Italians, Joel A. Rogers, only American Negro war correspondent in Ethiopia, said tonight.

"Emperor Selassie told me he has no intention of suing for peace," Rogers said, "and will continue guerrilla fighting so long as he has one foot of free territory remaining.

"The Emperor will move the seat of the government to the wild provinces of Wallega, Djimma or Godjam to the west, and contrary to popular Rome reports, will not abdicate in favor of his son, the crown prince, Asfa Wosan."

Rogers, Pittsburgh Courier correspondent, who interviewed the Negus shortly before he left the country a month ago, said the Emperor insisted the capture of Addis Ababa would not affect his previous statements that the Ethiopians would fight to the last man.

"The Emperor spoke quietly and impressively," Rogers said, "and emphasized that he would be a traitor to his country and to the men who died in its defense if he abdicated or sued for peace.

"He said that the taking of Addis Ababa was not vital to the continued resistance of the nation, because it is an open town, and there are neither ammunition dumps nor fortifications. Emperor Selassie will remain loyal to his people who do not want him to make peace."

Rogers was confident would be no surrender to the Italians, now nearing Addis Ababa.

"There are two reasons," Rogers said. "The first is the intense loyalty and spirit of the people, who because of their love of soil and freedom, would not accept peace. And the second is use of poison blistering yperite gas by Italians during the latter stages of the war. The hatred the Italians created by using this gas will prevent anyone from weakening."

Because of lack or roads in Western Ethiopia the Ethiopians will never be suppressed, Rogers said.

"The western country, which parallels the British Sudan, is impregnable," Rogers said. "Through the Sudan the Ethiopians will be supplied arms and ammunition to wage war indefinitely. For food the guerilla bands will have fruit, deer, gazelles, lions, hippotami and birds which abound in the country.

"The Ethiopians have learned their lesson in the pitched battles of Amba Alaji, Lake Ashangi and Aksum. Those were costly mistakes, and they realized their only salvation was guerilla warfare. They are retreating now because they cannot withstand poison gas, but the Italians are getting fewer as they penetrate into dangerous territory.

"One must not be deluded by Rome casualty figures. Everyone in Addis Ababa knows that the Ethiopians fight in groups of 500 to 1,000. It is impossible to kill a large number because these bands rush into battle, fire their 20 rounds of ammunition and retreat.

"The situation looks darkest now, but what will the stranded Italians do when they are cut off from their bases by flood rains, beginning next month?"

The same is true of the League of Nations. The League is now acting like a group of firemen, who having been called to put out a fire, sit down before the burning building to argue and to discuss nice rules of order. So far the League's way of settling each crisis in this war has been to adjourn."

While in Ethiopia, Rogers interviewed the Emperor and has brought back a message from His Majesty and the youth of Ethiopia to the Negro people of America.

Rogers says that due to the vastness of the subject it will be impossible for him to treat it in a single meeting and will give different phases of it in meetings to be held in other parts of the city, particularly at Mecca Temple, 133 West Fifty-fifth street, on May 15.

At this meeting one of the speakers will be Miss Paula Lecler, the only woman war correspondent to visit the battle fronts, and who interviewed the Emperor, the Empress and other members of the royal family several times.

Among those present at the dinner were Drs. P. M. H. Savory, C. B. Powell, R. C. Hunt, J. A. Holland and Dr. and Mrs. H. A. Collins. Miss Paula Lecler, H. V. Kaltenborn, popular radio speaker; Mrs. G. L. Keezer, Mrs. Lucille Edwards Chance, Mrs. C. Cordova, Arthur Schomburg, Mr. Gonzalez, James W. Ford, Captain King, Arthur Reid, Harold Williams and W. Ramsey.

Rogers Describes Ethiopian Battles

Honored at Dinner, Writer Pleads for Africans

At a dinner given in his honor by the United Aid for Ethiopia at the Y. W. C. A. Wednesday night, J. A. Rogers gave a graphic picture of the severe difficulties now being encountered by the Ethiopians because of their lack of money to buy the necessary supplies.

"Though for the most part wretchedly armed, sometimes only with spears and rifles dating back to the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, they are waging a fight that will outrank the classic struggles of the Greeks in the Age of Homer, for the ancient Greeks did not have to fight against airplanes and poison gas.

"It will be to civilization's eternal disgrace if something is not done to save such a courageous and devoted people from extermination, for that is what Italian conquest will mean.

The liberty-loving Ethiopians will never submit to the slavery that the Italians have imposed on their black subjects in Lybia, Eritrea and Somaliland.

"Future generations are going to execrate such politicians as Pierre Laval, who sold out Ethiopia to Italy.

Honors War Writer

J. A. Rogers.

ITALY LOSES 8,000 MEN IN BLOODY FIGHT

Attempt To Take Capital May Be Turning Point In African War

ADDIS ABABA, May 1—An Italian bombing plane, flying low over Addis Ababa, dropped leaflets written in the native Amharic, begging the inhabitants to surrender without resistance.

The leaflets bore the signature of the chief of staff of Marshal Pietro Badoglio, generalissimo of Italy's colonial armies in East Africa.

"If Addis Ababa is delivered without resistance, we will not bomb the city," the leaflets said. "Otherwise we will destroy it all."

The city will resist any Italian invasion, whether from the sky or land, according to a government spokesman. The supervision of the defense of the capital, together with a means of offsetting the Italian propaganda, brought the emperor to the capital, said one official.

Italians Fear The Capital

Fearing that their objective might not be reached as announced by their headquarters, the Italians have resorted to a procedure of intimidation which they hope will spare them considerable losses of men, besides a loss of prestige at home.

For Addis Ababa may well be the turning point of the six-month-old Ethiopian war. This city may be bombed without demoralizing effect on the natives, who have long ago constructed bomb-proof shelters and dug-outs in anticipation of such an eventuality. But, how to invade this rugged Ethiopian capital is a problem that besets the Italian strategists.

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The dispatches added that indisputable proof that the Ethiopians were well armed came early in the fighting when an Ethiopian motor-until they see the whites of the eyes, and then to drop off a surprise counter-enemy's attack drove off the Italians from in preference to men in the ranks. His strategy is proving costlier to the Italians. This was borne out by the fact that in yesterday's latest strategy hasly to the Italians. This was borne the severest resist-out by the fact that in yesterday's encountered in her fighting on the left and right Italian campaign. Wehib Pasha, who was one of the Turk who defenders of the Dardanelles During the three days' fighting war, has given hiscovered by the latest communique

seven Italian planes were hit and five pilots killed. While the communique brings the details only up to the evening of April 25, the battle is still raging.

No Quarter Given

The Ethiopians gave and asked no quarter, the only prisoners taken were wounded. So close to the outpost positions did the Ethiopians advance that in some instances Ethiopian artillery fired point-blank at a range of only 185 feet.

The Italians are still in grave danger, for they have extended their lines in the north to a point where they might easily be cut off and surrounded, according to impartial military observers. When an army advances swiftly through mountain passes and over rough trails and soft roads, it is obvious that it is leaving itself open to attack that might be disastrous.

The Ethiopians, it is said in informed circles, are withholding their last hope of retaliation until the moment when the Italian lines are extended to their greatest length and the blow would be the more effective.

The raiding parties which were led by Ras Seyoum and Ras Kassa in the Timbien Mountains are now been repeated in this much more favorable situation in the south.

MILLIONS LISTEN TO ROGERS ON THE AIR

NEW YORK, April 30—(By Jas. Edmund Boyack for ANP) — A movie-star gazed, a dignified ambassador blinked, and a shipload of arriving notables turned from admiring Manhattan's towering skyscrapers last Tuesday when a score of reporters surrounded a simply dressed Negro on the sundeck of the Ile de France steaming up New York harbor.

He was soft-spoken Joel A. Rogers, representative of The Pittsburgh Courier, just back from "covering" the Italo-Ethiopian war as a full time war correspondent.

Permanently assigned to interview the great and near-great on their comings and goings, New York's crack reporters broke all precedents in securing the news and views of the Negro war correspondent which were widely published here. Also on hand as a welcoming committee of two were: John H. Shaw, Ethiopian Consul General in New York and Ira F. Lewis. The Pittsburgh Courier's general manager.

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Once ashore, correspondent Rogers received press attention which was also unprecedented in the history of Negro journalism. He was not only widely interviewed for white papers nationally, but also was sought out by such magazines as News-Week, Time and the Literary Digest with their millions of readers. The night after he returned to New York more than twenty million Americans heard him speak on the Ethiopian situation with Lowell Thomas over the National Broadcasting System network.

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In justice to Ethiopia and to that noblest of men, Emperor Haile Selassie, it must be written, even in an "inside story," that such censorship as exists in Ethiopia is forced upon that persecuted empire by circumstances over which it has no control. As the Emperor truly said at the beginning of the war, "Ethiopia has nothing to conceal."

Why, then a censorship? Concisely, the reasons follow. Long before this war began, in fact, for years, the Italians had been strategically placing themselves deep into Ethiopian territory. Under the guise of establishing consulates, the Italians had sent expeditions to scores of Ethiopian towns and villages where there was no possibility of trade.

The object of Italy was to have her emissaries so scattered throughout Ethiopia that, in the event of war, she would have the basis of a perfect system of spies. Not that the Italians would remain in the country. But during the process of their penetration, they sought to make arrangements with natives or whites, whom they could purchase to serve them in time of war.

Country Covered By Spies

Thus, at the very outset of the war, Ethiopia faced the prospect of having all its military secrets revealed to the enemy. It was more than a prospect. The Emperor found his country full of white and native spies, many of whom are still active. It therefore became imperative that the government should exercise some watchfulness over dispatches leaving the country.

A description of censorship in Ethiopia as it exists should doubtless precede my uncensored observations on the Ethiopian war.

Like the average newspaperman, I consider the censor something of a meddler and a nuisance, yet such censorship as existed in Ethiopia seemed to me to be quite essential in view of the fact that most of the news went out by radio and was thus eagerly picked up by the Italian stations at Massowah and Assab.

For example, it was necessary to check on weather reports sent out by Italian spies for the benefit of Italian planes. One duty of Italian spies was to telegraph weather reports in code. The Ethiopian government ordered all messages to be decoded and a copy of the cipher handed to the proper official.

Before the expulsion of the so-called Italian "consuls," the spies had been provided with transmitting sets. Two of these, a German and an Austrian, were caught with a set installed in the rumble seat of their automobile. Both were deported and later, they turned up in Eritrea.

Humanely Treated

Had these two Europeans been caught spying for Ethiopia, they would undoubtedly have been shot without ceremony by the Italians. Instead, the Ethiopians conducted them quietly to the train under guard and to the border without laying a hand on them. When I left Addis Ababa, search was being made for another transmitting set that used to inform the Italians early every morning whether the skies at Addis Ababa were cloudy or not.

The newspapermen, wanting to get to their papers something more exciting than the brief, and sometimes infrequent dispatches from the government press bureau, tried various methods to get their stories over, such as the use of baseball lingo and slang.

The Emperor was referred to as "the big fish" and the like. In this way the news of the Emperor's departure for Dessye was given out even before his leaving, thereby imperiling his life. One American news agency which managed to slip by the censor and get out the story in regular wording was penalized. It was denied the use of the radio for eight days. Those who sent the message in slang were not punished. But later all slang was prohibited.

Radio Station Needed Cash

The press censorship waus never at any time rigid, chiefly because the radio station needed the cash . . . a fact which made one or two of the correspondents rather dictatorial. One journalist who sent messages totaling hundreds of dollars weekly, threatened to cut off his patronage if any word was changed or deleted and, to the best of my knowledge, he had his way. Compare this with the iron censorship of the Italians where only the official wording of the communique is permitted and where all messages are re-written with an Italian bias.

Those newspapermen who were transferred from the Ethiopian side to the Italian quickly learned the difference when they got there. Instead of being dictators, they found themselves dictated to. All newspapermen on the Italian side, whether they were Fascists or not, were made to talk one hundred per cent Italian.

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Censor Trained in Egypt

The two radio censors were Menasse Lemma, an Ethiopian, trained in Egypt, and a Belgian officer. I had several long talks with Menasse Lemma, who is an exceptionally well-informed and pleasing young man. I learned from him that a censor's life also has its irritations . . . a fact which took the edge off my irritation when my mail was opened.

As for the mail censorship, it was even less effective than that of the telegraph. There were only eight censors in this department to handle the thousands of incoming and outgoing letters. Mail left and came generally twice a week. Naturally, they could only skim over these letters.

Those who received their letters through their legations, generally received them unopened. After the mail censorship began, many gave their letters to friends to be mailed in Djibuti. The government sent a circular to the merchants and other residents with a warning that this was an offense. Each was required to sign this circular so that he could not plead ignorance. Nevertheless, mail was still sent out privately. As for the newspapermen who had a constitutional dislike to having their mail opened, they would send their letters by brother scribes without any attempt at concealment. All in all, the newspapermen were treated like princes at the Emperor's orders. In leaving Ethiopia, each one was given a pass permitting him to take out his baggage unopened.

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Race Problem—1936

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Abyssinia.

A WOMAN SURVEYS ETHIOPIA'S STRUGGLE

BY PAULA LECLER,

Noted Woman Writer Just Returned from a Six Months' Tour of Ethiopia, Where She Visited the Battle Front and was Accorded Exclusive Interviews with Emperor Haile Selassie and the Empress.

When it became reasonably certain that the drone of Italy's war birds would be heard over Ethiopia's capital, Empress Mennen, wife of Haile Selassie, departed the city—but not without dignity.

Commercial Appeal

ARE there any intelligent, modern-thinking Ethiopians besides Haile Selassie? Even Selassie's enemies seem to respect him. But who in Ethiopia is as capable of assisting him in the modern development of Ethiopia?" I am asked

There are such others, overshadowed in the Ethiopian patriarchal system by the Negus, but efficient and progressive in their own right. In my six-months survey of Ethiopia, I met many native leaders of various degrees of importance who would size up well in any civilization. 3-15-36

Closer union of diverse racial population-components, slavery, development of natural resources, public health, a more modern social order, are problems Ethiopia is endeavoring to meet under the Negus.

I talked in Addis Ababa and other centers with many Ethiopians who realize the importance of these problems, and are cooperating effectively in this solution. These men appreciate how much Ethiopia has to do. Memphis, Tenn.

The Negus—primarily responsible for Ethiopia's membership in the League of Nations, and for international recognition of Ethiopia as an independent kingdom—has set the keynote. But one man, no matter how clever, cannot run a country unaided. Haile Selassie, himself, said to me:

"We have a growing number of Ethiopians who grasp our domestic problems and the necessity of working them out with the international picture in mind." Commercial Appeal

Some of these progressive-minded, clear-thinking lieutenants have been educated like Selassie himself, entirely within Ethiopia.

In Harar, where he had been governor for five months, and later in Jigjiga, his headquarters as commander-in-chief of the south front, I talked in French, with Dejasmach Nassibu. His useful, if unspectacular career embodies qualities similar to those that have enabled Haile Selassie to hold his own with foreign statesmen.

"Even if no foreign nation were threatening us," Nassibu told me, "we Ethiopians know we must accelerate our own civilization to survive in this twentieth century.

"We need time, however, for no power native or foreign, can push progress beyond a certain pace. It is true that in this diverse, widely varied country, most of us have only for a few years realized the necessity for change. Many have hardly known an outside world exists. But in the few years His Majesty has reigned many outstanding improvements have been made. They are only a beginning.

"Italy says we have no order, but exist in a continuous state of brigandage.

"Of course, we have incidents and troubles. They arise here, even in peace time, as elsewhere in the world. But on the whole, public order is surprisingly good in Ethiopia.

"Our entire Ethiopian juridical system is based on our religion, on Christianity itself, which is an actuality to us, and on the religion of the subject races also. (Mohammedanism)."

With his plain khaki uniform, keen direct mentality, there is no nonsense about Nassibu. He is able to control sword-flourishing, old-guard subchiefs, by western methods, not feudal, tribal ones.

"Slavery is one of the problems we have faced squarely," Nassibu told me. "I used to be governor of Bale, province adjoining Italian Somaliland. I worked there to enforce the Negus' humane anti-slavery law, punishing violations. We had a special bureau to further the freeing of slaves.

"It was not easy, for it takes a long time to make changes not on paper but factually as all your western nations which have had slavery must know. But each month we had less to do.

"I personally have about 500 servants.

"Many are slaves whom I freed, as many masters voluntarily have done, so that now I have only 10 slaves. They are men who refused to be freed.

"As our anti-slavery laws of 1924 and 1931—providing among other things that every child is born free and that slaves are automatically freed by the death of their masters—work out, slavery is dying a natural death, without violence. The war has not interrupted this program, sorely as it is taxing us.

"In our system of justice, in education, in matters of health and living standards, we have started under Haile Selassie to reform our civilization in the gradual way which is the only possible permanent one."

In Dessye when I flew there for a final interview with the Negus recently, I was greatly impressed by another modern-spirited Ethiopian. I had heard much in Addis Ababa of Wolde Giorgis, the emperor's tireless confidential secretary, but had never met him in my visits to the palace.

When I saw a plain-uniformed business-like Ethiopian in his thirties, working at a desk under a canvas canopy on the grounds of the old Italian Consulate, I did not know at first who he was, although his concentration and facility in dealing with important looking documents, some in French and in English, made me wonder.

He was Walde Giorgis, I discovered when he answered my question in excellent French.

He, however, knew who I was. Like the Negus, he has every smallest detail of national life at his fingertips.

"European nations talk about civilizing us," he commented. "They do not realize how completely we see our own situation. We have moved as fast as we could, favoring peaceable methods rather than violent ones.

"You Americans believe in self-determination. Our progress may not seem rapid to you, but more has been accomplished by His Majesty in six years than might have been thought possible.

"We Ethiopians are anxious for growth and modernization, but we do not see how a sanguinary invasion, which has interrupted all our constructive projects, can further them.

"One great need is more efficient, practical administration of our governmental agencies. We are moving toward this."

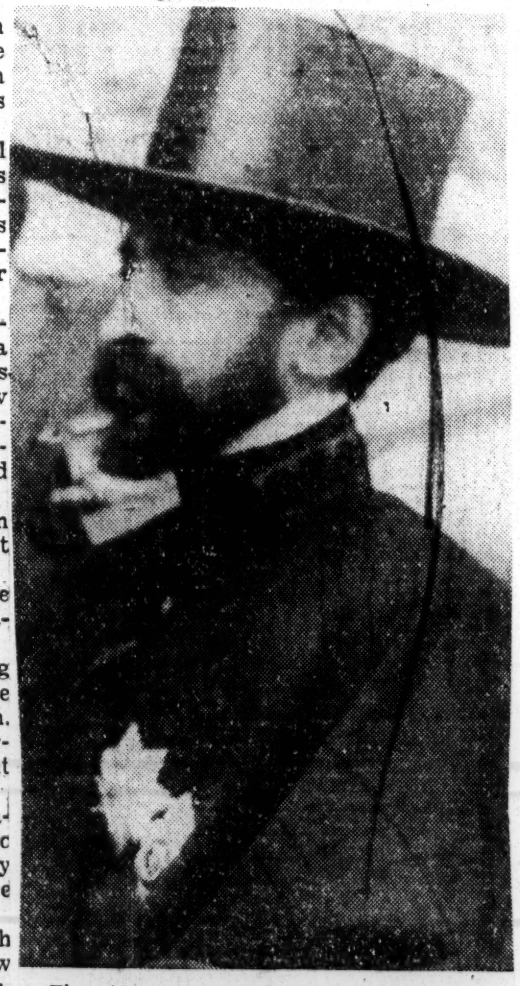
Chieftains with shields and spears were circling about the grounds as they always do wherever the emperor is. Outside the gates irregulars were lined up. They wore uniforms, shammas (white draped scarfs) and kabas (capes) waiting with Oriental patience for the emperor's possible exit.

Quiet, completely poised and absorbed as a busy western executive in the midst of the swirling medieval picture, Wolde Giorgis represents the New Ethiopia.

Acting as interpreter when I first interviewed the Amharic speaking empress, Mennen, was another French-speaking, modernly efficient Ethiopian, Tesfaie Tegegne, director of the Foreign Office, who has spent some time in Paris as Ethiopian ambassador. In his well-cut European suit, he looks as much like a Frenchman as is possible for a black man.

I saw much of him when I returned to Addis Ababa in January from an expedition to the Ogaden front, for he and Mr. Colson, American financial adviser to the Negus, both had helped me in the difficult task of persuading the empress to write her first article for publication.

"You are impatient because this has taken so long," observed Tesfaie as he final-



The King of Kings in a high hat. Emperor Haile Selassie wore this topper on the streets of Addis Ababa as the Dark Empire prepared to meet the invaders.

—Photos by Associated Press by Courtesy of Paramount News

ly handed me the precious manuscript in Amharic, signed and sealed. "The empress waited until she felt she was right in doing something no Ethiopian empress has done before.

"We Ethiopians seem slow because we must see a good reason for every change; but once we have seen that reason we act with our whole being.

"Do you think modern western civilization can be buckled on us like armor, all at one time, by force? We are trying to grow toward your west, but that growth must be a natural one. We had great plans and hopes that war interrupted. Among other things we want to develop our resources, our industries, with the help of capital from countries that do not want to despoil us."

I was introduced to Addis Ababa by Blata Kidane Aberra, chief of Ethiopia's first press bureau, and to Harar, by his brother, Ato Fessiha, Nassibu's secretary. These young Tigreans—each a master of seven languages, including French and Italian—represent the forward-looking in Ethiopian government service.

Blata Kidane especially, who was educated in the Menlik School in Addis Ababa, has never been out of Africa, yet has an amazing understanding of western psychology.

"You Americans grew through your own mistakes in your own way," he told me. "We Ethiopians study the west and ask it to help us. But cannons and bombing planes cannot impart lessons of civilization.

"There are many projects close to the Negus' heart that we younger Ethiopians especially support. One is for higher schools in Ethiopia itself, that we will not be obliged to go abroad to complete our studies.

"We have some good elementary schools, especially in Addis Ababa, but no real higher ones."

In Harar, 80 per cent Mohammedan province under a Christian Amharic overlordship, Lej Asfou, mayor and chief of administration, latterly made director in Jigjiga of Ethiopia's first systematic government attempt at regularly provisioning troops in the field, spoke to me of recent Ethiopian attempts to align Mohammedan and Christians in a firmer national structure.

"Christians and Mohammedans have lived together more peacefully in Ethiopia than in other countries," Asfou assured me. "But we still have much to do to establish the idea that both are, first of all, Ethiopians."

I met scores of other promising, well informed young Ethiopians whose training had been entirely within their own country—including George Radzecky, Princess Zahai's handsome young English instructor, who acquired his own English in Addis Ababa; and Abeba Gammeda, chaplain of the Men's Patriotic Society in Addis Ababa, whose excellent English is also home grown.

World's Window

BY PIERRE VAN PAASSEN.

Goodby Ethiopia!

KHARTUM, Egypt.—Battles are being fought in Abyssinia of which the world hears nothing. That open towns and villages are being subjected to airial bombardments every day and that Italy is employing poison gas and liquid fire in ever larger measures is perfectly unknown here in Khartum, where the great newspapers of France, England and northern Egypt nevertheless arrive regularly. I take it, therefore, that the world on the whole is in ignorance of these facts. After a careful computation and comparison of published figures, personal observation, oral reports and estimates by several foreign observers, both inside and outside of Ethiopia, I believe I am safe in putting the figure of human beings who have lost their lives since this war began in the neighborhood of 75,000. Of these, fully 50,000 are Ethiopians, both warriors and civilians. The death rate amongst civilians, especially women and children, has been particularly heavy since February.

The Upshot of the First Year's Campaign.

Now that the first year's campaign is drawing to a close and only minor skirmishes can be expected on the northern front from now till June, when the "little rains" which are coming down at present change to that antediluvian torrential downpour, it must be admitted that, compared with other colonial wars which I witnessed such as Abd-el Krim's revolt in Africa and the Druse rebellion in Syria, Italy's whole performance is far from impressive. Nothing is settled definitely, except that the Italian army is superior to the forces of the Negus in open combat, but that was known before the war started. The lightning-like advance upon Adowa in November last year has never again been repeated. In order to gain that "moral victory," legions of workmen had constructed a road along the flanks of the mountains. This "tour de force" was the easiest task the labor corps has performed. In the measure that the advance developed toward the south, the Italian army faced a mountainous chaos, ever more difficult to negotiate.

Roads Are Vanishing.

The Italian roads between Adowa and Makkale are not bearing up even under the little rains which are now coming down. These highways are strewn with wrecks of trucks and motor cars, ambulances, oil tankers and whippet tanks. I am most reliably informed that there is little left of the first 5,000 army trucks with which Italy began the war. The advance of the Italian army as far as Amda Alagi has been accompanied with immense difficulties. What has been done so far is a super-human effort. One hundred and fifty kilometers on the road toward Addis Ababa have been covered. Five hundred and seventy-five kilometers remain to be done.

Rain Coming Down.

As I left Ethiopia it poured on the average four hours a day. But the brooks and streamlets are swelling. Roads are even now becoming impracticable. Some rivers can no longer be forded. The Taccatze and Mareb rivers will be furiously spuming cataracts at the end of March. Will the heavy material of the Italians in Tembien and Tigre be evacuated to the rear or be left to sink and rust? At present Marshal Badoglio is running supplies to the most advanced sections of his army by airplane. This shows that the roads are already beyond hope. But the aviation cannot operate in the dense rain and fog that are due in a month. Thick clouds overhung the mountains as we made our way out—o so carefully—to the Sudanse border. It was the clearest spell we had had for 10 days.

* * *

Heavy Burden.

If peace does not intervene, the burden of the next six months will be the heaviest one Mussolini has had to shoulder. His army, which will the great war cost Italy per day. It be standing still, will cost more than comes to 30 million lire per day. I am not a military expert, although I have had plenty of war in my day, yet I venture an opinion. Mussolini's army is too big. It lacks something that is obvious even to the layman, it lacks experts in colonial warfare and specially trained troops for the tropics. Events in Abyssinia bring to mind what took place in Holland in the sixteenth century. The Duke of Alva, the conqueror of Moors and Frenchmen, was sent by Philip II to crush the feeble and penniless republic of the Netherlands. "It will be an easy task," said Alva. "I who smashed nations of iron, will soon have this people of butter under my knee." But the people of butter slipped through the iron duke's fists and was victorious in the end over the world-empire of Spain. Mussolini is trying to catch mice with a hammer in Ethiopia.

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Conquerors Put Four Journalists Out Of Ethiopia

New York Times Reporter One Of Ejected Quartet Accused Of Espionage

Others To Follow

Giant Umbrella Bearer For Ex-Emperor Is Executed By Italian Firing Squad

ADDIS ABABA, May 17.—(AP)—A giant former umbrella carrier for Emperor Haile Selassie, said to be the tallest man in Ethiopia, was executed today by an Italian firing squad.

The execution followed a number of others and the expulsion of four journalists from Ethiopia. It was officially stated that the death sentences were solely for murder in the act of pillage and looting.

The newspapermen deported from the country were accused of "anti-Italian activities and espionage." They were George Steer, correspondent for The London Times and The New York Times; Isadore Nebenzahl, a representative of the Havas (French) News Agency; Alkeos Anglopolo, a Hearst correspondent; and M. D. Robillard, director of an Ethiopian newspaper. Many others were expected to follow.

Those expelled left yesterday morning on a train for Djibouti.

The Emperor's former umbrella carrier, Balahu, was condemned by a military tribunal on charges of "espionage and brigandage."

The towering man, who was seven feet, five inches in height, became at one time a drum major in the imperial band. The Emperor discovered him in 1934 when he presided over the Supreme Court, where Balahu was on trial for the murder of a rival in a love affair.

The Emperor was so impressed that he paid himself "blood money" on behalf of Balahu and made him official umbrella carrier.

When the war broke out he transferred him to the imperial band.

Mussolini Welcomes Son Home From War

ROME, May 17.—(AP)—Premier Mussolini with his family and some 5,000 others today welcomed his sons and son-in-law home from war.

The Premier, his wife, Donna Rachele and his daughter, Edda, waited for half an hour at the Littorio airfield before the four-motored plane arrived from Brindisi. The Premier sat unconcernedly on the grass with his little children until rain finally drove him to cover. He indignantly refused the offer of an umbrella.

When the plane was sighted sirens sounded and the crowd cheered. As Vittorio and Bruno, sons of Il Duce, and Count Galeazzo Ciano, his son-in-law, emerged from the plane Mussolini threw his arms around them and kissed them on both cheeks. Then he passed them on to the other members of his family.

Count Ciano gave his wife, Edda, a hearty half-dozen kisses. The Premier then drove with his family to the Austria-Italy football game, where the crowd cheered them repeatedly.

Young Vittorio and Bruno along with Ciano were in the air service in Ethiopia and all received medals for gallantry.

Italian Banking System Extended To Ethiopia

ROME, May 17.—(AP)—Italy's recently reformed banking credit system has been extended to Ethiopia, a statement of the committee of ministers for defense of savings disclosed today.

"The committee has taken measures for a colonial credit organization, essential for economic development which must follow the military conquest in Africa," said the statement.

The announcement foreshadowed the opening of offices in Ethiopia to direct a flow of capital for new enterprises there.

Race Problem – 1936

Africa

Abyssinia

ETHIOPIA IS SEATED; LEAGUE VOTES 39-4 AS 'MUTINY' WINS

Primer

Assembly Approves Report of Credentials Group, Which Reverses Former Stand.

9-24-36

SMALL POWERS TRIUMPH

New York Times

Italian Aloofness From All Parleys Held Sure—Many See Rome Quitting Geneva.

By CLARENCE K. STREIT

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

GENEVA, Sept. 23.—The pro-Ethiopian mutiny of the small powers in the Assembly of the League of Nations triumphed today and hte consequences promise to be far-reaching.

France followed Great Britain in giving up the fight against Emperor Hailie Selassie, and the Credentials Committee reversed itself, dropped the whole scheme of excluding the Ethiopian delegation pending the World Court's advice on the credentials and unanimously recommended that these credentials be accepted "as sufficient to permit that delegation to sit in the present session." The credentials of all delegations are good only for this session.

The Assembly by a roll-call vote adopted by 39 votes to 4, with six abstentions and three absentees, the committee's report, which Giuseppe Motta, in explaining Switzerland's abstention, said was "undoubtedly fraught with very important political consequences."

Italian Withdrawal Seen

Italy's continued absence is held certain tonight and many expect her to withdraw from the League and form the projected Locarno conference.

Whether the League's firmer stand will retard or speed the trend toward war is a matter for warm argument here, but there is no argument that Geneva today saw the biggest and most dramatic upset that it has yet known.

A small crowd gathered around the Beau Rivage Hotel this evening to cheer the Negus and his three delegates, Dr. Ajaz Warqnch Martin, Ato Lawrence Taezaz and the American Everett A. Colson. Hitherto they have been almost ignored.

The roll-call today was demanded by Hungary and seconded by Austria. There was a flutter among the delegations when the delegate of Albania, the third State to refuse to vote the Italian Government guilty of aggression in this hall a year ago, rose after some hesitation to third the motion. Ecuador was the fourth State to vote no.

Portugal an Abstainer

Portugal abstained, thereby creating a diplomatic sensation. Many diplomats take the abstention as the long-desired diplomatic proof of Italo-Portuguese connivance in Spain—where immediate consequences of today's vote were expected.

Armindo Monteiro of Portugal, who abstained today, was the man who submitted to the Council last year the report finding the Italian Government guilty of aggression. Augusto de Vasconcellos of Portugal was the president of the committee for coordinating sanctions. Portugal, which until today had taken so strong a rôle here against Italy and which has so strategic a rôle in the Spanish situation, is Britain's oldest ally.

Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden of Britain, Foreign Minister Yvon Delbos of France and Foreign Commissar Maxim Litinoff of Russia were in the credentials committee that asked the Assembly to seat the Ethiopian delegation today after having heard from Joseph A. C. Avenol, Secretary General of the League, in a private Council meeting Friday, that Premier Benito Mussolini and Foreign Minister Galeozzo Ciano had both told him in Rome:

9-24-36

New York Times

"The Italian Government was anxious to resume loyal, unrestricted and unreserved collaboration with the League. It saw only one obstacle, namely, the presence of an Ethiopian delegation at the Assembly * * * The Italian Government intended to make its collaboration depend exclusively on the presence of a de facto Ethiopian delegation."

The blow to Mussolini was inadvertently made more stinging because the League officially published this morning the text of Mr. Avenol's statement to the Council on Mussolini's terms. The fact that the League was forced to publish it because the Journal des Nations published it yesterday may not appease Mussolini.

Line Up on the Roll-Call

Bulgaria also abstained, but all the other European members of the Assembly voted for the report. So did the Asiatic, African and Dominion members and Argentina, Mexico, Cuba, Haiti, the Dominion Republic, Peru and several other Latin American States. Other known abstainers were Panama and Venezuela. Chile and Bolivia quickly absented themselves.

Francisco Tudela of Peru explained after Mr. Motta's statement that he had voted for the report in only as a matter of procedure and without regard to the political issues involved. This caused some surprise, for the report he had submitted as chairman of the Credentials Committee concluded "with the fullest realization of its responsibilities, your committee has the honor to propose that you admit the Ethiopian delegation to take part in the proceedings of the present session."

Mr. Motta's statement simply served to bring out more strongly the political character of the vote, which many of the delegates had perhaps hoped to lessen by treating it as technically a matter of procedure since only a majority was needed for adoption instead of unanimity.

Text of Credentials Report

The text of the credentials committees' report, referring to Ethiopia, follows:

Much lengthier consideration had to be given to the case of the Ethiopian delegation. Its credentials are derived from the same authority and more than once in the past were issued with full powers to the Ethiopian delegation in previous sessions of the Assembly.

On the dates on which they were issued (Sept. 14 and 19), however, the situation of Ethiopia is changed greatly in various respects. The head of the State is in a foreign country; the government is lo longer in the capital; according to some documents submitted, a government authority is stated to be established in another part of the country.

It seems to be exceptionally difficult to judge the nature and extent of power of that authority and the strength of the connections still existing between it and the head of the State.

The question that accordingly presented itself to the committee was whether the head of the State from the credentials under examination emanate was exercising his legal titles effectively enough to make those credentials perfectly in order.

The question seemed to the committee an extremely delicate one. No member suggested that it be settled in the ngative and that the credentials in question should be dclared manifestly not in order. Nonetheless, all the members of the committee felt some doubt as to whether they really were in order.

Thought of Evoking Court

In those circumstances the committee at one time thought of proposing that the Assembly ask the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion whether, in view of the present position of His Majesty Haile Selassie I, the credentials in question meet the requirements of Rule 5, Paragraph 2, of the Assembly's rules of procedure so as to enable the holders of those credentials to be regarded as the representatives of a League member within the meaning of the Covenant's Article 3, Paragraph 1.

But an additional question immediately arose: If the court was to be consulted on the forementioned point, it could not be expected to be able to give its opinion for several weeks, by which time the Assembly's present session probably would have come to an end. What would the Ethiopian delegation's position be meanwhile?

According to Rule 5, Paragraph 4, of the Assembly's rules of procedure, "any representative to whose admission objection has been made shall sit provisionally with the same rights as other representatives unless the Assembly decides otherwise."

In view of this provision it became clear that the question whether the Ethiopian delegation could or could not sit during the Assembly's present session would in practice be settled before the Hague court could give its opinion.

The View Finally Prevailing

Accordingly the view finally prevailed that reference to The Hague would have no practica value, wherefore the best solution would be to propose that the Assembly consider the credentials submitted by the Ethiopian delegation, despite doubt as to their regularity, as sufficient to permit that delegation to sit in the present session.

This opinion met with the unanimous approval of the committee, which in adopting it took into account the consideration that in such a case the delegation in question should have the benefit of the doubt and also that in view of the present situation in Ethiopia by its adoption a solution was indicated which holds good only for the present session and nothing is done to prejudice the future.

In view of the foregoing and with fullest realization of its responsibilities, your committee has the honor to propose that you admit the Ethiopian delegation to take part in the proceedings of the Assembly's present session.

LEAGUE AND ABYSSINIA

SIR,—I have read WEST AFRICA for over 10 years, and I cannot recall a case in which you have failed so hopelessly to impress your readers as in the Italo-Abyssinian conflict. In your editorial comments on letters to the editor, in the issue of August 1, 1936, you spoke of "Unrelieved tragedy if an independent African kingdom disappears." I must inform you that, if Liberia the only African State left, is seized by any European Power, it will not surprise us Africans; it is the order of the day. Some natives of England have already suggested its annexation by Great Britain. You reminded Africans that "the Ethiopion Government refused the proffered assistance of non-Ethiopian Africans." This had to be, as the Ethiopian Government was unwilling to prejudice its case in Geneva, and did not want to extend the dispute with Italy into one of colour. The Negus rightly observed that the sympathy of all Coloured peoples was with Abyssinia. You requested authority from Mr. Mbanefo for the view that, "M. Laval gave the Duce an understanding of neutrality, and that Great Britain was responsible for Abyssinia's independence." I refer you to the discussions in the British Parliament on this conflict when Mr. Lloyd George gave the diplomatic interpretation of M. Laval's declaration that France had no interest in Abyssinia, which led to the secret pact of friendship between Italy and France; this gave the Duce a free hand, and a storm was raised in the French Parliament, when M. Laval was forced to reveal his undertaking with Italy in the name of France. When economic sanctions were enforced the Italians called the French hypocrites, etc.; when oil sanctions were being considered, the Duce declared application would be considered an unfriendly act, and M. Laval opposed their application and was always Italy's advocate at Geneva.

Lord Hugh Cecil has written: "We do not like the way the French treat the League as a sort of umbrella, valuable only to keep her out of the wet, but when not so needed to be rolled up and used only for gesticulation. Had she thrown her heart into maintaining the League against Italy the League would have succeeded."

When the Locarno Treaty was sent to the waste-paper basket there was a request from M. Laval's Government for the application of sanctions against Germany. Surely you cannot be unaware of all this? If not, why ask for authority from Mr. Mbanefo?

Although France reluctantly gave England a reciprocal assurance of assistance in the Mediterranean during sanctions, she was not in a position to give immediately any assistance, as was stated by Sir S. Hoare in the British Parliament ("no nation had moved a man, gun, or machine"). England was responsible because her Foreign Secretary gave the lead at Geneva to defend a member State against unprovoked aggression, and raised the hopes of the Abyssinians; then he followed up by betraying them with the abortive Laval-Hoare plan. When the Europeans banned arms to Italy and Abyssinia, they were aware that only the latter would suffer; in fact, it was favourable to Italy. The French, whilst refusing to transport arms over the Djibouti railway for Abyssinia, transported them for Italy.

The Negus is paying the penalty for believing the Europeans and their League. They squandered his subscriptions and blufted him to a false security, thereby keeping him unarmed till one of them was ready for the plunder.

Justice is not for Blacks when against Whites; your sermon on civilisation, measured in terms of killing power, and on godliness, which you don't practise, are all memorised; the day of reckoning is coming. You have fooled all the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all of them all of the time.

I apologise for the length of this, and thank you for space.

Yours faithfully,

R. E. A. HARDING.

Sao Thomè, Aug. 25.

ETHIOPIA APPEALS FOR DEAL ON PEACE

Delegate Informs League His Emperor Would Give Up Some Rights to End the War.

WASHINGTON'S AID SOUGHT

Mediation by the United States Is Held by Some at Geneva to Be Way to Settlement.

By CLARENCE K. STREIT

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

GENEVA, Sept. 30. — Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia urged the League of Nations today to reopen peace negotiations with Italy to obtain a "national home" for his people in a definite settlement of the war. To this end, his delegate, Ato Lawrence Taezaz, said the Emperor was ready to make "considerable sacrifices."

He did not mention the possibility of a British or other mandate over Western Ethiopia as one side of the bargain and on the other side recognition of the Italian conquest of the rest of Ethiopia and possibly withdrawal of the aggression sentence. It is understood the Emperor is willing to discuss along these lines.

Mr. Taezaz asked, "Does the decision to abandon sanctions against the aggressor and the decision to admit our delegation to participate in the deliberations of this session constitute a settlement?" If no agreement was reached he said there would be a renewal of "murderous operations" and "desperate resistance."

Sees Hopeless Resistance

"What can we hope from such resistance," he asked, "if the frontiers of the regions still resisting remain effectively blockaded by neighboring countries and closed to imports of arms? Accordingly, His Majesty, who is profoundly disturbed by such a prospect, has instructed me to declare to you that to save human lives and to maintain an independent national home for his people he would regard himself as bound now to give his full consent to sacrificing even in some considerable measure the rights which the League's covenant guarantees for the maintenance of the Ethiopian people.

"At the same time we express the hope that those powers which play a preponderant part in international politics will multiply their efforts to bring about a solution within the League's framework. Nothing could be more designed to place peace on a solid foundation."

The Ethiopian move led to some unofficial talk which seems to have originated in a disinterested Continental source regarding the possibility of the United States offering to mediate with the view to a permanent settlement along the above lines. The thought seems to spring from the idea that such mediation affords the only hope for a settlement and that anything is better than leaving the Ethiopian ghost unlaid.

Speaking on League reform the representative of the Ethiopian victim expressed the opinion that "the covenant is sufficiently clear and there is no need to submit it to modifications but the League's action is far from inspiring the confidence of its members."

Emperor Not to Abdicate

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Sept. 30.—The Ethiopian legation in London denied today that Emperor Haile Selassie intended to abdicate.

"The Emperor will never abdicate," declared his London diplomatic representative. "He will never give up his sovereignty. He will not withdraw his delegation from Geneva."

Ras Nasibu

Ras Nasibu Dies of Gas

Selassie's Chief General Stood off Italians to End

DAVOS-PLATZ, Switzerland—Ras Nasibu, 42, regarded as the ablest of Haile Selassie's generalls, who stood off the Italians until the end, died on Friday from the effects of poison gas inhaled while leading the Emperor's southern army against the invaders of Ethiopia a year ago.

Physicians who attended Nasibu attributed the actual cause of his death to tuberculosis induced by the poison gas.

Nasibu, governor of Harar, held out for seven months against the attacks of Gen. Rodolfo Graziani's well-equipped troops in Southern Ethiopia, and did not give up until early last May, after Selassie fled to French Somaliland. His army numbered 500,000 men.

Leader at Geneva

Since the Italian occupation, the general had headed the Ethiopian delegation at Geneva, where he made a long and impassioned speech before the League of Nations in July for Ethiopian recognition.

During the war he successfully fought off severe attacks by native and white Italian troops and was hailed at one time as the "Savior of Ogaden."

He had his headquarters at Jijiga with a competent staff including Wehib Pasha and Faril Bey, both former Turkish officers, and two Belgian officers.

Familiar with Bribery

Nasibu had spent many years in Italian colonies, speaking Italian and French fluently. He was also acquainted with the spy systems and methods employed by whites to bribe natives. The general was at one time the mayor of Addis Ababa and a constant companion of Haile Selassie.

He was inaugurated governor of Harar in South Ethiopia just before the outbreak of the war, succeeding Governor Moriam, who had sold out to the Italians and was deposed by the Emperor.

17,000 at Inauguration

His inauguration was the largest in recent years, 17,000 guests being invited to an all-day banquet at which they sat in relays in a tent seating 4,000.

Oxen numbering 2,000 were slain for raw meat for the ceremonies and the whole city was drunk by nightfall, except the chiefs, who in secret conference argued about plans to mobilize for war.

At his deathbed was his brother-in-law, Captain Pouitsef, the white Russian who settled in Ethiopia after the Russian Revolution and flew a war plane for Selassie during the Italo-Ethiopian war. The general's widow is believed to be in Addis Ababa.

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

Abyssinia

ITALY'S PROBLEMS IN ABYSSINIA

Impassable Roads

From our Diplomatic Correspondent

LONDON, TUESDAY.

The difficulties of the Italians in Abyssinia are increasing. Their preparations for the coming months seem to have been carried out very inadequately since the departure of Marshal Badoglio. Most of the roads are now impassable to motor-vehicles, and the Italians have to rely chiefly on the Jibuti-Addis Ababa railway. This railway is constantly threatened by bands of armed Abyssinians who have on several occasions succeeded in tearing up the rails. Whenever the Italians make an attack the Abyssinians always retire, as a rule successfully. They are not offering any organised resistance. But the strength of these bands is often considerable, and there even appears to be some sort of co-ordination

Elated by their victory the Italians seem to have been overconfident and are finding the "pacification" of the country much more difficult than they expected. Abyssinian raiders have even come close enough to Addis Ababa to fire into the town.

"WHY HAILE SELASSIE FAILED."

A REJOINDER.

THE above is the heading of a sub-leader in our distinguished contemporary *West Africa*, for May 23, 1936. It purports to stress the reasons why the Emperor of Abyssinia failed, by which we understand, why he did not succeed in winning the war which Italy waged against that defenceless country. If we are correct the most charitable opinion we can express about the suggestions or reasons, is, that the half has never been told.

There are those of us, especially Africans, who are more concerned with the inhumanity of the War, than the Political aspects of it.

It is true that Ethiopia in her long and unbroken history has been able to hold all invaders at bay, but she has now fallen.

The reason is not far to seek. Since the dawn of history, Ancient or Modern, there were recognised rules of warfare, and war was conducted by principles which every other nation would reasonably expect.

If Ethiopia with her past history of valour and success, has fallen in this Italian invasion, it is simply because all known and recognised principles, ancient and modern, by which war was carried on, have been sacrificed and abused by the barbarous and inhuman hordes of Italy.

It has been suggested that there was conspicuous by its absence, any element of National independence in the Abyssinians but only local independence, in short, there was no Abyssinian nation, hence the fall and conquest. That HAILE SELASSIE was no real Leader of his people, that there was no unity, that the Rases were only Fendal Chiefs imbued with the spirit of jealousy and strife. Admitting all this, if the situation was the reverse, would the Abyssinians have been able to save their country by a strong spirit of unity, without necessary arms and other munitions of modern warfare? Could a united front resist tanks, machine guns, and poison gas? It should be evident, without much equivocation, that HAILE SELASSIE failed in this unequal war, not because of lack of unity or the jealousies of the Rases, but on account of the impossibility of resisting the modern and inhuman means used by Italy to wage the war. In spite of this lack of unity, matters were different, before the brutality of the Italians became evident in the use of poison gas, and the breaches of all known International Laws of Warfare.

There is not much need of scouting when the method of approach are aeroplanes flying in the open firmament of heaven. Even with good Scouts amongst the Abyssinians, we fail to see how the enemy would not have succeeded in their destructive bombing from the air. With regards bad Commissariat methods, inter-plundering of villages, apparent indifference, lack of individual initiative, bad roads and desertion, we maintain that if the war was conducted on regular and recognised lines HAILE SELASSIE would not have failed, at least, not up to the present moment.

We want to suggest, why in our opinion HAILE SELASSIE failed, to carry through against the Italians. First and foremost, the Emperor and his people have failed because the League of Nations has failed. Abyssinia was a member of the League, a recognised and organised International Tribunal, instituted for inter-protection between the member-nations. The Emperor, HAILE SELASSIE, relied on the terms of the League as embodied in the Covenant, which provided for collective security in case of aggresion by one member against another. Articles 10 and 16, in pratical politics became abortive, and a disgraceful failure. HAILE SELASSIE was not as a member of the League, expecting open warfare, but an amicable settlement around the Table at Geneva, in respect of the alleged charges preferred against her by Italy. That was one reason why HAILE SELASSIE, failed.

When Italy was sending ship loads of men and arms and ammunition to Eritrea, an embargo on the export of arms to Abyssinia a non-manufacturing country—was rigidly maintained by the very nations who constituted the League of Nations. That was why HAILE SELASSIE failed.

When Oil Sanctions, the most effective of all, was being discussed by a Committee of experts of the League, France a member of the League, supplied Italy, in one single month, with over three million gallons of petrol. That was why HAILE SELASSIE failed. When the Emperor kept sending protests and appeals against breaches of International Law, and the League Covenant, references to special committees of thirteen and eighteen, for academic discussion, were all the result. That was why HAILE SELASSIE failed.

To quote *West Africa*, "their is no need to prolong the dismal record." From our own point of view, whether or not the Kingdom of Ethiopia will never be set up again as an independent Kingdom, we Africans shall always maintain a moral right to blame Great Britain in spite of all her leadership to the other non-responsive Nations—and the other self-seeking member-nations who have spent so much time and money at Geneva, for the safety of themselves.

Addis Ababa may never be set up afresh, we agree, and in spite of the pious wish of our able contemporary, that European Governments with administrations in Africa, cannot be absolved from the duty of seeing to it, that Italy assures to the Abyssinians the right to their lands and the right to sell their labour at the price they ask, or withhold it as they choose, yet we must confess to a feeling of despair as to whether such would conform to the policy of the new Imperial Rome.

If not, is there a remedy for poor Abyssinia?

LEAGUE SEATS ARE RETAINED BY ETHIOPIANS

Geneva Risks Affront to Italy Rather Than Estrange Small Nations

EDEN SPEAKS OUT BLUNTLY

Russian Foreign Minister Also Backs Conquered Africans to Utmost

GENEVA, Sept. 23. (AP)—Haile Selassie, who lost his empire to Italy, emerged victor over Premier Benito Mussolini tonight when the League of Nations assembly, by vote of 39 to 4, ruled Ethiopian delegates might be seated, despite Mussolini's repeated assertions that he would not return to the league fold until they were barred.

The league vote officially adopted a credentials committee recommendation that the assembly seat the Ethiopians and not submit the question of their country's status to the world court, a compromise tentatively advanced earlier.

The votes against seating the Ethiopians came from Ecuador, Hungary, Austria and Albania.

Six countries, including Ethiopia, refrained from voting. The necessary majority was 22 votes.

British Back Ethiopians

Thus did the League of Nations decide that it would be better to forfeit the support of Italy and Mussolini than to bar the Ethiopians in a diplomatic maneuver which smaller nations insisted would have been equivalent to league recognition of Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

The Ethiopian delegation announced acceptance of the crucial vote "with gratitude."

The report stated some documents submitted to the committee alleged that Ethiopian governmental authority had been established in sections of the country, although Il Duce's legions are in Addis Ababa.

Anthony Eden, Britain's foreign secretary, startled the pondering diplomats by jumping to his feet and exclaiming:

"Enough of this nonsense! There never has been any sufficient ground to unseat the Ethiopian delegation."

Russia's Foreign Commissar Maxim Litvinoff also backed the Ethiopians to the utmost.

FRENCH ACT ANEW TO CURB ETHIOPIANS

Times

Pressure Put on Dr. Jeze to Keep Him From Advising Them in Assembly, Geneva Hears.

MOVE A BLOW TO NEGUS

9-20-36

It Would Leave Him at Mercy of Technical Procedure—World Court Cannot Act on Plea.

New York

By CLARENCE K. STREIT

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

GENEVA, Sept. 19.—The French Government, there is ground to believe, is bringing pressure on Professor Gaston Jèze, French adviser to Haile Selassie, to prevent his serving on the Ethiopian delegation to the League of Nations Assembly, opening on Monday.

The intention is to keep Professor Jèze from speaking in the Assembly and, it is reported, from even being on the floor with the Ethiopian delegation. The effect of his absence would be to weaken the Ethiopian delegation, for the other members have virtually no first-hand knowledge of League procedure, and it would greatly facilitate railroading through the Assembly a scheme invalidating the credentials of the delegation in order to get Italy to return.

Suspecting that the Monday session of the Assembly will see some fast work on rules and that his delegation will need to have on it some trustworthy person with the League's peculiar procedure at his fingertips, Haile Selassie is making desperate efforts tonight to get some one to replace Professor Jèze, should he be forced out. The Ethiopian delegation will not arrive here until tomorrow morning, but he has telephoned friends to see if some one can be found here to replace Professor Jèze and parry this last-hour move.

Friends Not Hopeful

These friends are not very hopeful, for they point out that not only is the time short but the field from which to choose is very small. Moreover, any one taking the post risks being made to pay for his action with many difficulties if, indeed, he is not prevented by his government from serving.

Early in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict the Italian Government protested against Professor Jèze's speaking in the Council for Ethiopia, and pressure thereafter kept him from speaking, though down to the July Assembly he continued to sit with the Ethiopian delegation. According to one report, it was agreed at the time by interested parties that he was no longer to serve as a delegate, but only as an adviser. At the July Assembly, it is known, Haile Selassie relied almost entirely on Professor Jèze's advice.

Credentials Scheme Slowed

Meanwhile the British and the French are reported to be having difficulties in getting six powers to serve with them on the credentials committee, to which they have allotted the rôle of recommending that the Assembly invalidate Haile Selassie's whole delegation. It is understood that so far they have persuaded only one country—a medium-sized Latin America State—to agree definitely to share in this responsibility, and it may get the chairmanship of the committee.

It appears, however, that much of the difficulty is only in the nature of haggling over what commercial or political advantage a small delegation shall get for accepting the distasteful task, and there is as yet no real expectation that the scheme will be thwarted. Joseph A. C. Avenol, Secretary General of the League, plans to have a cocktail party tomorrow for the Assembly delegates—excepting the Ethiopians—at which the makers of the credential committee's slate hope to complete their plan.

Council Meets in New Palace

The Council held this afternoon its first public meeting in the new League palace. The meeting, which Ecuador as well as Italy did not attend, diverted the delegates from their other business only fifteen minutes. It was devoted almost entirely to the dangers of the drug traffic.

The main exception was a brief tribute to Carlos Saavedra Lamas of Argentina as the first Latin-American Foreign Minister to sit at the Council table.

A representative of the United States Government, Hugh Wilson, the Minister to Switzerland, also sat for a time with the Council, but in the private part of the meeting, preceding the public sitting. The 1925 opium treaty provides that the United States shall have the right to vote in the Council for members of the permanent central opium board it creates, and the Council had to fill today a Japanese vacancy. Mr. Wilson joined in giving this place to Abelardo Saenz of Uruguay.

World Court Cannot Act

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

THE HAGUE, the Netherlands, Sept. 19.—It was learned today that the World Court cannot convene in extraordinary session, following a telegraphic request from London on behalf of Haile Selassie. The complaint must be presented formally before the court.

After the formal accusation had been revived, the registrar would inform the Italian Government and other League States on the step undertaken by the Negus. It was pointed out that both Italy and Ethiopia had signed the facultative clause of the court's covenant whereby both accept in advance the court's jurisdiction.

Duce Defeated By League Vote

Advertiser

Haile's Delegates Seated As Italy Withdraws In Protest; Crowd Cheers

9-27-36

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The League vote officially adopted a credentials committee recommendation that the assembly seat the Ethiopians and not submit the question of their country's status to the world court, a compromise tentatively advanced earlier.

The votes against seating the Ethiopians came from Ecuador, Hungary, Austria and Albania.

Six countries, including Ethiopia, refrained from voting. The necessary majority was 22 votes.

A roll call on the credentials committee report, demanded by Hungary, Austria, and Albania, forced the vote.

Thus did the League of Nations decide that it would be better to forfeit the support of Italy and Mussolini than to bar the Ethiopians in a diplomatic maneuver which smaller nations insisted would have been equivalent to League recognitin of Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

Future Left Open

The Ethiopian delegation announced acceptance of the crucial vote "with gratitude."

The credentials committee spokesmen, however, in urging adoption of their recommendation by the assembly, emphasized that their decision would apply only to the present annual session, and that "nothing has been done to prejudice the future."

The credentials committee's report said the majority sentiment was that passing the question on to the world court would have had no practical value.

The report stated some documents submitted to the committee alleged that Ethiopian governmental authority had been established in sections of the country, although Il Duce's legions are in Addis Ababa.

"It seems exceptionally difficult" the report said, "to judge the nature and extent of power of that authority and the strength of the connection still existing between it and the head of the state (Haile Selassie.")

The committee session saw representatives of larger powers as well as of smaller countries championing the Ethiopian cause, although the majority of first powers previously had been represented as believing it would be better for world peace to bar the Ethiopians than to incur Mussolini's added displeasure by seating them.

Demands Action

Anthony Eden, Britain's foreign secretary, startled the pondering diplomats by jumping to his feet and exclaiming:

"Enough of this nonsense! There never has been any sufficient ground to unseat the Ethiopian delegation." Russia's foreign commissar, Maxim Litvenoff also backed the Ethiopians to the utmost.

With smaller nations fighting bitterly for Ethiopia it was disclosed that at times the debates became so heated that one or two states threatened to resign from the league if Ethiopia was shut out.

The previous decision to pass the bluck to the world court was reversed when statesmen asserted that should the case go to the court there would be no plaintiff, probably, to contest the Ethiopian claims since no state had officially protested the credentials of the Ethiopian delegates at Geneva.

The Italians did not attend any of the sessions, and the day before had been called home from the international conference on broadcasting at Geneva.

After the assembly vote was announced crowds gathered below Haile Selassie's hotel room windows and cheered roundly.

ETHIOPIA APPEALS FOR LEAGUE'S HELP

New York Times

10-24-36

Government at Gambela Says Italy Is Engaged Now in War of Extermination.

EMPEROR FORWARDS NOTE

Message Makes It Harder for Assembly to Oust Delegate to Win Italy's Return.

New York, 10-24

By CLARENCE K. STREIT

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

GENEVA, Oct. 23.—Ethiopia has appealed to the League of Nations for further aid against Italy's renewed attack. Her telegram to the League Secretariat was published today.

The appeal is from the Gambela government to Emperor Haile Selassie, who forwarded it from London yesterday. The secretariat circulated the message to all League members, but officials believe that not even a meeting will come from it since nothing specific is requested.

The message is partly intended to prove there is a government in Western Ethiopia that is loyal to Haile Selassie. The effect would be to make it harder for the next League assembly to unseat the Ethiopian delegation to obtain Italy's return to Geneva.

Text of Emperor's Message

Haile Selassie's message reads:

We request you to convey the following to States that are members of the League of Nations:

With reference to our communication regarding the admission of the Ethiopian delegation the public authorities whom we have empowered to administer the Empire of Ethiopia in our absence have telegraphed the following appeal for communication to the League of Nations:

"We have received Your Majesty's telegram of Sept. 26. It is perfectly true the imperial government remains sovereign throughout Western Ethiopia, where it is at present discharging its duties peaceably with diligence, supported by the strength inspired by its complete confidence in the League of Nations.

"We learn, however, that Italy, our aggressor, has shown to terrorize and pitilessly to exterminate the Ethiopian people through the strength of her air force and to wipe out the Western government. Large forces of troops are also on the march.

"Without resources and without sufficient arms we cannot maintain our resistance.

"Is a peaceful people which loves its independence and which has placed its whole trust in the League of Nations to be abandoned to its aggressor and to be exterminated by poison gases and bombs?

"The blood of this terrorized people calls out for justice to the Almighty and the League of Nations, and we are confident its cry will be heard.

"We earnestly beg Your Majesty to ask the League of Nations to consider the cause of Ethiopia urgently in a spirit of justice and to grant her its aid. We implore Your Majesty to renew your appeals to the League.

BITWODED WOLDE SADIK,
RAS EMEROU."
EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE I.

Race Problem—1936
Africa

Abyssinia.

THE ITALIAN NEWSPAPERMEN WHO whooped and shouted at the Emperor of Ethiopia when he stood up in the Assembly of the League of Nations and asked: "What answer shall I take back to my people whom you promised to defend?" were surely not gentlemen. They were undignified, indecorous, unsportsmanlike, and plain rude. It was entirely proper that they should have been ejected from the meeting and from Geneva. Mr. Eden and Premier Blum, on the other hand, who made speeches on the following day, spoke with all the high mannerly traditions that one would expect from an English gentleman and a Frenchman. But it is doubtful if the Negus was able to take much more comfort from their good manners than from the Italians' insults. For the gist of their remarks was that Ethiopia was to be abandoned to its fate as an Italian conquest, and that at least for the present collective security might be accepted in principle but was to be eschewed in practice. The only forthright statement made at the meeting—with the exception of certain realistic sentences from Mr. Litvinov—was made by Charles te Water, delegate from the Union of South Africa. Renunciation of collective action, he said, could only be taken as a complete abandonment of all that the League stood for. Chaos and the spectacle of nations hastening to rearm were taking the place of what for a time offered high hopes for an orderly world. But it was not yet too late to reaffirm and maintain collective security, and his government, Mr. te Water added, was prepared to cooperate to the full in such a move. His words fell on ears already deaf to any sounds but those of long range guns. Haile Selassie must take what consolation he can in the thought that France and Britain, when engaged in cutting throats, do it in the best possible taste.

Italy Curbs U. S. Radio in Addis Ababa; Native Rising Brings 15-Day Ban on Sending

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, July 10.—Use of the United States Navy short-wave wireless equipment at the United States Legation at Addis Ababa for outgoing messages has been outlawed for fifteen days by the Italian authorities in the Ethiopian capital, Secretary of State Cordell Hull announced today. The same ban has been placed on use of similar equipment by the British, French and German Legations.

The action was taken yesterday after guerrilla operations had been resumed by Ethiopian forces with the ambushing and killing of Italian aviators and the cutting near the capital of the railway line to Jibuti, French Somaliland.

As a result of representations by Cornelius Van H. Engert, the United States Minister resident, the legation was permitted to receive incoming messages. Efforts are being made through diplomatic channels to have full service restored so that the legation can send messages to Washington without being compelled to file dispatches over the Italian commercial system.

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LONDON, July 10.—Dr. Ajaz W. C. Martin, the Ethiopian Minister in London, told your correspondent tonight that a report published in New York to the effect that Emperor Haile Selassie had been forbidden to re-enter Ethiopia through Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was "without foundation."

The Emperor, he said, was staying at Worthing, Sussex, and had "neither applied for nor been refused permission to pass through Sudan."

ROME, July 10 (AP).—Officials announced today there were twenty victims in all in the Wollega Province (Ethiopia) ambush in which Major Antonio Locatelli and nine other aviators had been reported killed in June 26.

The ten additional victims included two captains, a lieutenant, a warrant officer, a sergeant, two mechanics, a private soldier and two native interpreters.

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By their occupation the Ethiopians have cut the railroad connection between the capital and Jibuti, French Somaliland, the paper declared.

The Oeuvre said one of two hastily armored trains which left Addis Ababa for Moggio was derailed and the other forced to return after escaping an attack in which many Italian soldiers were killed.

ETHIOPIA DROPPED AS LEAGUE HURRIES TO END ITS SESSION

End of Sanctions Voted, Loan Refused and Non-Recognition of Conquest Is Ignored.

AMERICAN VIEW IS CITED

Members Are Asked to Submit Suggestions for Changes in Covenant by Sept. 1.

By FREDERICK T. BIRCHALL

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GENEVA, July 4.—The League of Nations, in what was to all intents a race against time to free its delegates for Sunday to cut its losses in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict, left Ethiopia to its fate and wound up both its Assembly and its Council sessions tonight.

It managed this by having the Assembly adopt a report from its bureau, or steering committee, framed by Premier Paul van Zeeland of Belgium, assisted by French and British delegates, in what was virtually an all-night session last night.

The Ethiopian demands for a roll-call vote on the principle of recognizing the transfer of territory by force was negatived on the excuse that the issue was covered by the resolutions presented by the bureau.

Request for Loan Rejected

A roll-call was granted on the second Ethiopian resolution, asking that the Assembly recommend that its members guarantee a loan to finance further resistance of Italian aggression. But this resolution was presented after the bureau's report had been adopted. Even then, out of forty-nine nations present, only twenty-three voted "no" and one, Ethiopia, voted "yes." Twenty-five delegations abstained from voting.

The bureau resolutions received priority under a ruling by Mr. van Zeeland, endorsed by the Assembly's silence, that it was the practice to give priority to texts prepared by a body appointed for that purpose. Yet this is in contradiction to paragraph 5 of rule 17 on procedure, which provides: "When a number of proposals are before the Assembly, the proposal furthest removed in substance from the principal one shall be voted on first." However, the Ethiopians evidently did not know this, and no one else demurred.

The bureau report, the acceptance of which produced this outcome, noted the retirement of the Mexican delegate from its deliberations and then the adoption of a composite resolution. It pointed out, however, that the text had taken into account the proposal of the Ethiopians against recognition of the Italian conquest and that the Council in January last had negatived the idea of a loan.

TEXT OF RESOLUTION

The resolution it then presented read:

The Assembly, taking note of the communications and declarations which have been made to it on this subject [the Italo-Ethiopian dispute], noting that various circumstances have prevented the full application of the League covenant;

Remaining firmly attached to the principles of the covenant, which are also expressed in other diplomatic instruments, such as the declaration of the American States dated Aug. 3, 1932, excluding the settlement of territorial questions by force;

Being desirous of strengthening the authority of the League of Nations by adopting the application of these principles to the lessons of experience;

Being convinced that it is necessary to strengthen the real effectiveness of the guarantees of security which the League affords to its members;

Recommends that the Council

[a] Shall invite the governments of the League members to send to the Secretary General before Sept. 1 any proposals they may wish to make to improve in spirit or within the limit laid down above the application of the covenant principles.

[b] Shall instruct the Secretary General to make first an examination and classification of these proposals.

[c] Shall report to the Assembly at this next meeting on the state of the question.

The Assembly, further taking note of the communications and declarations which have been made to it on the situation arising out of the Italo-Ethiopian dispute;

Recalling its previous findings and decision in connection with this dispute.

Recommends that its coordination committee shall make all necessary proposals to the governments in order to bring to an end the measures taken by them in execution of Article XVI of the covenant.

Sanctions Are Raised

The last paragraph refers to the raising of sanctions. It was the only clear paragraph in the bureau's report.

It was immediately noted that there was nothing whatever in the resolution binding the League or the nations therein not to recognize the conquest of Ethiopia's future in the League. Indeed, the way is left open—as is understood to be the intention, with the idea of retaining a bargaining point with the American States."

Nothing is decided regarding Ethiopia's future in the League. Indeed, the lines it will take beyond "strengthening the League's authority."

Regarding this last, it is noteworthy that almost simultaneously with the adoption of this resolution

Italy in European affairs—for the Nazi leader in Danzig, appearing before the League Council, was the credentials committee of the Assembly to out the Ethi- addressing to it the most insolent next Assembly as a non-speech ever made in that august presence—which, after a mild rebuke, was substantially repeated opians as existent State. Reform of the covenant which principles of the covenant instru- mained "firmly attached to the principles of the covenant instru- are also expressed in other instru- ments, such as the declaration of the American States." after and collated by the secretary general. There is no suggestion as to the lines it will take beyond "strengthening the League's authority."

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Regarding this last, it is noteworthy that almost simultaneously with the adoption of this resolution the Nazi leader in Danzig, appearing before the League Council, was asked to put the Ethiopian question to the Assembly representing a non-speech ever made in that august presence—which, after a mild rebuke, was substantially repeated by the secretary general. There is no suggestion as to be made here-after and collated without provoking further action.

Nancy Cunard Writes Inside Story Of Selassie's Plea Before Leaaue of Nations

GENEVA, July (By Nancy Cunard for ANP)—Although Haile Selassie, who came here personally to plead before the League of Nations for the continuation of sanctions and to obtain a loan by which to fight the Italian invaders, was unsuccessful, he found sympathy among the Swiss and many embarrassed journalists despite the efforts of Italians to indulge in Fascist horse-play.

Insolent Impersonation.

Immediately after Selassie's arrival two days before the League meeting, a dark-skinned bearded figure wearing a sun helmet and closely resembling the emperor was seen ostentatiously driving the streets in a smart taxi. It was discovered later that this bogus "emperor" who drove up to the palace of the League of Nations, visited the market, made some purchases, and generally duped the populace into believing they beheld a sightseeing monarch was in reality a black-faced Italian Fascist imposter.

Take Photographs.

Later the incident was traced to a Swiss Fascist journalist named Tonella. Police questioned him and obliged him to hand over some photographs he was attempting to hide in his pocket. These had been taken by him of the black-faced imposter for the express purpose of publication in the Italian Stampa.

Swiss Sympathetic.

In direct contrast was the attitude of the majority of the Swiss people when the Negus arrived at Geneva. He came from Paris on the same train bringing Anthony Eden, of England, and Yvon Delbos, French foreign minister, and was greeted by two of his ministers already here and the chief of the Geneva police. A large group of Swiss employed was gathered at the station and acclaimed Selassie with shouts of "Long live the Negus." Only a few dissenting Fascist voices were heard as Selassie, accompanied by his suite of 20, drove at once to the Hotel Carlton.

Later I sat writing in a cafe on the banks of the incredibly blue and pure waters of the Rhone. An old Swiss juggler came by. Announcing his little act he said:

"At your service, ladies and gentlemen—the white Negro, that's me. Only today I have not put on my dusky mask because the Negus is in town and it might be interpreted as mockery. I respect Haile Selassie in his time of trouble."

This was no isolated sympathizer. His views reflected by most native Swiss, by the workers of Paris, where I now live, by other workers throughout all of Europe who want only peace among nations.

Lived Quietly at Hotel.

While here, the emperor lived quietly at his hotel, the Carlton, where Anthony Eden also stopped. The Swiss government refused Selassie permission to live in his own villa at Vevey, near here, while the League met. Selassie can stay at Vevey only if he agrees to be absolutely inactive politically.

A few words with the hall porter at the Carlton revealed that the emperor seldom went out and received few guests. He was understood to be still suffering from the effects of gas during the fighting. Dr. Martin, the Ethiopian minister to London, was in Haile's suite.

Italian Food Lines Blocked by Ethiopians

PARIS, July 15.—(AP)—Official French circles expressed concern tonight over the safety of the Italian garrison in Addis Ababa with the disclosure the French railway from Addis to Djibouti, French Somaliland, has been cut since July 6.

Persons close to the situation said the garrison had supplies for less than three weeks when the last train reached Addis Ababa nine days ago.

As soon as the Italians repair breaks in the line the Ethiopians cut it in other places, they said.

Motor roads from Eritrea were reported washed out by rain and airplanes could not land or take off because of heavy mud, cutting off other sources of supply.

ITALY'S TROUBLES IN ABYSSINIA

Resistance in Many Parts

From our Diplomatic Correspondent

The reports that the Italians are having serious difficulties in Abyssinia are confirmed by information received in London. There seems to be no question of any general or organized Abyssinian rally; nevertheless, bands of Abyssinians have been resisting the Italians fiercely, even if only sporadically, and have carried out some surprise attacks on Italian columns.

The rains, which did not, as was generally expected, hinder the Italians and help the Abyssinians when the latter still had at least a semi-organised army, are no longer an impediment to the Abyssinians now they are fighting in scattered bands and without transport or commissariat. It is even reported that several Italian aeroplanes have been brought down, but this report lacks confirmation.

There appears to have been some serious fighting in the neighbourhood of Ankober, and a number of Italian officers appear to have been killed. But even in Addis Ababa the Italian position does not appear to be altogether secure, and outside the town there is no safety except for strong detachments. It is not believed here that there can be any reversal of the Italian military victory, but it is considered likely that the "pacification" of Abyssinia will be long and difficult.

Some of the Abyssinian tribes, the Gallas, for example, who were useful to the Italians in so far as they were hostile to their Amharic rulers, are now showing considerable hostility to the Italians.

Resistance does not extend to the whole country. In some regions Italian troops and Abyssinians associate peacefully. The Italians claim that the development of Abyssinia has begun to make rapid progress. It is said that under Italian rule the Abyssinian trains run punctually.

SIR S. BARTON

"Country as a Whole Has Not Submitted"

Sir Sidney Barton, British Minister in Addis Ababa, and Lady Barton arrived in England on Wednesday.

Sir Sidney told a reporter there was no truth in the suggestion that the British Legation or any part of it was being withdrawn from Addis Ababa.

Questioned with regard to the present state of affairs in Abyssinia he said. "The plain answer is nobody knows. The future of Abyssinia is a question which can be settled only in Europe. Only a portion of the country has been occupied by Italian troops. There is no question about that. The country as a whole has not submitted and there is no complete occupation."

Ethiopians Cut Rails Near Capital; Beaten Off in an All-Night Battle

Detachments From Three Italian Divisions Save Two Food Trains From 'Marauders'—French Press Says Western Natives Have Renounced Negus to Carry on War.

By ARNALDO CORTESI

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ROME, July 9.—An official communiqué gives news of the most important fighting in East Africa since the official closing of the Italian campaign.

Troops of the Black Shirt Tiber Division, the Sixtieth Sabauda Infantry Division and the First Eritrean Division were engaged on the night of July 3, beating off a fairly large force of Ethiopians who succeeded in cutting the Addis Ababa-Jibuti railway and telephone and telegraph lines between Acak and Moggio. The attackers did not succeed, as was their apparent intention, in seizing two trains loaded with food supplies that were to pass that day.

Acak is about twenty-five miles and Moggio about thirty-seven miles southeast of Addis Ababa.

It is stated in Rome that this is a sporadic manifestation brigandage and is not indicative of any general rising in Ethiopia. Indeed, well-informed circles issued an emphatic denial of alarmist reports from Jibuti, French Somaliland, and other sources. The Italian authorities are stated to have the situation well in hand. Such occasional outbreaks, it is added, should cause no surprise.

The official Italian version states that on the night of July 3 bands of marauders had torn up tracks of the Addis Ababaz Jibuti railroad and severed telephone and telegraph lines between Acak and Moggio with the intention of sacking two trains loaded with food. Detachments from the Italian garrison of Las Addas promptly intervened and, after an all-night battle, prevented the marauders from carrying out their plans.

The following morning, says the communiqué, detachment of Black Shirts of the Tiber Division, together with the Sixtieth Sabauda Infantry Division and the First Eritrean Division, arrived at the scene from several points and inflicted severe losses on the marauders, who disbanded. It is added that the railroad was rapidly repaired by the engineer corps.

PARIS, July 9 (AP).—Fresh fighting in Ethiopia between Italian troops and native warriors was reported by French newspapers.

"A strong Ethiopian army concentrated in the Sidamo Lake region [southwest of Addis Ababa] composed of veterans of Sasa Baneh, carrier on a valiant guerrilla warfare with the Italians," the newspaper Oeuvre said.

"Another army encamped about forty miles from Addis Ababa at Addis Alem [due west] also attacking the Italians, who, floundering in the mud with their overburdened army, are able to offer only the feeblest resistance."

From London, the correspondent of the Petit Journal wrote:

"Ras Emerou [formerly commander of the Army of the West] has made attacks on the Dessye and Gondar garrisons and has already made many raids thirty-five to forty-five miles into the territories occupied in Northeastern Ethiopia by the Italian troops.

"While the tribes of Western Ethiopia have all cast off the yoke of the Negus, [Emperor Haile Selassie], they have turned to genuine military organization, making possible serious attacks.

"The young Ethiopians educated in the European manner have organized armed bands in preparation for guerrilla raids. Fresh attacks on the military routes of Gondar, Dessye and Garpar and the Addis Ababa-Jibuti railway are considered imminent."

Race Problem - 1936

Abyssinia

Africa

ITALIANS PUBLISH A BRITISH PRIVATE REPORT

Interests in Abyssinia

The "Giornale d'Italia" published last week what it described as the full text of a report dated June 18, 1935, which was presented to the British Foreign Office by a Government Committee presided over by Sir John Maffey, Permanent Under Secretary for the Colonies and formerly Governor General of the Sudan. No indication is given by the Italian newspaper of the source from which the report was obtained. The newspaper says:

The Maffey Committee was appointed in the spring of 1935 following a suggestion made to Sir John Maffey by the Foreign Office in a private letter dated March 6. The Committee was to inquire into the Abyssinian problem, to establish whether there were any conflicts of interests in Ethiopia between Italy and Great Britain, and also to advise the British Government about the policy to be followed in East Africa.

The Committee was composed of representatives of the Foreign Office, the Dominions Office, the War Office, the Admiralty, and the Air Ministry. After a long inquiry the report was handed in June, 1935, to the Government and was signed by all the representatives.

The alleged text published in full in the "Giornale d'Italia" traces the history of Ethiopia and of European interests in the country. The report ends with the following conclusions:—

1. Italy will undoubtedly during the next few years make all efforts to obtain full control of Ethiopia, even if at the moment she intends to limit herself to the conquest of the low-lying regions bordering on Italian Somaliland.

2. There are no vital British interests in Ethiopia and no interests of a nature to compel the British Government to oppose resistance to the Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

3. From the point of view of Imperial defence an independent Ethiopia would be preferable to an Italian Ethiopia, but the threat to British interests seems very distant.

4. The main British interest in Ethiopia is Lake Tana and also the Nile basin. It is also one of the Egyptian interests which his Majesty's Government are bound to protect. In the case of an Italian Ethiopia the British Government should take steps to safeguard British interests as regards the tributaries of the Nile.

Points 5 to 9 deal with commercial interests which are discarded as unimportant.

MR. EDEN'S STATEMENT

In the House of Commons on Monday Mr. Eden (C.—Foreign Secretary) said: "The House will be aware that through an indiscretion or a deliberate breach of confidence, which every effort is being made to trace, a confidential document, the property of his Majesty's Government, has apparently come into the possession of an Italian newspaper. The leakage of information of that character must naturally be a matter of serious concern to the Government, and every effort is being and will be made to determine the cause.

"I deprecate, however, any suggestion that the document is in itself, and particularly at this date, of an especially secret character, the disclosure of which can be a source either of any great embarrassment to his Majesty's Government or any danger to the interests of the country. (Hear, hear.) Still less is there any justification for the suggestion which has, I understand, been put forward in Italian newspapers that its contents are such as to establish either the variability or the insincerity of the policy followed by his Majesty's Government in the Italo-Abyssinian dispute. (Hear, hear.)

"I will tell the House precisely how the report embodied in this document originated. During January, 1935, when the Abyssinian situation was already a cause of preoccupation to his Majesty's Government as a member of the Council of the League, an inquiry was made by the Italian Government as to the nature and extent of British interests in Abyssinia. An Inter-Departmental Committee was thereupon set up under the chairmanship of the Permanent Under Secretary for the Colonies for the purpose of estimating British interests in Abyssinia and attempting an appreciation of the extent to which those interests might be affected by external development.

"I must make it quite clear that it was in no sense the task of this Committee to deal with the obligations of the Government under the Covenant or to attempt to frame the policy of the Government in what at that time might be a possibility of serious trouble between Italy and Abyssinia. Had it been otherwise the Committee would have been differently constituted.

"It was merely concerned to establish fact. The Committee's investigations naturally occupied some time, and in the ultimate event no specific reply was returned to the Italian Government, owing to the fact that by the time the examination was completed the rapid development of Italian activities in regard to Abyssinia was beginning to raise the whole question of the integrity of Abyssinia, as to which any personal interests were naturally subordinate to our obligations as a member of the League. The Committee reported to the then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on June 18 last, and this report was to the effect that there were no important British interests affected in Abyssinia with the exception of Lake Tana, the waters of the Blue Nile, and certain tribal grazing rights. This is the consideration which underlay every authoritative statement as to the policy of the Government in the Italo-Abyssinian dispute. That policy has been inspired by no selfish or ulterior motives, but solely by the consideration of the duty incumbent on the Government as a member of the League of Nations and as a whole-hearted supporter of the doctrine of collective security.

"After a full review of all the circumstances I have come to the conclusion that no useful purpose would be served by publishing this document as a White Paper. (Cheers.)

World's Window

BY PIERRE VAN PAASSEN.

Constitution

Badoglio's Victory. 3-14-36

MAGDALA, Ethiopia.—"This is not only a victory over the Negus, this is a victory over the League of Nations and over the implacable egoism of British imperialism," announce the Italian broadcasting stations as Marshal Badoglio drives southward and General Graziani northward, with the Ethiopian forces a chaotic mob in disorderly retreat before them.

It is quite true that the League of Nations has made almost as dismal showing in the Ethiopian embroglio as it did in the case of Manchuria, but when the final chapter is written of this conflict it will be seen that not the League, but the old backstairs, intriguing secret diplomacy is responsible. An arrangement could have been made months ago. Now a precedent is being set of the utmost danger to Europe. Mussolini's good will is gone. He is being driven into the arms of Germany, the very thing that should have been avoided almost at all costs. The Duce is put in the light of a law-breaker, which would not have been necessary at all. For if the truth were known, Mussolini had ample ground to believe that he would not be interferred with. Europe has been dilly-dallying and shilly-shallying. You can't save the Negus and the fascist regime in Italy at the same time. You can't drive Mussolini into Germany's arms and expect him at the same time to stand with France and Britain against German threats.

The Italian objective here in Ethiopia is now clear. Graziani is to drive for Harar and Dire-Doua. That will cut off Ethiopia's contact with the outer world and her supply along the Franco-Ethiopian railway and along the Zeila-Addis Ababa highway. If Badoglio reaches Dessie at the same time, Abyssinia is virtually cut off from the world and doomed. Mussolini will have gained what he set out to obtain; a continuous stretch of territory from Erythrea to Italian Somaliland. With that, something else: predominance in the Red sea. England sinks to second place.

In the meantime, Europe is not growing any easier. France, seeing Mussolini engaged in East Africa, and afraid he is wasting his strength there, turns to Russia for help. For the German armament campaign is assuming colossal dimensions. If we could look behind the scenes, we would probably find a sentiment of near-panic prevailing in diplomatic circles; England decided to spend three hundred million sterling on war equipment, Germany building airdromes and a new fleet, and remilitarize the Rhineland, Rumania feverishly arming because according to Goering's plan the invasion by the Germano-Polish armies of the soviet union must go through Rumania, that is to say, trample Rumania underfoot. A general atmosphere of anxiety.

A last diplomatic attempt is being made to bring Germany to reason. Everybody is convinced beforehand that the attempt will end in failure. Economic conditions forced Hitler to cancel a lot of war orders recently and the lack of money and raw material may force him to curtail his armament program some more. But that is only a temporary slowing up. The Fuehrer is working up sentiment for a return of the German colonies, among the German people, let it be well understood. Abroad, there is no sentiment for this at all. England will not surrender a square inch. But the German people are to be asked in a referendum, it is said, whether they want their colonies back or not. Now, of course, they will say "Yes." The dictatorship has shown before, that it can marshal all the votes it wants. With that "yes" before the world, the Fuehrer thinks he will be in a stronger position to make his demand in London and Paris.

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Ethiopian Diplomat Visits Howard

Prof. Wm. Leo Hansberry, Lij Tasfaye Zaphiro, first row, second from left, with Howard University hosts, Washington, D.C. Next to the Ethiopian visitor are Dr. Emmett J. Scott, secretary of Howard University, and Dr. E. P. Davis, dean of the college. Mr. Zaphiro, speaking at a luncheon in his honor, said that published statements that Ethiopians do not wish to be identified with the black race are quite ill-founded.

PROPAGANDA IS MAJOR FACTOR IN ITALIAN ATTACK

Courier 4-11-36

Pittsburgh, Pa.

By J. A. ROGERS
(Special to The Courier)

ADDIS ABABA, March 5—(By Mail)—So far as the Italians are concerned, all this war with Ethiopia is divided into three parts—fighting, road-building and propaganda—but the greatest of these comes near being propaganda.

Emperor Haile Selassie got off to a flying start last year in the matter of shaping world opinion. The Italians, apparently unaware of the ability of their foe to reach world news sources, neglected any sort of publicity build-up for their grab of Ethiopia.

As a consequence, Haile Selassie was beating Mussolini to the punch up until the start of the war. World opinion did not hesitate to condemn the Italian aggressors. The League of Nations was put on the spot by the "little man who looks like Christ." The Empress of Ethiopia sat down at her typewriter and the Emperor dictated dispatches that had the effect of making Italy a blackguard among the nations of the world.

For the first time in history an African potentate broadcasted a message to the world.

Italians Get Busy

Mussolini hollered "Ouch!" and got busy. It was reliably reported that the Italians had interfered with a world broadcast of the Empress Menen. The Fascist dictator set up his own propaganda factories.

Since shortly before the beginning of the war, the Italians have been blanketing the world with manufactured stories designed to influence opinion in their favor and to produce political effects.

So vicious has been the Italian program that it has caused protests in both Europe and America. English citizens flayed the Italians for stuffing their mail boxes with anti-Ethiopian propaganda.

The Italian propaganda mills have turned out material which has run the gamut from fabricated Ethiopian tortures to scandal stories on the Emperor himself.

Scandalize Emperor

One would scarcely believe that the land of the Caesars would try to win a war by scandalizing the head of an African empire. But the Italians have overlooked nothing.

European newspapers, copies of which have reached Addis Ababa, have received copious copies of this scandal story from mysterious sources. It runs to the effect that while the Emperor was in Paris a few years ago, he stole the sweet-heart of Ras Getchachou. The story is "authenticated" from every possible angle and purported pictures of the Emperor and Getchachou's wife are published. The picture happens to be that of the Emperor and the Empress when they were both much younger.

But the story and the picture both have effect among peoples who are unacquainted with the Ethiopian imperial family.

And the Italians do not stop by simply scandalizing the Emperor. They have spread in Ethiopia similar stories as between the various chiefs, making an effort to stir up jealousy and suspicion among the chiefs at the front concerning their wives at home.

Emperor Can't Answer

Since shortly after the beginning of the war, the Italians have had the advantage in this kind of fighting. As long as the Emperor was at Addis Ababa, he was in a position to speak to the world directly, to answer the traducers of himself and his country.

But since he has been at the front, communication has been difficult. Sometimes, the Italian publicity darts have struck home before the Emperor has had a chance to hear them. And the Italian propaganda factories have been working night and day, turning out stories as grotesque as the "floats" used in Italian cities on festival days.

If the devil is to be given his due, the Italian propagandists must be given credit for their excellent "timing." Their "victories" always come at the right time to produce the political effect desired.

They proposed to put their master, Mussolini, in a position to do some good bargaining over the tables in Europe where nations are bought and sold. They therefore precede each projected conference with a series of "victories."

It is absolutely necessary that Italy place herself in a better position for bargaining before the rains begin.

Predicts More "Victories"

I predict therefore that there will be stories before May to the effect that all the armies in Ethiopia have been destroyed and that Italy will then ask the League: 'What are you going to do about it?"

Italy has alreday "destroyed" the armies of Ras Kassa and Ras Seyoum.

She will soon tell the world that the armies of Ras Imru, Ras Burru Haile Selassie and Ras Nasibu are 'destroyed."

Fortunately, the claim will be much more difficult to prove in Ethiopia than in Europe.

While the statesmen of Europe are shaking their heads and trying to determine how much or how much to award to Italy the Ethiopian warrios who have been "destroyed" will come very much alive during the rainy season.

ETHIOPIA

Fake Gore

Emperor Haile Selassie, now dwelling quietly in the English countryside near London but insisting that a most warlike Ethiopian Government is on the rampage in "Western Ethiopia" against the conquering Italians, has created a keen news market for dispatches about this invisible "Government." Last week U. S. newsorgans began to carry stories dated overnight from "Gore, Western Ethiopia." They appeared to have originated by radio from Gore, referred to "the provisional Government here," declared that quantities of ammunition captured from Italians have passed through Gore in recent weeks and named as the Gore Government's military leader Ras Imru, first cousin of Emperor Haile Selassie.

Ras Imru was said to have raised an army of 60.000, to have spurred Ethiopian patriotism with tidings that the Italians had executed Ethiopian Coptic Bishop Petros. Just as "Gore, Western Ethiopia," was becoming an accepted date line, however, it was discovered to be a fake. Cunning correspondents in Egypt had rightly guessed that U. S. editors would prefer dispatches from the seat of the "Gore Government" to the mess of rumors about it which today is all they can genuinely get.

In Addis Ababa last week the Italian radio station passed correspondents' dispatches conveying the bad news that Ethiopian peasants are sowing practically no grain or coffee, "because they fear it will be confiscated by the Italians or brigands." Viceroy Graziani was reported to have appointed a commission to study ways & means of getting the peasants to plant again. "Rumors that a provisional Ethiopian Government has been formed in the West are ridiculed here," read an Addis Ababa dispatch from United Pressman James Rohrbaugh: "The natives in the unoccupied regions are not fighting against the Italians, but among themselves. The Ethiopians have been awed by Italy's formidable war machine and, despite foreign reports to the contrary, there is no organized resistance to the Italians."

Race Problem-1936

Africa

Abyssinia

Little Italy Celebrates Slaughter of Ethiopia

The demonstration in "Little Italy" by Italian-Americans, celebrating the slaughter of Ethiopia, was an insult to American Negroes, the editor of *The Cleveland Guide* assured the local Italian Consul in a letter under date of May 24. The letter follows:—

Dr. Romeo Montecchi,
Italian Consul
Cleveland, O.

Cleveland Guide
6-4-36

Dear Mr. Montecchi:

A few days ago I drove through "Little Italy," the local Italian settlement on Mayfield Rd. and observed that the streets were illuminated and decorated, asked what the celebration was and found that Italian-Americans were celebrating the slaughter of Ethiopia. According to the Cleveland Plain Dealer of May 6th, 1936, you participated in the celebration by delivering a speech.

I assure you and your dictator that every American Negro considers such a celebration a brazen insult.

We thought that with the inception of the 20th century, savagry, murder of the helpless and innocent, inhuman brutality, wholesale slaughter without cause and disregard for fundemental, international principals had passed, but we find a nation invading an independent nation without declaring war, carrying tons of poison gas to be used on women and chidren, destroying hospitals and Red Cross equipment, raping women of tender age and using out-lawed ammunition, without, apparently, any cause.

I hope you will impart to your dictator, Benito Mussolini, these expressions which reveal the American Negro's sentiment.

Yours very truly,
Eugene F. Cheeks, Editor

ANOTHER ITALIAN VICTORY PARADE HALTED BY NEGRO PREACHER

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y. — (ANP) — Intended as a mass victory celebration by the several thousand members of the Italian colony here to mommemorate Mussolini's conquest of Ethiopia, a parade Sunday developed only into a small funeral march at the end of which both Italian and Ethiopian dead were honored following vigorous activity on the part of the Rev. Thomas L. Jenkins.

Spinelli, a business man, agreed to change the demonstration when he was informed Italian businesses might be boycotted if original plans were gone through with, and to change it to a funeral march from the lodge hall to an Italian church where mass would be said for both Italian and Ethiopian dead.

In Seattle a colored pastor stopped a similar demonstration while Philadelphia Negroes got their mayor to revoke a parade license intended for a similar purpose.

Why Haile Selassie Failed

IN Europe, people are mainly concerned with the Abyssinian tragedy from the political point of view. In Africa, people, especially African people, wish to know how it came about that a kingdom which had shown itself strong enough more than once in its long history to hold all invaders at bay had at last fallen.

The "Manchester Guardian," than whom the cause of Ethiopia has had no more uncompromising supporter, has had the means and enterprise to inquire into the causes of the collapse. The facts adduced arouse surprise, not that the attack succeeded to the extent it did, but that it was withstood so long. The position can be summed up only too truthfully almost in a sentence. There was no Ethiopian nation. There was the feeling of local independence but no feeling of national independence. The first fact explains the second. There was no Haile Selassie a leader and worker who, as before remarked in these columns, did work which really needed hundreds of men. There were Chiefs, several of them, as pointed out in Mr. Geoffrey Harmsworth's book lately reviewed in our columns, able enough and powerful enough, had they acted in unity, to have treated the Italian inroad far differently; but jealous refusal to make the cause one and indivisible had the consequence to be expected. Scouting, an art in which Africans excel, was so bad that usually the commanders did not know where the Italian forces were. Commissariat—as to which there could be no question of European embargoes; food could have been grown and accumulated—was such that considerable concentrations of defenders could neither be made nor maintained. The death of a commander usually meant the dispersion of his followers. One body of Abyssinians would plunder a district, not its own, of course, for food, and the Italians gained thereby. The marksmanship of those Abyssinians who had rifles was bad. The forces were courageous, even audacious, in mass attack—hopeless against an invader with modern weapons—but there was little or no individual initiative. The population, except in areas where fighting was going on, showed indifference to the fate of their country. A capture of tanks instead of heartening the defenders depressed them; for they said they could not oppose such engines of warfare. The rains, expected by practically all observers outside and many European observers inside the country to help the Abyssinians enormously, instead helped the Italians, for the Italians had made good roads while the Abyssinian-made roads were merely tracks, or bogs, and made it harder than ever to distribute rations and ammunition. Vast numbers of Abyssinians deserted; quite half of Ras Kassa's and Ras Sevoum's men.

There is no need to prolong the dismal record. It confirms the view already expressed in these columns, that Abyssinia or Ethiopia cannot be set up again as an independent kingdom. Africans will have no moral right to blame Great Britain or any other Europeans for this. A nation no more than a language can be made from outside. It is a growth. In Abyssinia the Italian attack stopped the growth—for the present. But recognition of the fact that the Government at Addis Ababa can no more be set up afresh and made strong artificially than an omelette can be made back into its component eggs does not absolve European Governments with administrations in Africa, ours most of all, from the duty of seeing to it that Italy assures to the Abyssinians the right to their lands and the right to sell their labour at the price they ask or withhold it, as they choose. Nor does the Italian position and possession free those same Governments from the responsibility of seeing that Italy sets up no such establishment of African troops as to be a menace to other Powers whose resolve is to promote the welfare of Africans by institutions and processes which go with peace.

COST OF ITALIAN COLONIZATION IN AFRICA

Mussolini will find it very difficult to colonize ravaged Ethiopia with any considerable body of Italian soldiers and workmen, according to Dr. Grover Clark, who had just completed a survey on imperialism, to be published shortly by the Columbia University Press.

In 1935 there were less than 100 Italian farming families in Eritrea. In 1931 Italians and other foreigners were only 2.89% of the population of all the Italian colonies. "Italian colonial expenses from 1913 to 1932 amounted to 6,850,000,000 lire" while "the total trade with all her colonies from 1894 to 1932 amounted to only 5,561,000,000 lire." More recently, "from 1929 to 1932 Italy's colonial trade was 1.38% of her total external trade."

It costs the Italian government 300,000,000 lire a year to keep the Libyan budget balanced, and 250,000,000 lire to maintain its armies and garrisons there. After 24 years of Italian control, the number of Italians living in Libya, which is 7 times the size of Italy, is about 30,000, or about 7% of the Libyan population. As late as 1930, the government moved 80,000 Arabs from the interior to the coast so that they could be more easily controlled and kept from uprising.

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The "Manchester Guardian," than whom the cause of Ethiopia has had no more uncompromising supporter, has had the means and enterprise to inquire into the causes of the collapse. The facts adduced arouse surprise, not that the attack succeeded to the extent it did, but that it was withstood so long. The position can be summed up only too truthfully almost in a sentence. There was no Ethiopian nation. There was the feeling of local independence but no feeling of national independence. The first fact explains the second. There was no Haile Selassie a leader and worker who, as before remarked in these columns, did work which really needed hundreds of men. There were Chiefs, several of them, as pointed out in Mr. Geoffrey Harmsworth's book lately reviewed in our columns, able enough and powerful enough, had they acted in unity, to have treated the Italian inroad far differently; but jealous refusal to make the cause one and indivisible had the consequence to be expected. Scouting, an art in which Africans excel, was so bad that usually the commanders did not know where the Italian forces were. Commissariat—as to which there could be no question of European embargoes; food could have been grown and accumulated—was such that considerable concentrations of defenders could neither be made nor maintained. The death of a commander usually meant the dispersion of his followers. One body of Abyssinians would plunder a district, not its own, of course, for food, and the Italians gained thereby. The marksmanship of those Abyssinians who had rifles was bad. The forces were courageous, even audacious, in mass attack—hopeless against an invader with modern weapons—but there was little or no individual initiative. The population, except in areas where fighting was going on, showed indifference to the fate of their country. A capture of tanks instead of heartening the defenders depressed them; for they said they could not oppose such engines of warfare. The rains, expected by practically all observers outside and many European observers inside the country to help the Abyssinians enormously, instead helped the Italians, for the Italians had made good roads while the Abyssinian-made roads were merely tracks, or bogs, and made it harder than ever to distribute rations and ammunition. Vast numbers of Abyssinians deserted; quite half of Ras Kassa's and Ras Seyoum's men.

There is no need to prolong the dismal record. It confirms the view already expressed in these columns, that Abyssinia or Ethiopia cannot be set up again as an independent kingdom. Africans will have no moral right to blame Great Britain or any other Europeans for this. A nation no more than a language can be made from outside. It is a growth. In Abyssinia the Italian attack stopped the growth—for the present. But recognition of the fact that the Government at Addis Ababa can no more be set up afresh and made strong artificially than an omelette can be made back into its component eggs does not absolve European Governments with administrations in Africa, ours most of all, from the duty of seeing to it that Italy assures to the Abyssinians the right to their lands and the right to sell their labour at the price they ask or withhold it, as they choose. Nor does the Italian position and possession free those same Governments from the responsibility of seeing that Italy sets up no such establishment of African troops as to be a menace to other Powers whose resolve is to promote the welfare of Africans by institutions and processes which go with peace.

COST OF ITALIAN COLONIZATION IN AFRICA

Mussolini will find it very difficult to colonize ravaged Ethiopia with any considerable body of Italian soldiers and workmen, according to Dr. Grover Clark, who had just completed a survey on imperialism, to be published shortly by the Columbia University Press.

In 1935 there were less than 100 Italian farming families in Eritrea. In 1931 Italians and other foreigners were only 2.89% of the population of all the Italian colonies. "Italian colonial expenses from 1913 to 1932 amounted to 6,850,000,000 lire" while "the total trade with all her colonies from 1894 to 1932 amounted to only 5,561,000,000 lire." More recently, "from 1929 to 1932 Italy's colonial trade was 1.38% of her total external trade."

It costs the Italian government 300,000,000 lire a year to keep the Libyan budget balanced, and 250,000,000 lire to maintain its armies and garrisons there. After 24 years of Italian control, the number of Italians living in Libya, which is 7 times the size of Italy, is about 30,000, or about 7% of the Libyan population. As late as 1930, the government moved 80,000 Arabs from the interior to the coast so that they could be more easily controlled and kept from uprising.

Since April 1935, Italy's war on Ethiopia has cost her about a billio lire (1,000,000,000) a month. Her total war appropriations now amount to 10,065,000,000 lire (including the most recent appropriation of 1,440,400,000 lire), according to the report published in Italy's Official Gazette, 4|22|'36.

ITALY DIVIDES CONQUERED ETHIOPIA

With Eritrea and Italian Somaliland included and enlarged five governments have been set up. Their boundaries are shown approximately and the capitals are underlined. Addis Ababa, with some surrounding territory, will be kept as a separate entity, the seat of the central authority.

ITALY WELDS A UNIT OF AFRICA COLONIES

Five Regional Governments Set Up Under Central Regime in Addis Ababa.

NATIVES TO ADVISE VICEROY

Six Chiefs to Serve on Board of Consulters—Religious and Ethnical Lines Preserved.

By ARNALDO CORTESI

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ROME, June 1.—The Cabinet, meeting this morning under Premier Benito Mussolini's chairmanship, approved a law, effective immediately without waiting for parliamentary sanction, laying down the main lines of organization of Italy's East African empire.

The empire is to be administered, at least for the present, as a colony. This lays at rest reports that it would be organized on lines similar to the British Dominions in order to give Italy an extra League of Nations vote.

However, although all legislative and executive power is concentrated in the hands of appointees of the home government in Rome, provisions are made for giving white colonists and native populations a voice in the affairs of the empire. This seems to indicate that Ethiopia may, at some later stage of its development, be raised to dominion rank.

African Colonies Combined

All Italian possessions in East Africa are to be organized into a single unit, to be known as Italian East Africa. The capital will be Addis Ababa. For administrative purposes the territory will be divided into five "governments," all subordinate to the central government in Addis Ababa but nevertheless enjoying a degree of autonomy.

Addis Ababa and the territory immediately surrounding it will not be a part of any of the five governments but will have a status somewhat similar to that of the District of Columbia in the United States with a special administration of its own with a Governor at its head.

The central government in Addis Ababa will be composed of a Governor-General, who will also be the Viceroy; a Vice Governor-General and a Chief of Staff. Its main function will be to coordinate, by indicating the general policies to be followed, the political and administrative action of the five regional governments. For this purpose it will make use of the superior directorates which will have charge of the various civil and political services.

Two consultative organs will be placed at the central government's disposal. The first is the Council of Government, presided over by the Viceroy or in his absence by the Vice Governor-General and composed of the empire's highest officials. The second is the Board of Consultors, composed of prominent white colonists and six native chieftains. All members of the Board of Consultors will be appointed by the Viceroy.

Regional Governments

The five regional governments will be:

The government of Eritrea, with its capital at Asmara, comprising the old colony of Eritrea plus Tigré and Danakil Provinces of Ethiopia as far south as French Somaliland.

The government of Amhara, with its capital at Gondar, comprising all Amharic populations of the high plateau from the region of Lake Tana as far south as and including Shoa.

The government of Galla and Sidamo, with its capital at Jimma, comprising all the territories of Southwestern Ethiopia inhabited by the Gallas and Sidamos from the great lakes to the Sudan frontier.

The government of Harar, with its capital at Harar, comprising all the lands inhabited by the Moslem populations of Harar, Arussi and Bale Provinces.

The government of Somaliland, with its capital at Mogadiscio, comprising the whole of the old Italian Somaliland, plus Ogaden Province of Ethiopia.

The regional governments are to be headed by and represented by governors, each of whom will have at his service a secretary general in charge of civil affairs and a commander of troops in charge of military affairs. Technical officers will be in charge of civil and political services. Each government will be divided into districts known as Commissariats, which in turn will be divided into smaller districts known as Residencies and Vice Residencies.

The most important inhabited centers, including the capitals of the five regional governments, will be raised to the rank of municipalities.

Some Regional Autonomy

The five regional governments will be subordinate to the central government at Addis Ababa for matters of internal policy, empire administration, justice, military defense, colonization and spread of civilization. They may, however, correspond with each other and with the home government in Rome on "everything that concerns their ordinary development and administrative affairs."

Today's communiqué emphasizes that the empire has been organized in such a way as to respect the interests and traditions of native populations. It points out that the empire has been divided into territories homogeneous from ethnical, geographical and historical viewpoints. Each great racial stock in the empire is to have its own territory and government.

The rights of the Moslem population are fully guaranteed and protected. Throughout the empire they are to be allowed to reopen their places of worship, religious institutions and schools. Controversies among Moslems are to be settled by their own cadis in accordance with Islamic law and local customs. The teaching of Arabic will be compulsory in all schools for natives in Moslem territories.

The Ethiopian Coptic Christian Church is also fully guaranteed and protected. Agreements are to be reached with the clergy to provide for the greatest development of religion in the Christian territories of the empire and of the cultural and other ties that unite the Ethiopian church to the Egyptian Coptic Church.

The Viceroy must ask the opinion of the board of consultors on all questions affecting the life of the native populations of the empire. As the principal representatives of the native population are to have places reserved for them on this board, they will collaborate directly in the government of the empire.

ETHIOPIA IS DIVIDED INTO FIVE COLONIES

Rases Will Have No More Voice in Conduct of 'Duce's Empire.'

ROME, June 1.—(AP)—Rases, or native chieftains, were eliminated from the government of Ethiopia except in a consultative capacity today by a comprehensive administrative decree approved by the cabinet.

Italian East Africa was divided into five autonomous colonies. The Ethiopian Coptic church was again brought under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Alexandria.

The division of Premier Mussolini's "empire," including the colonies of Eritrea and Somaliland, was made in this fashion:

Eritrea—Capital, Asmara.
Amhara—Capital, Gondar.
Galla and Sidamo—Capital, Jimma.
Harar—Capital, Harar.
Somaliland—Capital, Mogadiscio.

A viceroy will rule Ethiopia, with Addis Ababa as the capital. The viceroy will have a consultative council composed of six Italian resident merchants, farmers and manufacturers and six native chieftains.

A cabinet announcement said the division creates five homogeneous organisms "ethnically, geographically, historically and politically."

In addition to the consultative council, there will be a governor's council, made up of leading officials in East Africa. The viceroy will be aided in Ethiopia by a vice governor-general and the chief of the general staff, who will direct the army.

"The greatest guarantees" were declared for the Mohammedan religion. A gesture toward Egypt was seen in the restoration of the Coptic church of Ethiopia to the patriarchal see of Alexandria and the Egyptian Coptic church. The connection had been broken in recent years.

A communique describing the cabinet decree said an agreement was reached with Coptic leaders in Ethiopia "so that the greatest development may be given the religious institutions of the Christian lands of Italian East Africa and so that the bonds which unite with the religious populations of Ethiopia with the Coptic church of Egypt shall be given cultural effect."

Victorious generals of the African armies were nominated as governors of the new colonies. Marshal Rudolfo Graziani was named regent.

General Guzzoni was made governor of Eritrea. General Alessandro Pirzio-Biroli, governor of Amhara; General Nasi, governor of Karar; General Geloso, governor of Galla and Sidamo, and General Ruggiero Santini, governor of Italian Somaliland.

Race Problem – 1936

Africa

Abyssinia

World's Window

BY PIERRE VAN PAASSEN.

The News From Ethiopia.

JERUSALEM.—The massacre of 35 Italian aviators, the glory of the Duce's airfleet on June 30 at Ouellaga in western Abyssinia showed the world that the conquered empire of Ethiopia is far from "pacified." For 10 days the Italian censorship tried to keep knowledge of the disaster from reaching the public. Then the soldiers wrote home.

At the same time, we learn that the war goes on. More blood is being shed today in Ethiopia than at the height of Badoglio's military campaign. Not only was the district around Ouellaga in a circumference of 100 miles soaked with yperite gas and bombed for eight successive days by a hundred and twenty Capronis, but mass executions are daily taking place in the principal cities. Letters reach the Empress Maanen, who resides here on the shores of Jordan in a Coptic monastery and the Coptic clergy in Jerusalem speak of one hideous day, July 1, when no less than 1,500 persons were mowed down in cold blood in the cattle market of Addis in front of Sr. George's cathedral.

Those letters reached Jerusalem via Zeila in British Somaliland. They are written by priests, who plead with the empress and with the monks to inform the world of the horrors being perpetrated by the Rodolpho Graziani, the man who ere this, "pacified" Lybia by exterminating the whole Sussenite-Arabic people.

"Ethiopia is a hell," read one letter, which was translated to me. "The Italians are killing, killing, killing not to punish revolts, but to cow and terrorize the people. On the slightest pretext whole quarters are encircled by the military and the inhabitants slaughtered. What have we done to deserve this horror? Why should little children be locked up with their parents in huts that are set on fire? Has God forgotten us Does the world not know?"

The world does not know because Graziani has expelled the last foreign correspondent.

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Difficulties Yet.

For the moment, the Italian command is in grave difficulties. The bridge at Awash on the Franco-Ethiopian railway, that irreplacable bridge, lies in pieces at the bottom of the thousand-feet deep ravine. The tribesmen dynamited it. Modjo, 80 miles from Addis on the railway, is in the hands of the Ethiopians. The railway is cut in four places. And this is the spot of communication on which Graziani depends exclusively for his supplies from now till September when the "big rains" cease.

The road Addis-Dessye-Adowa-Asmara stands under water. The bridges have been swept away by the torrential downpour. Dessye itself has been in the hands of the Ethiopian irregulars three times in the course of June The country, which the world abandoned, is still defending itself. There is no confirmation for the optimistic Italian reports that the population is happy to submit to the robbers of their country and the despoilers of their freedom. At Gore 150,000 men are assembled to make a last stand in the fall.

With Britain and France washing their hands of the whole Abyssinian problem and kow-towing to obtain the law-breaker's favors, with ambulances destined for Ethiopia being held up by the British authorities in the Sudan and the Negus refused a passage through British territory to reach his armies, with the League refusing arms and munitions, and France giving over the railway to Italian transport, with all the world against them, the Ethiopians still fight.

The last act in the Ethiopian drama is about to begin. It will be played in the dark. Graziani has drawn the curtains. The League has put out the lights. The blackshirts can massacre to their hearts' content. Nobody is there to stop them. The British government refuses foreign journalists permission to enter western Ethiopia via Sudan and Kenya, because Mr. Eden does not want his assurances that there is no Ethiopian government in existence to be contradicted by men who want to prove that it is a reality.

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1,000 Ethiopians Are Reported Killed

ADDIS ABABA, July 28.—(AP)—An Italian communique said today 1,000 Ethiopians were killed and wounded in an unsuccessful attempt to cut the Addis Ababa-Dessye motor highway.

The Ethiopians were reported led by Dedjazmatch Abarre, son of Ras Kassa, military leader during the Italo-Ethiopian war.

RANDOM JOTTINGS

Weekly News

By Marrilia Van.

7-4-36

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS—ITALY AND ABYSSINIA.

Freetown, Sierra Leone

Two member States were now in dispute. The one was radically adamant to abide by the League, while with unswerving integrity, the other was looking up to it. This was a supreme test for the League to fully establish itself as an Instrument of peace by conforming to the Articles of its Covenant providing against a refractory member. No move worthy of the situation was made for such conformation. On the contrary, the League kept talking and talking, making to Italy this and that proposal as basis of peace, all of which she stubbornly rejected. We, as a people, in this part of the world, thought that such flagrant violation of Covenant, and the manifest disrespect to the League by Italy by giving no deference to any of the overtures made to her with a view to averting war, would be met with a stern attitude taken by the League. Contrary to our thinking, and much to our surprise, we saw Abyssinia placed under restraint in regard to the importation of war materials, while Italy was left unmolested in her great activity in transporting men by thousands and tons upon tons of implements of war to the borders of the country upon which she was to make the aggression. From this, we not unnaturally came to the conclusion that there was no hope for help for Abyssinia through the League, may be, perhaps she was not a European State, what African with love of race could not have arrived at such deduction from such glaring partiality?

At the eleventh hour, when Italy had already fully planted herself in the neighbourhood of Abyssinia only waiting for the twelth hour to strike in order to begin her aggression, the embargo on Abyssinia was raised. What a conspicuous irony! All the same, the simple hearted Emperor was still confident in the League. At last, then twelfth hour struck for Italy. With no ultimatum given by her to Abyssinia, with no declaration of war, with no severance of herself from the League at 2 o'clock in the morning when Nature herself was in quietude sublime, and men and beasts and birds, healthfully constituted, were fast asleep enjoying the rest which such quietude bestowed on destards on the track of their prey, from the base of their operations, a number of the flying engines of Italy flew to Adowa, and began to drop bombs on the sleeping population. It was reported that there was a casualty of about two thousand This wanton act of Italy was forthwith reported to the League of Nations by the Emperor, at the same time requesting protection from the League. None came or was forthcoming. Thereafter war actually began between the two countries.

In the course of the struggle, the Abyssinians who engaged their enemy more by guerilla warfare than open fight were holding their own and were said to be more tactical than their fully equipped foe. Progress on the side of the aggressor was slow. It was, probably, perceived by Signor Mussolini—the dominant dictator of blind stricken Italy—that such slow progress would be detrimental to the campaign in that the rainy season would not be to its favour. Marshal de Bono who was in command, and who, most likely, must have been conducting the campaign according to International rules relating to civilised warfare, was withdrawn, and Marshal Badoglio (Bad Dog Lo) was placed in his stead, with instruction to proceed with the campaign with lightning speed. For sometime after the supercession. there was a lull. Thereafter, the reign of terror on the side of the Italians came to be evident. By this time, the poorly equipped Abyssinians had decided to engage their foe in open fight. Whether this was right of them or not future history of the war will say. In several pitch battles, the Abyssinians were proving to be no despicable opponents; in spite of the formidable and modern war implements of the Italians. This wont do. Time was going. The rainy season was approaching. The invasion must be carried on with lightning speed. and it seemed most likely that Marshal Badoglio was eminently good for that.

The Italians began to conduct the war with a wrecklessness that cast a great slur not only on themselves but on the League of Nations also. Red Cross Institutions were bombed under some pretence or other: open towns were similarly treated, and through these innocent men, women and children were killed, whilst of those that survived many are now maimed, blind, or otherwise incapacited. Poison gas, mustard gas, fire-sprayers were all made use of in open fights, while thousands upon thousands of machine-guns were put to action. Swarms of air-ships darkened the celestial vault, all uniting to war the poor Abyssinians in the fratnic desire of Italy to create "An African Roman Empire." Under such reign of terror, under such hell-fire, Ethiopia must fall—and she has fallen: fallen and Abyssinia are members! What a paradox in the moral government of International affairs What a great slur on International Political aspiration, and last, but not least, what a great shame on Modern Western Civilisation! A League of Nations unable to be truly genuine to their own Sacred Convenant! Is it any wonder then that as an Instrument for the promotion of peace the League is *moribund*?

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Italy is laying her plans to develop the agricultural and industrial possibilities of Ethiopia under the Fascist regime. This means that the Italian government will control the economic welfare of the country, but will give the individual the right under proper regimentation to operate and to own property, to trade and make profits. But the United States, but if their plans are suc- it is declared that no great concentration cessful in the African territory, they will of wealth in the hands of a few will be only be independent of American cotton, permitted, and the people who work the world markets. Lands will have an opportunity to eventually own them.

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Marion

n cotton, but In fact, the engineers think the new country will supply all of the raw materials that h us in thetry will supply all of the raw materials that Italy has had to buy in the past.

surveying the The government has given notice that the possible de-property rights of the natives must be respected. This will be good news to the at the waterspected. the agricul-world at large, for it had been generally understood that Mussolini did not believe Ethitile. At pres-derstood that Mussolini did not believe Ethiring wild ancopians had any rights of any kind, not even territory and taking stock of possible de-property rights of the natives must be respected. This will be good news to the world at large, for it had been generally understood that Mussolini did not believe Ethiopia must fall—and she has fallen: fallen the very presence of the League which was the promotion of peace and of which both Italy and Abyssinia are members! What a paradox the moral government of International affairs! What a great slur on International Political aspiration, and last, but not least, what a great shame on Modern Western Civilisation! A League of Nations unable to be truly genuine to their own Sacred Convenant! Is it any wonder then, that as an Instrument for the promotion of peace the League is *moribund*?

Ker.

Vocational unions have been formed and are to be directed under a set-up somewhat akin to the American NRA; that is, no enterprise will be allowed to start unless there seems to be a need for it, and unless the field is not covered. Cut-throat competition will be prevented, and help will be given by the government where the public interest seems to demand. The syndical organizations and corporations must examine all applications for permits to do business, and the Ministry of Colonies must receive recommendations and finally authorize or refuse.

Mussolini's Blackshirts are to be given the first choice in the selection of sites and enterprises, and unmarried men are to be preferred. Later on, it is intended that families may move in.

According to Fascist style, the vocational unions are being formed, and each man is aligned with the union that covers his kind of skill or ability. Small grants of operating money will be made to farmers, and they will be given equipment.

CIVILIZATION'S RESPONSIBILITY

The barbaric Ethiopians have no newspapers. Many of them are probably not aware that King Victor Emmanuel has accepted the title of Emperor of Ethiopia bestowed upon him by Il Duce.

All news coming from Ethiopia now is censored. Some of it comes via Rome, always a few weeks late, in the form of official communiques.

To those who follow these meagre reports it is evident that all Ethiopians have not rejoiced at the visitation of civilization. Some have been shooting down Italian airplanes. Others have been raiding Italian outposts. A few weeks ago some of them even cut the only railway leading from Addis Ababa to French Somaliland.

A recent dispatch relayed from Port Said, Egypt, reports that 40,000 warriors under Ras Imru are advancing on the Ethiopian capital. In all dispatches from Rome belligerent Ethiopians are now referred to as "bandits".

The difference between a "bandit" and a soldier is that bandits are never made captives. They are shot. On some occasions the entire Ethiopian populace of Addis Ababa is invited to witness wholesale executions of these bandits. It has a salutary effect on the Ethiopians. It teaches them the advantages of being civilized.

Italy's troubles in Ethiopia are far from being over. It can be expected that the bandits will continue to resist. One advantage to Italy is that with every bandit taken the total responsibility of civilization is reduced

Ethiopia's Only Consul In U. S. Is Tired Of Refusing To Give Visas

NEW YORK, Aug. 13.—(AP)—John H. Shaw is "fed up," as they say in his native England, with trying to convince Americans there is a war on in Ethiopia and he can't give them permission to enter the country.

He is still recognized by the United States Government as Ethiopia's only consul in this country but he has stopped granting visas since Emperor Haile Selassie left his capital—and not because the Italians have taken it.

"Persons who ask for visas don't realize the nation granting it takes on responsibility for their safety," he said. "There is still an Ethiopian Government at Gore, about fifty miles from the English trading station which is still operating at Gambela, in western Ethiopian territory.

"But the country is disorganized and we can't be responsible for the safety of foreigners."

Shaw, a chunky man with short dark hair and wearing glasses, has made a dozen trips himself to Ethiopia and is convinced the Italians can do no better in protecting foreigners except at Addis Ababa.

"If an army went up the Mississippi and seized St. Louis and then claimed to have conquered the United States it would parallel the Italian claims today," he said.

Ras Imeru, who made a name for himself as administrator of the Moslem Province of Harrar and later the revolt-ridden province of Gojjam under the Emperor, is the regent in Ethiopia, Shaw said. Airplane service, he said, is maintained between Gore and the outside world via Khartoum and Cairo.

"The fighting has only begun," Shaw said. "The Italian planes are kept aground now by the rains and the Ethiopians have made many raids in the Addis Ababa and Harrar regions and even up in the Tembien, near Eritrea. But they need arms and ammunition and that is what the Emperor is seeking while his cousin, Imeru, carries on the war."

Shaw said he has kept in touch with the Emperor, now at Bath, England.

ETHIOPIANS WILL GO TO LEAGUE SESSION

Negus Names Delegation for Assembly Monday, Though He Will Not Attend.

ITALY HOLDS BACK GROUP

Awaits Word Ethiopians Will Be Excluded—Arms Ban Is on Council Agenda Today.

By CLARENCE K. STREIT

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

GENEVA, Sept. 17.—The faint hope of the League of Nations that Ethiopia, by absenting herself from the Assembly opening Monday, would spare it the disagreeable necessity of having to exclude the victim in order to coax back the country it had found guilty of aggression almost a year ago, expired tonight.

The League received a note signed by Emperor Haile Selassie naming his delegation to the Assembly.

The note was not published, but it is known that Haile Selassie does not include himself in the delegation, as first reported here, and it is understood that Dr. Ajaz Wargneh Martin, his Minister in London, heads the delegation.

The agenda of the Council, which will open its ninety-third session tomorrow afternoon under Chile's presidency, was given out. For the first time since January, 1935, it does not list the Italo-Ethiopian conflict among the issues to be discussed, so the question of excluding Ethopia from the Council does not arise.

Arms Ban on Agenda

The agenda does include, as a last-hour addition, "the question of prohibiting under the provisions of the Covenant the supply of arms and war materials to belligerents," with Italy listed as the rapporteur on the matter.

This has aroused much speculation, increased rather than diminished by the only official explanation given, namely:

"On Sept. 27, 1934, the Assembly requested the Council to appoint a committee to study from the standpoint of pure law and particularly from that of interpretation of the Covenant, the question of prohibiting under the provisions of the Covenant the supply of arms and war materials to belligerents, and to present its conclusions to the Council and the Assembly. The committee has been convened for Sept. 21."

A usually well-informed and reliable source sympathetic to the Spanish Government assures that the addition of this item has no connection whatever with the Spanish situation and that there is no other political significance in it. He explains that the question was originally raised by Italy in connection with the embargo on arms for Paraguay and Bolivia and that its appearance on the agenda now is only routine and typical of the League wheels' slow grinding.

It is only fair to the League, however, to say that normally committees requested by the Assembly are convened before the next Assembly meets and do not take two years to hold their first meeting.

To increase the mystery, League officials admitted even before this agenda was published that Italy would not be present when the Council opened to act as rapporteur on the matter.

There has been no official word regarding Italy's attendance at either the Council or the Assembly, but League officials make no secret of their belief that her attendance at both depends on the Assembly's refusing to admit the Ethiopian delegation.

Six of the twenty-six questions on the Council agenda list Italy as rapporteur, the more important of the others being the election of members of the World Court and the composition of the Council.

Since the Council's session will continue through the assembly, its meetings preceding the assembly will be devoted to routine so that the questions for which Italy is the rapporteur may be left until after the assembly has decided whether or not to accept Ethiopia.

The Assembly agenda for Monday, circulated today, assures that this issue will come up at the very start, for the Assembly's first duty is to elect the credentials committee. While this committee is examining the credentials the Assembly's acting president will give his opening address and then the agenda calls for the credentials committees report. After that the Assembly will elect its president, who is expected this time to be Foreign Minister Carlos Saavedra Lamas of Argentina.

All this is in accordance with regular procedure and if custom is followed Dr. Martin will be seated in the Assembly at least pending the credentials committee's report. League officials look forward with increasing dread to this situation and seem still unable to find any way out.

Maxim Litvinoff, Soviet Foreign Commissar, who was among the first arrivals tonight for the council session, is expected in Russian circles to reply in an Assembly speech to Chancellor Adolf Hitler's statements concerning Russia at the Nazi party congress in Nuremburg.

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

Abyssinia

Mass Massacre of the Abyssinians.

—...—

Shot in Batches of 50.

=oo·oo=

Death Penalty for Possession of Arms.

oo--oo

Expulsion of Press Representatives.

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Reports received at Jibouti from Addis Ababa state that since the Italian occupation on May 5 over 1,500 arrests have been made following the looting after the Emperor left.

The prisoners were tried by military tribunal and shot in batches of 50 at a depot near the railway station near the British Legation.

A new capital crime in Addis Ababa is the possession of arms by Ethiopians. The day after the entry High Command decreed that all arms should be handed up within three days, and a search began among the population, many of whom had not heard of the decree.

Punishment for disobeying the new law, which is aimed at changing the habits of the nation in three days, is DEATH and the law is applied without mercy. Herr Adel, an Austrian banker living in the confines of the Belgian Legation, returned home on the afternoon of May 5, to find all his servants removed by Italian soldiers. He was told next morning that they had been shot during the night. Some had been with him for 20 years and guarded the house faithfully during the recent looting when the Belgian Legation was attacked. It is believed that all were unware of the new decree.

EXPULSION OF PRESSMEN.

The Italian military authorities had prepared a warrant for the arrest of C. L. Steer, the British journalist, on a charge of transporting gas masks to the Ethiopian troops and assisting in blowing up the road from Dessie to Addis Ababa. It is not surprising that the Italians did not succeed in getting evidence to support the charges and the warrant was not executed.

The charge of transporting gas masks had reference to an expeditiou made by Steer to Dessie in April. The lorry on which he travelled carried a quantity of gas masks which were handed to the Crown Prince. Steer merely accompanied the convoy on an invitation to visit the Ethiopian headquarters as journalist.

The New Chronicle, commenting in its editorial columns on the expulsion of Steer and other journalists from Abyssinia, says:

"The Italian authorities would appear to be acting with extraordinary unwisdom. However unfavourable the reports of the Italian proceedings sent home by journalists may be, they are unlikely to be so damaging as the rumours which spread like wildfire once all jouralists are expelled.

"But, of course, it depends upon what the Italians intend to do in Abyssinia. If the present series of drumhead courts martial, followed by immediate execution, is to continue indefinitely there may be reasons for getting rid of foreign observers at any cost." —(Copyright London Times)

GENEVA IS CORDIAL TO HAILE SELASSIE

Eden, Idol of Yesterday, Is Forgotten in Acclaim for Ethiopian Emperor.

HIS CASE IS SIDETRACKED

Council Defers Discussion of Italo-African Issues Until After Assembly Meets.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

GENEVA, June 26.—Geneva gave Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia a cordial welcome today.

It coldly ignored its yesterday's idol, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden of Great Britain. He came on the same train to persuade the League to reverse the policy he got it to adopt last October, to coax a state condemned as an aggressor to return to its council seat and to keep Great Britain free to recognize Italy's annexation of Haile Selassie's country by the aggressor whenever that suits the British Government's policy.

Popular demonstrations seems to have had no visible effect on the diplomats. In a private council session this evening, they transferred all discussion of the Ethiopian issue to the assembly session opening Tuesday. Then they plunged into a vague academic conflict over the questions of League reform, calculated to distract public attention from Italy's conflict with the League and Ethiopia.

Chile Seeks Compromise

This argument was started by Chile's Minister in Rome, who sought to weaken the League covenant so that his country might be relieved of both military and non-military sanctions and to bring non-members of the League to Geneva. He got the veiled support of Colonel Joseph Beck, the Polish Foreign Minister, who held the League had failed, and of Portugal, but drew sharp opposition from Foreign Ministers Maxim Litvinoff of Russia, Nicholas Titulescue of Rumania and Yeon Delbos of France. These three, assured today of the support of most of the neutrals, held League members and not the League had failed and come out for strengthening the League without revising the covenant.

Mr. Eden, presiding at the session, said nothing except to propose successfully the discussion be left for the Assembly and that the Council until after the Assembly meeting.

Signs multiply that the Argentine delegation has yielded to Italian, and British pressure is ready to drop its non-recognition resolution and propose merely the declaration of a vague principle designed to keep every one free to negotiate recognition of Italy's annexation of Ethiopia and to save the face of Foreign Minister Carlos Saavedra Lamas.

Whether Mr. Saavedra Lamas agrees to this and whether the Netherlands, South Africans and others will agree remains to be seen.

Behind the scenes the French, the British and the Little Entente nations are particularly worried over Austria. Some fear a Hapsburg restoration is imminent, particularly if the League Assembly offends Italy. According to one good source, the Little Entente made most careful military preparations at a Bucharest meeting for war in that event.

Italy's Hand Is Seen

According to another good source, German-Yugoslav negotiations are going on regarding this, and Italy is bending her efforts to winning both of those nations over to a Hapsburg restoration.

The fact that Premier Léon Blum of France, despite France's internal difficulties and although there is no session here until Tuesday, is to arrive in Geneva tomorrow is believed especially connected with the Austrian danger. It is understood Austria was the main thing Mr. Eden discussed yesterday at the Qai d'Orsay in Paris.

More than a thousand persons gathered at the railroad station to meet the Negus, despite the early hour of his arrival and the fact that Geneva is so blase on celebrities that rarely one hundred persons collect to see a big-power Premier arrive. Not since Aristride Briand's day have there been crowds at the station, and he never drew half as many as Haile Selassie today.

Cheering began with the railway workers as his train arrived. Before the Negus showed himself, Mr. Eden alighted, but none except British diplomats paid any attention to him or to Mr. Delbos, who came on the same train.

Haile Selassie was greeted with loud cheers and cries of "Long live Ethiopia! Long live the Emperor!" These manifestations seemed momentarily to warm the cold fire burning in his eyes.

He looked very much a king, for all his small stature and the incongruity of his gray felt hat and dark Ethiopian cape. Crowds thronging the corridors cheered him into his car.

Haile Selassie is staying at the Carlton Park Hotel, where Mr. Eden is also staying.

It is understood the Negus has virtually dropped his plan to plead his country's cause personally at the Assembly. Thiss eems to be confirmed by the fact that the Ethiopian delegation he named today is headed by Ras Nasibu and does not include the Emperor, although he can of course always change its composition. Protocol difficulties which the appearance of a chief of state would make are one reason for his decision.

Appeals to Non-Leaguers

The Chilean delegate urged that non-members of the League be asked their opinion on League reform and made veiled threats to leave Geneva if reform was delayed. He insisted this Assembly or the September one discuss it.

Messrs. Litvinoff and Titulescu refused even to discuss it, unless on the basis of concrete proposals which they pointed out Chile had failed to make. They held the time was too dangerous for disarming the League.

Mr. Eden told the Council Italy had informed him she must stay away from this session, including the Locarno talks, for the same reasons that kept her from the last session; but she hoped, when the present situation had been cleared up to resume collaboration here.

Poland, Uruguay and Haiti announced they were raising sactions.

The League published today the text of President Roosevelt's proclamation declaring the African war ended and raising th earms embargo. British, Italians and others are making the most of this proclamation to discount the arguments of Haile Selassie and his friends that the war continues in guerrilla style as much as the rainy season allows.

BOOS, CAT-CALLS FAIL TO PREVENT MONARCH'S PLEA

Negus Assails Hoare-Laval Plan; France Is Accused of Violating Covenant by Agreeing to Land "Gift" to Italy

RULER TO RETURN TO RALLY FORCES

Belgian Premier Elected League Assembly Head To Succeed President Benes, Czechoslovakia.

By WALLACE CARROLL.

(Copyright, 1936, by the United Press.)

GENEVA, June 30.—(UP)—Emperor Haile Selassie, embittered descendant of King Solomon, was greeted with a hostile, rowdy demonstration by Italian newspapermen and spectators today when he appeared before the League of Nations assembly to demand international action for the return of his ancient kingdom.

Police and ushers arrested a number of demonstrators. The Italian attempt to block the Negus' supreme appeal for League aid marked the first time in the history of the family of nations that a speaker has been jeered.

Italian news correspondents whistled, booed and cat-called as the weary, disillusioned "King of Kings" mounted the speakers' rostrum. Other foreigners in the gallery replied with loud cheers for the "Conquering Lion of Judah." Order was restored after 10 minutes and the Negus started to read his speech for the second time.

It was announced that ejected journalists will be prosecuted under Swiss law, which provides permanent expulsion from the country in aggravated cases. The arrested include Alfredo Signoretti, director of the Stampa of Turin, one of the biggest newspapers in Italy, and six others.

Withdrawal Threatened.

Indignation spread among other delegations when it became apparent that the outburst had been carefully planned. It climaxed a series of Italian efforts to prevent the Negus from speaking, including a veiled threat to leave the League, which Italian unofficial sources spread through the League corridors before the meeting.

The Italian consul general sat in the diplomatic gallery before the demonstration, but disappeared as the Negus mounted the rostrum.

The Negus read calmly and clearly. His voice was audible in the farthest galleries.

Reading in Amharic, he charged France with violating the League covenant and delivering Ethiopia to a "greedy Italy" by agreeing to the Hoare-Laval peace plan, which would have attempted to pacify Italy by giving her approximately one-half of the Negus' territory without a struggle.

Will Return to Africa.

The dejected "Elect of God" indicated he will return to Ethiopia, rally his forces in the unoccupied sections of the west and continue the war against Italy.

"What reply shall I take home to my people?" he asked pleadingly.

"My confidence in the League of Nations was absolute," he said. "I regarded it as impossible for 52 nations, including some of the most powerful in the world, to be defeated by a single aggressor."

The Negus said the war occurred under atrocious conditions.

Contemptuously he described how a nation of 42,000,000 people, with all means at its disposal and an infinite superiority of weapons, "bravely" fought a nation of 12,000,000 people "having on its side only justice and League of Nations support."

The "Conquering Lion of Judah" said he had placed all his hope "in the theory that execution of the League obligations would prevent force from being rewarded."

"I was defending the cause of small peoples when threatened by aggression," he continued.

He complained bitterly regarding the anti-sanctionist attitude of Austria, Hungary and Albania.

Never Asked Fighters.

Ethiopia never asked other nations to shed the blood of their soldiers for Ethiopia's defense, he said.

"All I asked for, and have asked for many times, is financial assistance for arms and ammunition to carry on our fight against the aggressor."

The negus, a king without a country, was cheered wildly by the galleries as he finished and left the building with his entourage.

Before the negus spoke, Premier Paul Van Zeeland, of Belgium, was elected president of the assembly by an overwhelming majority to succeed President Edouard Benes, of Czechoslovakia.

Among the day's speakers was Jose Cantilo, of Argentina, who said:

"If the League wishes to remain universal it must affirm and support the principles which the American nations uphold, such as non-recognition of territory acquired by conquest," Cantilo said.

Cantilo warned that Argentina, at whose request this assembly meeting was called, may be obliged to leave the League. He opened a drive for League adherence to the principle of non-recognition of territory acquired by conquest.

Fighting Marks Haile Selassie's Plea To League

Police Called To Restore Order In Galleries And Make Several Arrests

Desertion Charged

Negus Declares 'God And History Will Remember' In Denouncing Members

GENEVA, June 30. — (AP) — Riotous scenes of cursing and fighting in the galleries shattered the dignity of the League of Nations assembly tonight when black-robed little Emperor Haile Selassie told the world's peacemakers, "you deserted us to Italy."

Police were called to restore order after a chorus of heckling booes and curses greeted the Emperor without an empire when he rose to make a final, dramatic plea for aid.

It was almost 10 minutes before police restored order and the erstwhile ruler of Africa's last empire was allowed to resume and bitterly tell the league members:

"God and history will remember your judgment!"

Persons alleged to be fascists started the tumult, shouting curses at the Negus in Italian, French and Spanish. Fighting broke out when league attaches tried to restore order. Only when police came and ousted the hecklers was calm restored.

Officials of the League of Nations announced late tonight they would cancel press cards of Italians as a result of the demonstration against the Emperor.

Conduct "Deplored"

The standing committee of the International Association of Newspapermen accredited to the league adopted a resolution, "deploring and condemning the conduct of a group of Italian journalists."

The political atmosphere was tense as a group of Italians arrested in the galleries was still held by political police on charges of disorderly conduct and rioting. Authorities said they were all newspapermen.

The Swiss Government was trying to decide whether the fascists could be punished under the criminal code.

There were unconfirmed reports Premier Mussolini, angered at the privilege of speech and courtesies extended to the Negus, might withdraw Italy from the league.

When the demonstration in the galleries was squelched by police Haile Selassie said what he had to say, calmly and fully.

"I could not believe that 52 nations—among them the most powerful in the world—could be defeated by a single aggressor," he said sorrowfully.

Smaller Members Warned

The Emperor warned smaller members: "In this struggle I have been fighting the cause of all small countries against the greed of a powerful invader."

It was his first appearance before the league, which set out last Fall in a futile effort to save his country from a nation it branded as an "aggressor."

At the close of his long speech Haile Selassie was heartily applauded and he received an ovation from the crowd outside the new $10,000,000 league palace as he left. The same crowd had booed the hecklers when they were carired out by police.

Premier Mussolini also communicated his view to the assembly through a memorandum describing Italy's action as "a sacred misison of civilization," in "the spirit of the league covenant."

He suggested, however, the league "requires adequate reform" and asserted that Italy was willing to aid. The note was read by Premier Paul van Zeeland of Belgium, president of the assembly, elected to that office today to succeed Eduard Beens, of Czechoslovakia.

Argentina Might Quit

Argentina's spokesman, stressing the Pan-American ideal of international justice, warned the assembly his country might quit the league if that ideal were flouted.

Van Zeeland was elected assembly president at a secret meeting, receiving 47 of 50 votes.

"The league is at a turning point in history," he said upon taking the chair, and "never before have the difficulties been so great. The fate of a large section of humanity hangs in the balance."

Selassie, describing the Italian campaign, said:

"From January, 1936, soldiers, women, children, cattle, rivers, lakes and pastures were drenched continually with gas. These fearful tactics succeeded.

"Men and animals succumbed. The deadly rain made the people flee, shrieking in pain. All those who ate affected food or drank poisoned water also succumbed amid dreadful suffering.

"Tens of thousands of victims of Italian mustard gas fell. It was to denounce to the civilized world the tortures inflicted upon the Ethiopian people that I resolved to come to Geneva."

At midnight police announced eight Italian newspapermen who were dragged from the assembly hall formally were placed under arrest on charges "creating a scandal during the assembly session of the eLague of Nations for an outrage toward representative government accredited to the Swiss confederation." Police said those arrested would spend the night in jail and be held for the disposition of the Federal prosecutor at Berne.

High Fascist Officials Charge Appearance Of Negus 'Frameup'

ROME, June 30.—(AP)—A high fascist official reflected Italian anger at the day's developments in Geneva tonight and called the appearance of Emperor Haile Selassie before the league assembly a "frameup."

Commenting upon the arrest of Italian newspapermen, accused of creating disorder by heckling the Negus from galleries, the official said it created "a very bad impression here."

He called the emperor "Signor Tafari," since Haile Selassie is no longer recognized as a ruler by fascists.

The press ministry declined to say what would be the government's reaction to the arrests and granting of "Signor Tafari" permission to speak, pending a study of the day's events.

Informed sources indicated, nevertheless, Italian impatience with the league has been strained almost to the breaking point.

Sentiment Abroad Stands In Way Of Hapsburg Restoration

VIENNA, June 30.— (AP) — Monarchist leaders asserted tonight only sentiment abroad, which they conceded was vital, remained in the way of a Hapsburg restoration in Austria.

Government officials, commenting on reports from Geneva Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg might go before the league assembly to ask that the Archduke Otto be placed on the throne, said Schuschnigg is not planning "for the moment" to go to Geneva.

"Of course the situation might change quickly," they added.

The chancellor plans to go to Geneva in the Fall, a spokesman disclosed.

The French foreign minister, the spokesman said, had sent a "formal suggestion, not an invitation," that Schuschnigg attend the present league session. But even had it not arrived too late, the chancellor would have been prevented from going now by the pressure of business.

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

Abyssinia

DUCE INVASION FIRES DISTRUST OF FOREIGNERS

—*J. A. Rogers*

Courier Correspondent In Ethiopia Brands Wierd Story Of Crown Prince's Revolt As Untruthful—Rogers Mistaken For 'European.'

By J. A. ROGERS

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia, Dec. 12—(By Mail) — Two aspects of life in the capital city of Ethiopia are of striking significance at this time—first, the existence of virulent and, second, the growing distrust and dislike of foreigners.

Everybody has a rumor for your ear—to be retailed in the most confidential and convincing manner.

I believe the Italians are responsible for many of these rumors, circulated by paid spies. They hope in this manner to demoralize the people.

I attribute to the Italians the source of a dispatch which I read only today in Le Matin of Paris to the effect that the Crown Prince, Asfaou Wosan, had revolted, that he had fled from the capital in an airplane which had been grounded and that he had been killed.

It so happened that on the date of that dispatch, I saw the Crown Prince at the Emperor's reception. He was seated next to His Majesty and was, apparently, in full health.

Moreover, when the Emperor went to Dessye, he left the Crown Prince in command of the capital which he would have been most unlikely to do if there had been any truth to statements so often seen in English, French and Italian newspapers implying that there is a breach between the Crown Prince and his father and that the latter intends to leave the throne to his youngest son, the Duke of Harar.

The undercurrent of dislike for Europeans and whites is widespread and bitter.

Twice, I have seen natives pointing at me and exclaiming: "Farangi!"

This, I understand, is Arabic and means European. I was forced to laugh loudly, remembering how often I had been discriminated against in the United States because of my color.

The second time I laughed, my Egyptian friend and companion, Abdelmalik, warned me: "You had better watch out! They're taking you for a European."

But a white missionary, a doctor, assured me that "Farangi!" was not uncomplimentary and that the term of contempt for whites is "Natch."

I am forced to comment that there is probably no better proof of the generally black color of the natives here than the fact that they should mistake me for an European.

An old German resident informed me: "No matter which way this war goes, it will be bad for the white people here."

Everywhere it is said that if it were not for the Emperor, the white people would not be able to stay here. Count Gleichen, a nephew of Queen Victoria, emphasized this years ago in his "Mission to Menelik." I have strong reason to believe that what he wrote then is even truer now.

Mussolini has asserted that his mission is to advance the white race. But by his unjust attack on Ethiopia, he has done more than all other agencies combined to arouse racial feeling and to break up the better racial understanding which had come to pass in the last few years.

Apropos of the delicacy of the color question in these far-off lands, I am reminded of a story told me by P. T. Chandra, East Indian correspondent here of the Lahore Daily Tribune and former editor of the Rangoon Mail of Burma.

Mr. Chandra described to me how he was given four months in jail while editor for publishing an account of a lynching in the United States.

He was charged with "creating hatred between the white and colored subjects of His Majesty the King."

Mr. Chandra asserts that he had no such intention and had reproduced the article verbatim from an American newspaper.

ITALY OIL BOYCOTT APPEARS DOOMED

League Officials Picture England as Unwilling To Initiate Sanctions.

GENEVA, Jan. 18.—(AP)—Officials of the League of Nations predicted tonight that the greatly advertised proposed oil boycott aaginst Italy would not see the light of day at a meeting of the council beginning Monday.

Great Britain, they pointed out, seems opposed to any British initiative toward imposing new sanctions. Premier Pierre Laval, of France, has always regarded the oil sanctions with disfavor.

Soviet Russia is occupied with its appeal to the League against Uruguary's action in breaking off diplomatic relations with her. Other powers, it was said, are likely to follow the lead of the big ones.

Monday's Meeting.

Two impressions prevail at Geneva toward Monday's session.

The first is that existing economic sanctions are slowly but surely hindering Premier Mussolini's capacity to wage war.

The second opinion heard—a new and quiet one—is that after all it would not be wise to permit Ethiopian armies to defeat the armies of Italy in any disastrous manner.

Behind this opinion is the idea that such a victory for the Negus might excite all the races of Africa to revolt against European powers with colonies there.

There also is the lurking idea that Il Duce's campaign is not advancing and that a stalemate, if not a defeat for Italy, remains a possibility.

Linked with these opinions come reports from Italians in a position to know governmental thought that Mussolini is willing to examine seriously any new peace proposals.

To Represent Italy.

Geneva is glad that Il Duce's diplomatic lieutenant, Baron Pompeo Aloisi, is coming to the council session and continues to hope that negotiations for a settlement of the war within the spirit of the League covenant may be started.

The council has an unprecedented problem to tackle in the Russian-Uruguayan dispute.

Russia has hailed Uruguay before the council for severing diplomatic relations, which Uruguay contends she was forced to do because Montevideo was becoming a net of communist activities. This Russia denied.

The council must decide whether it is competent to deal with the question as a dispute withint he meaning of the covenant and whether the breaking off of diplomatic relations can be said to threaten peace, an argument advanced in bringing the matter to Geneva.

ITALY TO RECOGNIZE BRITISH INTERESTS

MILAN, Italy, Jan. 18.—(UP)—"Italy intends to recognize Britain's imperial interest in the valley of the Nile and Ethiopia," the newspaper Popolo D'Italia, founded by Premier Benito Mussolini, will say editorially tomorrow.

The editorial, recalling that the Italian government has repeatedly declared its desire to respect and harmonize British interests, but that there is also the question of Italian security, will say:

"Italy cannot be secure in Europe unless there is absolute tranquility behind her shoulders in Africa."

In Abyssinia

Saturday was the first anniversary of the start of Italy's campaign against Abyssinia, and the occasion is being suitably celebrated in Rome. At present Abyssinian news is once again becoming prominent in the Italian press for exactly the same reason as decided the opening of the war a year ago; the end of the summer rains is at last permitting civilisation to proceed. General Graziani has sent out small columns, mostly composed of native troops, in all directions from Addis Ababa, and it is said that as soon as possible an effort will be made to reach Gore, in the south-west, in order to dispel any awkward ideas about an Abyssinian Government which may still persist at Geneva. At an Italian Cabinet meeting in September it was decided to maintain a peace-time army of 64,300 men in Abyssinia, of which 24,300 would be national troops and the rest native, but it is not known whether the High Command believes that "peace-time" has yet arrived. At the same time the Italian Government is trying hard to create the impression that the fruits of conquest are ripening fast and will soon be ready to pick. If money is short, plans are plentiful, and the whole country has already been colonised on paper. There are, however, indications that a practical start may soon be made. Signor Lessona, the Minister of Colonies, who on Saturday left Italy for Abyssinia, before he went granted an interview which appeared in the "Dépêche Coloniale" and has been widely quoted. Signor Lessona was more restrained in his prophecies, but said that experiments in settling Italians would first be made in the area round Addis Ababa. He also said that land belonging to the natives would be respected—a statement that is none the less welcome for being slightly comic in the circumstances.

Haile Selassie Sends Two Generals To Quell Revolt in Gojjam Province

DJIBOUTI, French Somaliland, Jan. 18—(AP)—Two of Emperor Haile Selassie's generals have been rushed to northwest Gojjam province to put down a serious revolt, it was learned today from reliable sources in Addis Ababa.

News of battles between loyal troops and rebellious forces have reached Addis Ababa, it was said, but a strict censorship kept it from the public.

Ethiopian officials were described as seriously concerned over the situation.

Kenizmatch Sahle, who is known as the "revolt killer," recently went to Gojjam at the head of several thousand troops to aid Dedjazmatch Habte Miriam, who was dispatched from Addis Ababa several weeks ago in an attempt to restore order.

The incidents began late in November and it was believed many weeks would pass before they take a decisive turn.

(Recent Addis Ababa dispatches quoted Ethiopian officials as charging Italians with stirring up Gojjam unrest against the government by dropping proaganda from airplanes.)

If Habte Miriam is successful in downing the revolt, it was expected to enhance greatly his suit for the hand of Princess Tsahai, daughter of Haile Selassie.

Revolutionaries were said to be holding many towns, although loyal forces have entered Debra Markos, the capital of the province.

Dedjasmatch Hailu, a nephew of the Italo-Phile Ras Hailu, who was deposed as ruler of Gojjam province and imprisoned by the emperor, is trying to regain his uncle's domains.

Ras Hailu, who has been held in chains on Zwai island, in a lake south of Addis Ababa, was poisoned to reports.

ETHIOPIAN TROOPS FLEE FIERCE FASCISTS' DRIVE

ROME, Jan. 18.—(AP)—Italy's southern army was reported driving even deeper into Ethiopia today, with Emperor Haile Selassie's warrior-defenders fleeing before it.

An official communique said 5,000 Ethiopians have been killed. Fascist newspapers estimated 3,000 prisoners have been taken captive in what was described as one of the most important battles of the nearly five months' old war.

The southern army has advanced 200 kilometers (about 125 miles) into the barren country, it was claimed in a communique which said:

"The victory of General Graziani's troops on the Ganale Dorya proved to have yielded increasingly more decisive results.

"The pursuit continued all day yesterday without meeting any real resistance by the fleeing adversaries.

"At noon January 17 our armored car columns had advanced altogether about 200 kilometers from their base.

"Our detachment captured prisoners and munitions abandoned by the adversary, whose dead up to yesterday were ascertained to have reached 5,000.

"Aviation, co-operating actively in the pursuit of the adversary, has bombarded supply centers of Ras Desta Demtu at Neghelli.

"On the Eritrean front there is nothing to report."

Press reports said the Duke of Pistoria had promised his troops in the north that "a decisive battle will be unleashed."

(The Ethiopian government officially denied the Italian claims of a southern victory and termed them "utterly fantastic." The territory was said to be only lightly defended by the Ethiopians.)

AMERICAN INDIAN WAR TACTICS USED

WITH THE ITALIAN SOUTHERN ARMY AT DOLO, Ethiopia, Jan. 15.—(Delayed)—(AP)—The tactics of American Indian fighters were mixed today with mechanized warfare in a big battle near here.

I was with hundreds of young Italians who received their baptism of fire last night, as the Ethiopians, who are commanded by Ras Desta Demtu, attacked an Italian mechanized cavalry section.

Taking a page from American history, the Italians improvised a circular fort of Ford trucks which reminded me of the way American western pioneers used prairie scooners in setting up defenses against the Indians.

The Italians held their forts, but only after 20 minutes of very hot fire on both sides.

Throughout the night the Italians were alert, listening to the noises of the battle, raging sometimes near and sometimes far from us.

This morning the battle continued with fascist planes raining bombs ahead, and the artillery bombarding hill positions in the path of the Italian advance.

'LITTLE RAINS' IN ETHIOPIA HAVE HALTED IL DUCE

Courier 1-18-36

Pittsburgh, Pa.

By J. A. ROGERS
(Special to The Pittsburgh Courier)

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia, Jan. 14—(By Cable)—Italian troops in the north and south are rapidly retreating from captured towns and cities, leaving behind them food supplies, guns, trucks, tanks and ammunition.

God, it seems, has come to the aid of the oldest Christian nation in the world. While the fierce guerrilla warriors of Tigre province were lashing out at the entrenched Italians north and south of Makale, the Italian army got a taste of Ethiopi's terrifying "little rains."

Snow chased Napoleon out of Russia. Rain is driving the cohorts of Mussolini out of Ethiopia.

After Napoleon there were strewn on the bleak steppes the carcasses of thousands of men and animals, cannon, the equipment of the victors at Austerlitz.

Behind Badoglio, as he drives his troops back toward Eritrea, there lies bogged in the mud of Ethiopia, the carcasses of men and mules, the magic mechanical equipment of the modern Fascist army.

Hundreds of Italian troops have been captured and are being brought into the interior. They tell horrifying stories of their suffering on the front.

Italian soldiers captured in the Tembien region north of Makale and brought to Dessye, supply base of the northern army, described with grim detail the annihilation of an Italian detachment of nearly 2,000 soldiers by one of Ras Seyoum's small armies in the north. The massacre occurred at Endi Selassi.

Thousands of Italian Askaris have been killed on the northern front.

As the Italians evacuate the wooded mountain regions of Tigre, the Ethiopians shift their offensive toward Aksum, the Holy City, captured without contest by the Italians in the early days of the war.

Aksum is thirty miles west of Adowa, first city taken by the Italians, and the scene of the disastrous defeat of the Italians in 1896.

Temporary roads construcetd by the Italians behind their army in the north have been washed away by the rains.

Ethiopian troops, entering towns once held by the Italians, have torn down the monuments erected to Mussolini and Fascist Italy.

Hordes of happy Ethiopians, women, children and old men, follow in the wake of the victorious armies of the north.

Services are being held in all the churches to thank God for the early rains this season.

The stalling of the Italian army machines by the "rains" will not impede the Ethiopian offensive.

The Ethiopian army moves without roads, its generals are experienced with the problems of rainy season fighting. The harassing attacks on the flanks and rear of Badoglio's army will be kept up.

On the southwestern front, the onslaught of General Graziani's army has been definitely checked. Prisoners are being routed to the capital from this region also.

Under the strict orders of the Emperor, the Italian prisoners are being treated kindly.

Race Problem – 1936
Africa

Abyssinia.

Ethiopia's Victory and The Fight for Peace

● Score one for the forces of democracy and peace with the seating of the Ethiopian delegation by the League of Nations.

The action of the League is described as an upset, and undoubtedly it is. Only a few days ago the cards seemed hopelessly stacked against Ethiopia. With Tory Britain leading the way in an effort to carry out Mussolini's demands, and France following in Britain's wake, the rails seemed to be greased for barring the Ethiopian delegation.

This would have been tantamount to whitewashing Mussolini's pirate war against Ethiopia which the League had overwhelmingly condemned.

What was it turned the tide against this plot for the diplomatic knifing of the victim of fascist aggression?

One great power—and one alone—stood up for Ethiopia and opposed all efforts to exclude her delegation—the Soviet Union.

It is this policy which permeates the Soviet proposals, contained in a letter to the League on Aug. 22, for the strengthening of the system of collective security and opposing all efforts to water down the League Covenant.

GENEVA AND ABYSSINIA

Reactions to the League's Decision

The League of Nations Assembly attempted to remove the impression that last week's vote on the credentials of the Abyssinian Delegation was pointed against Italy by electing the absent chief Italian delegate as one of its vice-presidents. To do this it was necessary to depart from the usual practice of electing individuals; the voting papers this time being made out in the name of the countries.

The attitude of Italian political quarters is that although the decision creates a serious situation, it does not compel Italy to take any action, since she is not present at Geneva. But the same quarters think that Italy will refuse to taken part in the new Locarno talks until the Abyssinian question at Geneva has been settled in her favour.

M. Delbos, the French Foreign Minister, last week notified the Bureau of the Assembly that he intends to ask for the summoning of the Steering Committee of the Disarmament Conference. The committee has not met since the death of Mr. Arthur Henderson, who was president of the Conference.

A French critic who deplored the decision of the Credentials Committee said that the methods of the British and French delegations had been "maladroits et malpropres." They ought, he said, to have told the Assembly frankly that the question was a political one and that the necessity of getting Italy back outweighed all other considerations. In that case he thought—although, for my part, I doubt it—that they would have carried the Assembly with them.

The truth is that the smouldering resentment at the whole treatment of the Abyssinian affair by the British Government burst into flames. When the Hoare-Laval plan was proposed the countries that had rallied sincerely, and almost enthusiastically, to the British initiative felt that they had been deceived and betrayed. The majority of the members of the League agreed, most unwillingly, to the British proposal to drop sanctions, and this increased their resentment. Events have shown that apart from any other consideration it was a grave blunder to drop sanctions without any conditions. The Anglo-French proposal to exclude the victim of aggression from the Assembly to make room for the aggressor was the last straw. The result was a general revolt.

CAUSES OF THE GENEVA REVOLT

From our Geneva Correspondent

It appears that an intervention on the part of M. Politis (Greece) was one of the determining factors in the decision of the Credentials Committee not to refer the question of the Abyssinians' credentials to the Hague Court. M. Politis told Mr. Eden and M. Delbos that if they desired the exclusion of the Abyssinian Delegation from the Assembly one of them would have to propose it, and if neither of them was willing to take that responsibility nobody else would take it. Neither Mr. Eden nor M. Delbos was willing to take it, and thenceforth there was only one course open to the Committee.

The way in which Mr. Eden and M. Delbos conducted the affair was criticised on all hands with unusual severity, even by people who desired the exclusion of the Abyssinians. What they particularly condemned is the attempt to get rid of the Abyssinians by a legal technicality.

FRENCH SURPRISE

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The League action in admitting the Abyssinian Delegation roused much surprise here. This is the only clear reaction. The policy of M. Delbos, the Foreign Minister, was not followed with enthusiasm by his own supporters, but was approved by the Right. For its defeat Conservative opinion blames Soviet intrigue.

If the writers in most of the Right-wing papers are to be believed, Mr. Litvinoff has once more secured a notable victory. There is nothing more striking than the unanimity with which this section of press assumes that France has now been deprived of the loyal and unselfish support of Italy in the forthcoming Locarno negotiations.

It is not unusual to find that the only thoughtful appraisal of the situation comes from "Pertinax," who says frankly that Italy's absence from Geneva is no great loss; that her presence would have been not without inconvenience, and that the basis of Italian policy has not been radically changed. He adds:

> Even for the Five-Power Conference it cannot be said that things have been much changed. For several days the inspired Italian press has been letting us know that Italy had no direct interest in underwriting a France which had become weaker than Germany, and that any collaboration would have to be paid for in the Mediterranean. The press campaign against England has recommenced. Sir Samuel Hoare's recent declaration has made it more violent than ever. The truth is that England wishes to re-establish her hegemony in the Mediterranean and that this does not suit Italy. Consequently Geneva's decision does not change the situation. The Five-Power Conference remains as problematic after as before, both on account of Germany and of Italy.

"Pertinax" recognises and acknowledges as one of the most striking manifestations of Geneva the failure of the small Powers to follow the lead of England and France. It used to be said that if England and France worked together they could run the League after their own fashion. This has now been very clearly disproved. "Pertinax" further resists the temptation to make Mr. Litvinoff the "villain of the piece," and states that if France and England, instead of taking a roundabout method, had faced the problem and asked for the exclusion of the Abyssinian Delegation in the interests of policy they would probably have had their way. Many of the Central and European Powers were by no means certain that it was not the intention of the Five-Power Conference to ensure peace in the West at the expense of the East.

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There is unanimity and no hesitation, however, about German anger with the Soviet Union and with Mr. Litvinoff in particular, who is regarded as having brought off a big stroke, whatever its results.

European politics are thrown into confusion, declares the "Börsen Zeitung," which regards the Assembly's decision as a severe provocation to Italy. The Soviet Union, with the help of the smaller Powers, has aimed a blow at Fascism, but the "intrigue" is also meant to torpedo the Five-Power Conference. Then, straining the plausibility of its arguments in its anti-Russian zeal, the paper states:

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The "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" is not so sure that Mr. Litvinoff acted alone in trying to destroy the prospects of the Five-Power Conference, and its Paris paper draws attention to a report from Paris correspondent declaring that Mr. Eden during his visit to Paris prepared plans with M. Blum and M. Delbos for a new reference to the exchange of correspondence after Germany had reoccupied the Rhineland demilitarised zone pledging England, France, and Belgium to mutual assistance if no new Western pact were concluded, the paper concludes, and with such

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The "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" is not so sure that Mr. Litvinoff acted alone in trying to destroy the prospects of the Five-Power Conference, and suspects a manœuvre aimed at getting England into an alliance with France.

Delbos for the steps to be taken if a new Western pact were not concluded.

French hopes, it is argued, are thus set on the restoration of the Entente Cordiale, and the paper suspects that French objections to Mr. Litvinoff's policy at Geneva are not so strong as the attacks of the Paris press might at first suggest.

SELASSIE'S AIDES SEATED BY LEAGUE

Crowds Cheer Haile as Diplomats Ponder Results of Their Decision.

9-24-36

GENEVA, Sept. 23.—(AP)—Haile Selassie, who lost his empire to Italy, emerged victor over Premier Benito Mussolini tonight when the League of Nations assembly, by a vote of 39 to 4, ruled Ethiopian delegates might be seated, despite Mussolini's repeated assertions that he would not return to the League fold until they were barred.

The League vote officially adopted a credentials committee recommendation that the assembly seat the Ethiopians and not submit the question of their country's status to the World Court, a compromise tentatively advanced earlier.

The vote against seating the Ethiopians came from Ecuador, Hungary, Austria and Albania.

Six countries, including Ethiopia, refrained from voting. The necessary majority was 22 votes.

After the assembly vote was announced, crowds gathered below Haile Selassie hotel room windows and cheered roundly.

A roll call of the credentials committee report, demanded by Hungary, Austria, and Albania, forced the vote.

Italy May Withdraw.

Thus did the League of Nations decide that it would be better to forfeit the support of Italy and Mussolini than to bar the Ethiopians in a diplomatic maneuver which smaller nations insisted would have been equivalent to League recognition to Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

The Ethiopian delegation announced acceptance of the critical vote "with gratitude."

Submit Documents.

The report stated some documents submitted to the credentials committee aleged that Ethiopian governmental authority had been established in sections of the country, although Il Duce's legions are in Addis Ababa.

"It seems exceptionally difficult," the report said, "to judge the nature and extent of power of that authority and the strength of the connection still existing between it and the head of the state (Haile Selassie.)"

The committee session saw representatives of larger powers as well as of smaller countries championing the Ethiopian cause, although the majority of first powers previously had been represented as believing it would be better for world peace to bar the Ethiopians than to incur Mussolini's added displeasure by seating them.

Diplomats Startled.

Anthony Eden, Britain's foreign secretary, startled the pondering diplomats by jumping to his feet and exclaiming:

"Enough of this nonsense! There never has been any sufficient ground to unseat the Ethiopian delegation."

Russia's foreign commissioner, Maxim Litvinoff, also backed the Ethiopians to the utmost.

ITALY'S WITHDRAWAL FROM LEAGUE IS SEEN

ROME, Sept. 23.—(UP)—It was stated reliably tonight that announcement of Italy's withdrawal from the League of Nations will be made officially before noon tomorrow.

Italy's withdrawal as a League member will come as a direct result of the Geneva assembly seating Ethiopian delegates as representatives of a sovereign state, well-informed quarters said. It was learned that Premier Benito Mussolini spent the entire evening studying official reports from Geneva.

It was understood that the official announcement of Italy's withdrawal will be issued after a conference Il Duce has scheduled with Galeazzo Ciano, Italian foreign minister, for 10 a.m.

FUTURE OF THE ETHIOPIAN JEWS

JEWISH communities throughout the world are awaiting with interest the development of Italian policies in Ethiopia, particularly the policies that will involve the future of the Falashas, or black Jews. This part of Ethiopia's population, numbering some 50,000, forms a distinct racial and religious unit and, as such, constitutes one of Italy's problems of administration within the borders of her recent conquest.

The existence of the Falashas as a racial entity was disclosed to the rest of the world only a little more than thirty years ago by Dr. Jacques Faitlovitch, who journeyed into the mountainous regions of Ethiopia by caravan with the aid of a grant from the late Baron Edmond de Rothschild and by permission of the former Emperor Menelik. Dr. Faitlovitch penetrated to the heart of the Falasha community, located then as now along the shores of Lake Tana, and in the region stretching toward Gondar.

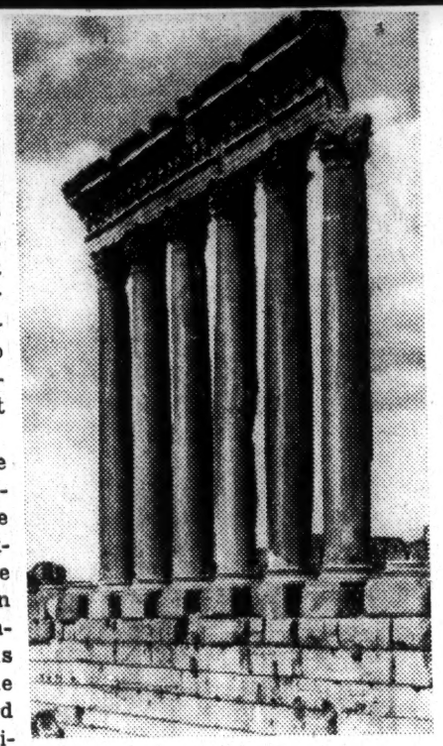
The knowledge of the presence of the Falashas in that part of the country has led to concern and uncertainty on the part of co-religionists in America since the brief announcement by the Italian Minister of Colonies that the Ministry, with the participation of the Hebrew Communities in Italy, had decided to form Jewish communities in Addis Ababa and Diredawa.

The announcement further stated the intention of the Ministry and the union to "make contact with the Falasha population" and "to provide assistance in religious as well as educational matters." It was followed shortly by a further statement that the union has decided to provide "a mission to Ethiopia to undertake the organization of Jewish communities at Addis Ababa and Diredawa."

Jewish communities in Europe and America, which have for a generation given study and help to the cause of the Falashas, have expressed the desire that these people may continue to be brought up in the Hebrew tradition as Jews without reference to other religious training in Ethiopia. Under the guidance of Dr. Faitlovitch and with the help of religious and financial committees in Europe and America, educational work among the Falashas had been conducted up to the occupation of Addis Ababa by the Italian troops.

Under Dr. Faitlovitch's leadership schools were established at Addis Ababa and at Gondar. The former Emperor Haile Selassie contributed 5,000 thalers in 1928 to help in the work of the schools. More than 200 youths have thus been educated, some of them having been sent abroad.

The Falashas are a tribe of Hamitic stock and there is some uncertainty when they became Jews, differing accounts assigning Solomon's period, the Babylonian captivity and the first century of the Christian era as dates. The language of the Falashas is closely related to ancient Hebrew; their rituals are described as being akin.



Publishers Photo Service.

Ruins of Temple of Jupiter, at Baalbek. Svria.

Race Problem – 1936

Africa

Abyssinia

HAILE SELASSIE LONDON-BOUND FOR CONFERENCE

Courier 5-9-36

Able Chiefs Will Continue War On Invaders—Old Regime, Which Hates Whites, Now In Power.

FLASH!—SHAW GOES TO LONDON—*FLASH!*

NEW YORK, May 7—(Special)—Racing against time, John H. Shaw, consul general of Ethiopia, sailed from here Saturday for London, England, where he will join the conference to be held between Emperor Haile Selassie and British leaders.

By J. A. ROGERS
(Special to The Courier)

NEW YORK, May 7—Destruction of the city of Addis Ababa by Ethiopian natives, long-predicted and ordered by Emperor Haile Selassie, is a sign that the old order, rather than the new, now has the upper hand in Ethiopia. Free of the restrain of their Christian Emperor, Ethiopians will vent the fierce hatred of whites which has been welling up within them ever since Italy began her aggression against their country.

First among those hated are the Italians. Second, come the French. Third, the Greeks and Armenians, who have profited from Italy's war, and finally all other whites.

The war is not over. Haile Selassie has left the empire as many of his advisers have sought to force him to do ever since it began. They reasoned that the Emperor could do better for Ethiopia by soliciting aid from friendly nations and placing close-range pressure on the League of Nations.

Most of the powerful military chieftains are still in Ethiopia. They have not surrendered to the Italians. They have retired to the west to reorganize their followings.

These are men who spurn the niceties of warfare as practiced by the Emperor. They lack his magnanimity. They respond to the ancient hatred of the Ethiopian for the foreigner. Under these elder leaders, the natives of Ethiopia will be re-inspired to continue their battle against the invader.

It is these leaders and the old spirit of Ethiopia which has forced Haile Selassie to leave.

Country Split In Two

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Such success as the Italians have had has come more as a result of the defection of Ethiopian support than as a result of the power and strategy of the Italian military machine, except for poison gas. When the going got rough for the Ethiopian armies in the north, these old leaders, silent foes of the Emperor, were able to say to their followers: "See, he cannot win. Let him get out of the way and we will do the job."

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Said they: "The tribes in the west are not loyal. They will not stick with you."

But that does not mean that they are not against the Italians. It simply means that they are determined to get this man with modern, Christian ideas out of the way so that they can defend their country in the way that has guaranteed its safety throughout thousands of years.

So the noble man who is the Emperor gave in. And like the Russians before the advance of Napoleon's army, before he left, he gave the order to his subjects to destroy the great city which had been founded by Menelik.

"Let them come and take all," he said.

"They Will Find Only Ashes"

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SELASSIE SAID BEATEN BY HIS OWN PEOPLE

Constitution

Natives Balked His Every Attempt To Civilize Nation.

5-24-36

By EDWARD BEATTIE.
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(Copyright, 1936, by United Press.)

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When he tried to lay telephone lines the wires were stolen by natives to stick in their noses or ears as ornaments. Grafting ministers sold to their own advantage the rifles and machine guns which he attempted to lay in against the Italian invasion.

With the exception of a half dozen young progressives who were generally overworked and whose enthusiasm was offset by their ineptitude, no one in Ethiopia cared whether civilization progressed or not and at least 50 per cent of the powerful chiefs openly opposed it.

Haile Selassie knew war probably meant the end of him and his attempted progress. Even if he had held the Italians off and eventually gained peace, he was through as dictator. He had remained the supreme power, like all Ethiopian rulers, because he "had the big guns," in this case guns that would really shoot.

When war threatened he distributed them among his chiefs, many of them openly hostile to him and others sympathetic to the old dynasty which considered him a usurper. If peace had come, he would probably have faced revolt.

He was forced to refuse all concessions when peace efforts were made because to make them would have meant revolution in the north. Totally unfitted for military command, he was forced by tradition to take the field when he would have been much more effective at Addis, organizing supply and directing both fronts from a central point.

He knew guerilla warfare was Ethiopia's only chance—that through it he might make the war so expensive and long-drawn Italy would be content with part, rather than all, of Ethiopia.

The chiefs stuck it out for four months in which the Italians advanced roughly 75 miles, went to him shouting "We beat them in 1896 and we can do it again," and proceeded to risk open battle in which they were wiped out.

Haile Selassie now would probably prefer to fight it out, perhaps to save part of the western half of his country. Haile Selassie has often been called the hardest-working man in Ethiopia. No minister or subordinate would make a decision without his approval.

His cabinet was a puppet one. Selassie was regarded as a god by his subjects. He not only took the ancient title of "King of Kings."

He did more in 20 years to modernize and develop the backward and impoverished empire created by his great uncle, Menelik II, than all the previous rulers of Ethiopia.

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SELASSIE CONSIDERED

Race Problem – 1936

Africa

Abyssinia

HAILE SELASSIE LONDON-BOUND FOR CONFERENCE

Courier 5-9-36

Pittsburgh Pa.

Able Chiefs Will Continue War On Invaders—Old Regime, Which Hates Whites, Now In Power.

FLASH!—SHAW GOES TO LONDON—*FLASH!*

NEW YORK, May 7—(Special)—Racing against time, John H. Shaw, consul general of Ethiopia, sailed from here Saturday for London, England, where he will join the conference to be held between Emperor Haile Selassie and British leaders.

By J. A. ROGERS
(Special to The Courier)

NEW YORK, May 7—Destruction of the city of Addis Ababa by Ethiopian natives, long-predicted and ordered by Emperor Haile Selassie, is a sign that the old order, rather than the new, now has the upper hand in Ethiopia. Free of the restrain of their Christian Emperor, Ethiopians will vent the fierce hatred of whites which has been welling up within them ever since Italy began her aggression against their country.

First among those hated are the Italians. Second, come the French. Third, the Greeks and Armenians, who have profited from Italy's war, and finally all other whites.

The war is not over. Haile Selassie has left the empire as many of his advisers have sought to force him to do ever since it began. They reasoned that the Emperor could do better for Ethiopia by soliciting aid from friendly nations and placing close-range pressure on the League of Nations.

Most of the powerful military chieftains are still in Ethiopia. They have not surrendered to the Italians. They have retired to the west to reorganize their followings.

These are men who spurn the niceties of warfare as practiced by the Emperor. They lack his magnanimity. They respond to the ancient hatred of the Ethiopian for the foreigner. Under these elder leaders, the natives of Ethiopia will be re-inspired to continue their battle against the invader.

It is these leaders and the old spirit of Ethiopia which has forced Haile Selassie to leave.

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Such success as the Italians have had has come more as a result of the defection of Ethiopian support than as a result of the power and strategy of the Italian military machine, except for poison gas. When the going got rough for the Ethiopian armies in the south, these old leaders, silent foes of the Emperor, were able to say to their followers: "See, he cannot win. Let him get out of the way and we will do the job."

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Courier 5-14-36

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HIGH COMEDY

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The explanation given by Baron Aloisi for the action is as follows:

"I have the honor to declare that the Italian delegation cannot admit of the presence at the council table of the so-called Ethiopian delegate.

"There exists, indeed, no semblance of organization of the Ethiopian State.

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"Therefore, I find myself obliged to refrain from participating in the discussion."

Following the walk-out, the Baron declared:

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In other words, the victim having been annihilated and his property taken, the victim no longer exists and the property belongs to the present possessor.

In view of the circumstance that the League of Nations was founded to prevent just such occurrences of empirialistic aggression the situation also has its tragic aspect.

If the League, as Baron Aloisi maintains, has no right to discuss the matter of the Ethiopian invasion, then the League itself might as well dissolve for it will exist in name only.

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Painting in clear, undisguised terms, a picture of a war torn country in which the brave defenders are maintaining a stout resistance under difficult conditions against a foe whose bestiality exceeds the stretches of a most vivid imagination, J. A. Rogers, noted Negro historian and only Negro war correspondent in the current Italo-Ethiopian conflict, told several thousand hearers at the Rockland Palace last Thursday evening that the reports of looming Italian victory were absolutely untrue.

"The war is far from over," declared Rogers, adding that the alleged threat of the Italian army on Addis Ababa, capital of Ethiopia is nothing more than a figment of the imagination on the part of the pro-Italian press correspondents. And even if the invaders should occupy the city, he asserted, the spirit of the natives, combined with the topographical layout of the country, would transform the hostilities into guerilla warfare that would last for years.

The reports that the Ethiopians have been decisively defeated, demoralized and are fleeing in confusion are absolutely erroneous, said Rogers, and the heavy casualties reported are not of fighting men as the Italians would have it believed. The Ethiopians still have plenty of warriors, he asserted, but what they most greatly need is ammunition and supplies.

The proposals to send men over to Ethiopia are foolish, declared the speaker. What would really be beneficial would be an abundance of supplies and especially ammunition. He had seen countless Ethiopian warriors set out for the front with only twenty rounds of ammunition, he said.

Discussing the reports of brutality on the part of the Italians Rogers bitterly scored the legions of Il Duce as the most barbarous unprincipled and depraved creatures ever known. The horrors laid at the doors of the Germans in Belgium during the World War, he said, were nothing compared to some of the atrocities which were being perpetrated upon defenseless natives in the East African theatre of war.

Old men, women and children, especially the younger women and girls, were the principal sufferers of the conflict, asserted the war correspondent, and he went on to describe a few scenes which evoked gasps of horror and loathing from his hearers. Young girls were seized and horribly mistreated by Mussolini's minions at each town or village they reached, and reports of the atrocities, spreading through the country, had created even more bitter resentment against them.

These same tactics, declared Rogers, were responsible in a great degree for the major portion of the casualties suffered by the Ethiopians, especially from air raids. Very few warriors had fallen victims of the bombs of Italian airplans he said. As an Italian detachment approached a town or village, said the war correspondent, the old men, women and children, inspired by tales of the brutality of the enemy, were allowed to flee the place while the warriors prepared to offer resistance.

To Return This Fall

The fleeing crowd of defenseless non-combatants, asserted Rogers, were then singled out by the Italian birdmen as a target for their bombs and it was just such occasions that produced the greatest casualties.

EXPLAINS WHY DEFENSE OF REALM FAILED

Poor Communications Biggest Handicap, Emperor Says

(From Sunday Pictorial)

LONDON, Eng., June 19.—The immensity of the war, its recency and consequences may have caused me to overlook the fact that to all the rest of the world Ethiopia is a mysterious, obscure land, as unfamiliar and hazy as the Middle Ages.

I am taking this opportunity to explain to those who sympathized with the plight of my country and the friends who would have found delight had the fortunes of war smiled upon us why my armies abandoned the idea of guerrilla warfare, which most people regarded as our only hope, and fought a last pitched battle with the enemy.

Those who expected us to do anything but stand and fight did not realize our position. The first bombs at Dessie were bad enough, but at least the Italian planes went their way after the raid.

In the plains afterwards, aeroplanes would begin bombing at dawn and raid would succeed throughout the day. Bombs, and bombs and more bombs, without intermission or end.

Burning Rain Unbearable

My men could endure the bombing and the shells, even the gas. They are fearless. Only when the enemy planes dropped the burning rain upon us did it become unbearable.

The Italians used Yperite which fell like water on us. You felt it like gentle rain, then you would experience a damp humidity, and if you were not fast in getting off your clothes you were burned. If it fell upon your face, you were blind.

In that desert, my men could not remove their clothes. The next rain of death would have fallen on their bare skins. Their plight was horrible.

My private doctor, Malaka Bayen, who studied medicine at Howard University in Washington, D.C., was the only qualified medical man in the front line of the Abyssinian army, and was attached closely to my staff throughout the war. During that period, he performed more than 700 operations, mainly without anaesthetic, because there was none, and his heart is broken because, after operating all he could do for the wounded was to make them as comfortable as possible, and leave them.

I was exposed continuously to the conditions I have described. Thank God I was never struck but men a few yards away from me were.

All through the campaign, I had with me my own private anti-aircraft gun, a big Swiss gun which was continuously in action. I brought down several Italian machines.

Perhaps by now, you may have some idea of our terrible plight. There we lay in the plains, impotent to defend ourselves in any real way and there I was forced to the decision that we must fight a last desperate battle, rather than be slowly tortured to death.

It was impossible to split up into small units and continue the war on guerrilla lines. Our men were frantic to get to grips with the enemy who were killing them from afar. Moreover we had no means of communication, so that there would have been no method in the campaign. The bands would have been herded slowly together and then slaughtered. Better a last desperate fighting than slow starvation. So we gave battle. As you know, we lost.

(To be continued next week)

Read how Haile Selassie rushed upon the Italian ranks, and then ordered, commanded, pleaded with his men to let him die on the battlefield that was soaked with the blood of brave warriors.

Summary Slaying of 400 Natives Restores Peace to Addis Ababa

Picture of Ethiopian Capital Today Is One of Tranquillity Enforced by Curfew and Executions; Jackals Haunt Ruins of Business Section.

By EDWARD J. NEIL.

(Copyright, 1936, by Associated Press.)

ADDIS ABABA, June 20.—(AP)—It is so quiet now in Addis Ababa interpreters all day long, settling native claims. The court martials sat all night. They heard the evidence in the worst cases, sentenced 50 men to [illegible] in one group, 20 in another.

The doomed natives were shot at the edge of the flying field, and, when two tried to break away, the captain of the firing squad was caught in the line of machine-gun fire. He saved himself by dropping on his face. Then the firing squad was caught in the city became the marauding stopped. The village became as peaceful as a country village.

Now the ruined business section is haunted at night by only the fighting dog packs, the jackals and the hyenas.

proclamation of martial law. He called for the surrender of all firearms to carabiniere headquarters in four sections of the city.

Natives were told to stop looting, on pain of death. The same penalty was reserved for those who continued to hide either arms or loot. An 8 p. m. curfew, for natives, was established.

For days the arms and loot piled in. But there still was shooting in the ruins at night. Men caught looting were confined in an empty warehouse. Dozens of murderers were caught. The carabiniere non-coms sat with

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The same tactics, declared Rogers, were responsible in a great degree for the major portion of the Ethiopian air raids. Rogers had fallen victim to the bombs of Italian airplanes as an Ethiopian descended upon your face, you were blind.

In that desert, my men could not remove their clothes. The next rain fell like water on us. You felt it like gentle rain, then you would experience a damp humidity, and if you were not fast in getting off your clothes you were burned. If it fell upon your face, you were blind.

In the raids, aerowards, aerobombing at dawn and rain would succeed the day. Bombs, and more bombs and more bombs, without intermission or end.

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Communications Suggest Handicap, Emperor Says

(From Sunday Pictorial)

LONDON, Eng., June 19.—The immensity of the war, its recency and consequences may have caused many to overlook the fact that to all the rest of the world Ethiopia is a mysterious, obscure land, as unfamiliar and hazy as the Middle Ages.

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Summary Slaying of 400 Natives Restores Peace to Addis Ababa

Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

6-21-36

Picture of Ethiopian Capital Today Is One of Tranquillity Enforced by Curfew and Executions; Jackals Haunt Ruins of Business Section.

By EDWARD J. NEIL.

(Copyright, 1936, by Associated Press.)

ADDIS ABABA, June 20.—(AP)—It is so quiet now in Addis Ababa where 800 dead lay on the streets May 5, that everyone yawns through the day and talks through the night.

The pacification, following four bloody days which preceded the entry of the Italian troops, cost probably 400 more native lives. The normal population is about 150,000.

On May 6, Marshal Pietro Badoglio, the Italian commander, issued his proclamation of martial law. He called for the surrender of all firearms to carabiniere headquarters in four sections of the city.

Natives were told to stop looting, on pain of death. The same penalty was reserved for those who continued to hide either arms or loot. An 8 p. m. curfew, for natives, was established.

For days the arms and loot piled in. But there still was shooting in the ruins at night. Men caught looting were confined in an empty warehouse. Dozens of murderers were caught.

The carabiniere non-coms sat with interpreters all day long, settling native claims. The court martials sat all night. They heard the evidence in the worst cases, sentenced 50 men to die in one group, 20 in another.

The doomed natives were shot at the edge of the flying field, and, when two tried to break away, the captain of the firing squad was caught in the line of machine-gun fire. He saved himself by dropping on his face.

Then the marauding stopped. The city became as peaceful as a country village.

Now the ruined business section is haunted at night by only the fighting dog packs, the jackals and the hyenas.

Race Problem – 1936

Africa

Abyssinia.

EXILED NEGUS WINS OVATION IN LONDON

Haile Selassie Is Welcomed by Thousands at Station and on Way to New Home.

HE IS AMAZED BY GREETING

Stresses That He Has No Doubt Appeal to League 'Will Meet Response That It Deserves.'

By FREDERICK T. BIRCHALL

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, June 3.—Haile Selassie, exiled Emperor of Ethiopia, arrived in London this evening and a great crowd of British sympathizers cheered him as he drove away from Waterloo Station to a private residence in Princes Gate, Kensington, placed at his disposal by Sir Elly Kadoorie, wealthy Oriental merchant who is now in China.

The crowd numbered many thousands. It stretched from the station as far as Waterloo Bridge and in it were not only British sympatizers but also Negroes, Chinese, Hindus, African chiefs in native costumes, Somalis and men of color from all parts of the world. It was an international tribute to the man who in the expressive English phrase "put up a good show."

Crowd Rushes at Barrier

They cheered him as he stepped from the train into a barred platform, fifty feet square. His sons, Crown Prince Asfadu Wassen and the youthful Duke of Harrar; his daughter, Princess Tshai; his secretary, Wolde Gorgis, and Ras Kassa, the most successful of his army commanders, a tall gray-bearded soldier in white trousers, heavy brown cloak and brown hat, trailed behind him.

Again and again during the brief period in which he remained there the crowd threatened to burst the barriers and overwhelm the police. There were shouts, "Hail Selassie!" "Long live the Emperor!" and "Welcome to England!"

The Emperor raised his black derby and smiled. He had come, as requested, incognita and had not expected so much.

"I thank you; I thank you," he repeated again and again.

It was different from his last arrival in London. Then he came in full regal splendor with thirty princes in his train and with lions, jewels and costly presents for the British King. Then he was a ruler with a realm. Today he came almost alone, a slight, frail figure in European dress under a long black cloak, looking tired and pale.

Only Public Is Represented

There was no guard of honor at the station this time. No member of the royal family greeted him, there was no State welcome, not even a red carpet. But the British public was out in force.

A bouquet in the Ethiopian national colors—red, yellow and green—was handed to him as he left the train and he smiled his thanks. Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden's private secretary waited on the platform and presented him to a group of distinguished private sympathizers. It included Walter Layton, Norman Angell, Lord Allen of Hurtwood, Charles Napier of the Abyssinia League of Service, many League of Nation devotees and others.

Mr. Napier presented an address which said:

"We, friends, of the Abyssinia League of Service, welcome His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie.

"We lament that Ethiopia has suffered invasion. We, with thousands of people of Great Britain, express the hope that the day will soon dawn when Ethiopia will regain her ancient independence and her rightful emperor will return and, trusting in God, will continue to lead his people toward light and peace."

The Emperor glanced at the engraved script a little sadly.

"God grant that it be so," he said.

Africans Tell of Sympathy

A representative of the Pan-African Federation came forward with its address which read:

"Words are inadequate for us to express our innermost feeling for we have always seen in Your Majesty the symbol of the heroic and liberty-loving people who, despite their gallant efforts, have fallen temporarily to a ruthless foe. But we shall never forget those who have helped you; neither shall we forget those who have betrayed their pledged word.

"We are fully confident that right will prevail over might, and that justice will finally triumph.

Turning back his black mantle the Emperor replied in Amharic which a member of his suite translated as follows:

"I am deeply touched by the welcome you have given me. At this most anxious time to me and the members of my family we must express our profound gratitude to you and the British Government which has shown us its sympathy and has been of great comfort to us.

"We feel that you share our sorrow for Ethiopia, the victim of a war which was forced upon her. We left Ethiopia because we wished to avoid more cruel bloodshed. We have done all that we could but the aggressor poured gasses upon our children and women and all our people, and so we are come to appeal, to ask for judgment from Europe.

"As all League members have the right to expect the discharge of the obligations which are imposed upon the rest we have no doubt that our appeal will meet with the response that it deserves.

"We are deeply grateful to your association for all the help which it has given our cause and we cannot find words to express our gratitude for the sympathy extended to us by public opinion in Great Britain. May justice reign over the earth for always.

"May the British crown and people live for ever. We pray to God, long live the king!"

Cheers Greet His Reply

Loud cheers followed the Emperor's address.

A little girl presented to Princess Tshai a bouquet of red and yellow roses as the imperial party, leaving by a side gate, entered.

At Princes Gate 1,000 more persons were gathered and other thousands were waiting along the route to see him pass. Haile Selassie bowed cotinually to the cheers.

"I am amazed," he told a member of his suite later. "How can I ever thank London for this welcome."

Yet it is easy to miscontrue this enthusiasm. The Emperor is a novelty here and a generation which greets aggressors and their victims almost alike is quick to forget. At the moment when the Ethiopian Emperor was being welcomed to London, Marshal Pietro Badoglio, his conqueror, was receiving frantic plaudits of Italians on his arrival in Rome.

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Interest in Ethiopia Wanes

Despite today's crowds and the seeming enthusiasm, when one looks a little beneath the surface it is obvious the British public is already beginning to forget about Ethiopia. It is equally obvious that they are being encouraged by every possible official agency to do so.

Haile Selassie dined with his family tonight at the Ethiopian Legation. He will sleep tonight in a great gilt bed in the residence fitted up for him. Original furnishings and many red, yellow and green floral decorations have been provided for his living rooms.

The Ethiopian Minister has invited all members of the diplomatic corps in London, with the exception of the Italians, to a reception tomorrow in the Emperor's honor. There is no question of principle involved, so most of the diplomats will attend.

Yet, Ethiopia as it was is now no more and its Emperor, like other exiled monarchs, is on his way to the oblivion of private life. It is only a few weeks sonce the world ackuowledged him, frail but indomitable, firing a machine gun while bombs dropped around him, to be a worthier representative of humanity than his conqueror, posing safely in the Roman limelight. But—this is a world of realists.

DUCE'S MEN LAG BEHIND AS COWARDS

Force Blacks To Carry Attack In Battles Against Brothers

Lustily cheered by a crowd that taxed the capacity of the huge auditorium of the recently built Du Sable high school, Col. John Robinson, the flying ace who has just returned from war-torn Ethiopia, gave a stirring account of the incidents and circumstances of the Italian invasion of the 4,000-year-old African kingdom.

In this the bloodiest of colonial wars, said Col. Robinson, "blacks were pitted against blacks in the most tragic contest in African history." Black natives were placed on the firing line while the white Italian soldiers remained in the background until the shock troops had cleared the way for them. General Badoglio's Roman legions merely marched into positions where natives on both sides had locked horns in a death struggle in which brothers slew brothers.

Religious War

Native Askaris who professed the Mohammedan faith were dispatched to the south while those who followed Christianity were sent to the north. This was contrived by the Italian strategists as a means of intensifying the struggle by exploiting the religious differences of two dominant faiths. Mohammedans would not fight Mohammedans, but they would not hesitate to fight Christians.

"The Emperor," declared Robinson, "was tricked by the rebellion of 80,000 soldiers who turned on him." Many have been the instances of defection in the ranks of the Ethiopian armies. Powerful chieftains voluntarily surrendered to Fascist authorities with a view to hastening the collapse of the central government with which they were at odds.

One of the leading, and by far the richest of the wealthy Rases—Ras Ayelu—had been plotting for years the downfall of Haile Selassie. So threatening was he in his disruptive campaign against the imperial power that his majesty was compelled to imprison him. He had been in jail three years when the hostilities began in East Africa.

With the central government busy repulsing the rapid invasion by the Italians on Ethiopian soil, Ras Ayelu's sons proceeded to enlist the support of sympathizers against the Kings of Kings. Their subversive activities were directly responsible for the periodic revolts that flared up in many of the key provinces where the Emperor expected to check the Italian advance.

Tells of Ras Gugsa

Ras Gugsa, the Benedict Arnold of Ethiopia, son-in-law of the Emperor, betrayed his country when in the crucial moments of the Italo-Ethiopian war he went over to the Italian side. His betrayal was a severe blow to the Ethiopian cause as it affected the morale of natives who might have remained faithful to the last.

When the war clouds came overEthiopia, all of the Rases decided to support the central government of Haile Selassie. A definite military program was mapped out. The armies were under the fearless Ras Seyoum with the right flanks under the command of Ras Gugsa. The Italians were to have captured the Emperor to transfer their allegiance to the enemy. The plot was discovered in time and the plotters were sent to prison.

The son of the deposed Emperor, Lij Yassu, instigated many intrigues with increasing effectiveness against the imperial guard. As the disloyalty grew in strength many of Selassie's faithful followers became apprehensive and advised him to go to the front. To the not hope that such an alliance would warnings and disregarding all the disgruntled loyal soldiers of Selassie gave his daughter in marriage to Ras Gugsa with the hope that such an alliance would bring unity among the disgruntled soldiers. The contract for the marriage was made in Italian money in Ausgusta, the natives who were fighting on the side of the Emperor to transfer into a league with the Italians. For

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When the war clouds came overcoming Ethiopia, all of the Rases decided to support the central government of Haile Selassie. A definite military program was mapped out. The armies were under the fearless Ras Seyoum with the right flanks under the command of Ras Gugsa. The strategic sections of the Ethiopian armies were commanded by ruling Rases near the Haile Selassie. Having bought money in Austria, the contract for the Ethiopian concern, the Italians began to drop thousands of soldiers from their airplanes. This induced loyal soldiers to go to the front. To the disgruntled all unity among the disgruntled tribes. This gesture, however, did not prevent Gugsa from entering into a league with the Italians. For the defeat of the plot was following the discovered in time and the plotters were sent to prison.

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he had planned that for some months prior to the invasion.

Cites Missionaries

"The Italians," said Col. Robinson, "had sent many missionaries apparently to civilize the Ethiopians, in reality these missionaries were geologists who surveyed the soil in order to locate valuable mineral deposits."

"During the reign of Emperor Menelik," continued Robinson, "missionaries were not allowed in the interior of Ethiopia. This restriction was in the main responsible for the Ethiopian success in the war of 1896. The Italians simply did not know the country and had no idea of its topography."

Actuated by a burning desire to develop the natural possibilities of his country, Haile Selassie welcomed Italian missionaries as a means to accomplish the end he was seeking. These missionaries proved to be special agents of the Italian government working under the guise of religious zealots.

The uprising in the provinces, the revolt in the ranks of armies on the battle field coupled with a shortage of munitions and food supplies, and the too inadequate defense against gas and aerial attacks broke down the morale of the Emperor's most faithful followers. Thus Ethiopia lost the war not by the preponderance of superior Italian arms, but by lack of unity, by betrayals at home and abroad as well as by a tragic over-estimation of the sincerity and power of the League of Nations.

30 ITALIANS SLAIN IN ETHIOPIAN TRAP

Aid Called by Radio Too Late to Save Men Caught 'Between Makale and Addis Ababa.'

WAR DEAD LISTED AT 4,359

Rome Says 2,313 White and 1,593 Native Soldiers and 453 Workmen Lost Lives.

ROME, June 2 (AP).—A grim story of how thirty Italian soldiers described their own massacre by Ethiopians in frantic radio messages was disclosed tonight by military authorities.

The soldiers, attached to the air force in Ethiopia, were set upon by natives while escorting a small column of trucks loaded with supplies along the Imperial Highway between Makale and Addis Ababa. [A distance of about 310 miles.]

Making a desperate stand against overwhelming numbers, the Italians held off an encircling attack while the radio operator tapped out S O S calls on his portable set.

Addis Ababa headquarters rushed reinforcements to the aid of the column, but when they arrived the little band had been wiped out to the last man.

Today's communiqué, which gave no date for the close of Italo-Ethiopian hostilities, said the attack on the air force column occurred during the last few days of May.

The soldiers had left the Makale airport, bound for Addis Ababa, following the beginning of the seasonal rains. Originally, airplanes weer to have carried the supplies to the Addis Ababa airport, but the condition of the terrain prevented their taking off. Consequetnly, the motor column was formed to carry the materials. It was guarded solely by the air-force personnel.

As a result of the massacre, the Italian high command in Ethiopia was proceeding to establish armed garrisons along the Imperial Highway.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ROME, June 2.—Further casualty lists published today permit a complete picture to be drawn of Italian losses in East Africa during the military campaign and the period immediately preceding it. The total number of men who lost their lives is 4,359, of whom 2,313 were white soldiers, 1,593 native soldiers and 453 white civilian workers.

Of the 2,313 white officers and men, 1,148 were killed in combat and 1,009 lost their lives through illness or other causes while carrying out duties. One hundred and twenty-five died of wounds and 31 are unaccounted for. Of the 453 white workers, 391 died of illness or accidents and 62 were massacred by Ethiopians in a raid. No particulars are given of the 1,593 native soldiers who lost their lives.

Total Force Put at 560,000

The exact number of soldiers dispatched to East Africa has never been officially announced, but it is believed to be somewhere between 300,000 and 350,000. The number of workers is officially given as 10,000. No figures are available on the number of native soldiers recruited, but it is believed they numbered about 100,000.

Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg of Austria arrived in Venice this morning by train and proceeded almost immediately by plane to Florence and thence to Viareggio by train this evening.

Well-informed circles in Rome state Dr. Schuschnigg will almost certainly see Premier Benito Mussolini before returning to Austria. However, no meeting date has been fixed.

TRIBUNE

Wilmar Munn

MAY 21 1936

HOTCH-POTCH

By V. E. L.

The following stinging comment of Mussolini's African campaign comes from a Canadian source, the *Vancouver Sun,* which modestly calls itself, "Vancouver's Most Useful Institution," and heads its editorial column with the words "read that you may receive not only facts but the significance of those facts." Of course the new Roman Empire has done nothing that has not been done before by the imperialistic nations of the world, but this last act was done just after the Caucasian race had bled itself white in order to establish "democracy" and "self-determination" in the world.

WHITE MAN'S PRESTIGE IN AFRICA

We have heard it said—with a good deal of truth—that Mussolini's African campaign is an evil thing because it was conceived primarily as a national diversion to keep the Italian people from brooding over Fascist oppression.

We know now that the campaign's inherent viciousness goes a good deal deeper than that.

The Italo-Ethiopian rout has done more than offend our sense of political morality and endanger the headwaters of the Blue Nile.

It has definitely lowered the white man's prestige in Africa and, in fact, in every colored part of the world.

It has definitely depreciated the finest asset possessed by the white man to keep him top dog on this very uncertain earth.

In all his dealings with the colored races, the white man has possessed three definite advantages:

1. The belief among colored people that the white race possesses a moral vitality which enables it to get things done with a minimum show of force.

This belief is what permits the British to control India with a handful of white officers and permits lone white commissioners in Africa to subdue and placate thousands of restless blacks.

What a blow to that belief when a powerful white nation has resorted to armed force for months to subdue a few skirmishing Hamites in Ethiopia!

2. The belief in white man's justice.

The colored races know that Italy has been condemned before the white man's highest tribunal as guilty of a crime in Africa.

She has continued that crime with impunity.

What do the colored races think of "incorruptible" white justice now?

3. The belief that the white man possesses superior virtues which lift him above the cruelties, oppressions and mean greediness of inferior races.

Italy has demonstrated all those vices in Africa.

She has matched cruelty with cruelty, oppression with oppression, greed with greed.

So far as the colored races are concerned, the power behind any white invasion has been the conviction that invasion represented the march of a righteous and inevitable principle.

So rankly unjustified has been Mussolini's raid on Ethiopia that even the poor, cowering blacks, conscious of their own "inferiority," could find no reason but despicable greed and arrogance behind it.

Mussolini has betrayed the whole white race. He has placed that race in jeopardy.

He has sorted out all the vices and all the meannesses and all the weaknesses of the whole Caucasian branch of humanity and written them high on the wall of history for the blacks and the yellows and the reds to ridicule and revile.

World's Window

BY PIERRE VAN PAASSEN.

Statues.

An immense statue of Benito Mussolini, 160 feet high, mightier by far than the Colossus of Rhodes, which was one of the seven wonders of the classic world, is to be erected in Rome. The blocks of marble for this monster-monument are being carved and assembled in the white mountains of Carrara. When in place, the Duce will appear in the nude with a lion's skin draped around his shoulders, looking in the direction of the Mediterranean, "Mare Nostrum." The inscription in letters of pure gold staves will attest to the fact and "remind posterity in all eternity" that in the thirteenth year of the fascist era, the son of the blacksmith of Predappio founded the Roman empire.

Another statue, not quite so big, but also of white marble, is to arise in the market-place of Addis Ababa in front of St. George cathedral. It is being erected at the expense of the Italian "Society to Combat Blasphemy," with the blessings of Pope Pius XI and will represent "Christ, the King," as a symbol that with the conquest of Ethiopia by the fascist army "a new era of Christianity and peace dawned for the peoples of Italian East Africa."

Along with this news comes the announcement that some of the black shirt legions who distinguished themselves on the famous walk from Asmara to Addis Ababa are to have the initials of Christ engraved upon their regimental colors and carry "on future expeditions" small statues of Jesus in the same manner as the hoplites of Caesar bore the eagles of Rome in their vanguard on tours of conquest. The innovation is interesting because it shows that the Duce is pursuing his imperial dream not only in the realm of international politics, but has also an eye for the smaller and more picturesque details of ancient pomp. Another Roman conqueror who was also a pagan in his youth, Constantine the Great, fastened the emblem of the cross to his legions' banners after a miraculous sign from heaven at the Milvian bridge. That incident is generally regarded as a decisive moment in the triumph of Christianity over the ancient world. Some, however, hold that Christianity's fall dates from the very hour that Constantine became a convert.

A constitution has been drawn up for the new Italian empire in Africa. Under this constitution the natives will have absolute religious freedom, it is said. This does not take away the fact that so large a number of Catholic missionaries are getting ready to evangelize Galla, Asmaric, Dankali and Somali, that the Abuna, or head of the church of Ethiopia, has sent a pathetically-worded appeal to the patriarch in Alexandria "to save our holy Coptic religion and the peoples of Ethiopia from the Roman heresy."

Race Problem – 1936

Africa

Abyssinia.

Ethiopian Exhibit For Soviet Workers Opened At Moscow

By CHATWOOD HALL
(Chicago Defender Staff Correspondent)

MOSCOW, March 6—(By Mail)—In order to satisfy the intense interest of Soviet workers in Mussolini's plunder war in Ethiopia, a large Ethiopian exhibition has been opened in the Institute of Anthropology in the University of Moscow. Such an exhibition was recently opened in Leningrad, where, like the Moscow exhibit, hundreds of workers daily became acquainted with the people, resources, etc., of Ethiopia.

Under the direction of M. S. Plisetski, director of the institute, the Moscow exhibition presents varied collections of material dealing with native art, clothes, jewelry, etc. Many photographs of Ethiopian life are on view, including household goods, arms, etc.

Ethiopia's strategic position in relation to Lake Tana, the waters of which give life to England's Sudan cotton plantations, is graphically depicted on a large map. Another map shows clearly the rich natural resources of Ethiopia which have aroused the imperialist greed of Fascist Italy, such as gold, ivory, oil, cotton, coffee, non-ferrous metals, etc.

—From—

Operative 22's Mail

(Weekly Dispatch From Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.)

Chicago Defender's Own Correspondent In Empire Of Haile Selassie

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ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia, March 13—Native flyers, trained by French and Swedish aviators, flew their planes last week in a mass formation that surprised and thrilled the Emperor and the civilian population of Addis Ababa.

The Ethiopian air corps consists of 150 pursuit planes and 40 bombers of the latest types. There are now 300 native pilots who have had at least six months of intensive training. There are 25 dare-devil stunt flyers who have been in the air corps service for more than a year. Their instructors are exceedingly pleased with their progress.

If peace negotiations fail and the war is resumed Ethiopia will prove its mettle in the air as it did on land. Marshal Badoglio knows that, and it was that information more than anything else that brought Italian operations on the northern and southern fronts to a halt.

Big Guns Arrive

Ethiopia's defense is today stronger than ever. Many innovations which heretofore had been resisted by native chieftains are now accepted by them as indispensable in the light of recent experience in combatting modern weapons. Powerful long range guns, from Swedish and Georman factories, which had been held up at the railroad station at Djibouti by agreement between the French and Italian governments are now being dispatched to unknown points.

Forces Reorganized

The southern army is now equipped with new and more accurate anti-arcraft guns, and 10,000 automatic rifles. The governors of the northern provinces are reorganizing their provincial forces on a modern basis with 17 Turkish and 20 Swedish officers as members of the technical staff.

Emperor Haile Selassie has called an emergency council of all provincial chiefs with a view to coordinating their military activities along new stragetic methods.

Tribal Tradition Knits Ethiops' Army Despite Seeming Discord

NEW YORK—Though the Ethiopian army, to the Western eye may have the appearance of having little discipline, it really has a very effective organization on a tribal basis, according to Paula Lecler, white noted woman writer, who has just returned from a six months' tour of the African empire.

Miss Lecler attributed some of the troubles of the Italian armies, despite their long preparation for the war, to the fact that they did not sufficiently evaluate the effectiveness of the tribal discipline.

"The united resistance of Ethiopia continues into the sixth consecutive month with only one or two minor defections, like that of Haile Selassie Gugsa, Emperor's son-in-law," said Miss Lecler, "though at one time or another during my stay every important Ethiopian general was reported to be disloyal.

Defection Tales Fanciful

"At the very moment when he was reconsolidating the Ethiopian position near Makale, Ras Desta, I heard, Ras Seyoum and Ras Kassa were reported as having sold out to the Italians. We correspondents were excited by such rumors. But the Ethiopians retained their unshaken composure, denying each defection with weariness rather than with anger.

"Recurrent after each Ethiopian setback during my wartime months in Ethiopia, was the expectation of wild disorders. Western lives especially would be at a premium. Natives terrorized by air raids would trample us down.

"Yet I, a visiting white woman, wandering back of Ogaden's savage front line, usually alone among weapon-studded, frightened - looking Ethiopian irregulars, had in six months not one unpleasant experience.

"In my own extended wanderings behind both Ethiopian fronts, I did not meet one authentic instance of mutilation, though I ran down several rumors. Nor did I ever meet anyone who had. Several imaginative war correspondents remained in Jibouti, sending out fanciful tales of Ethiopian terrorism from a safe distance.

Natives Most Calm

"'Natives as well as we Europeans were alarmed by air raids and anticipation of them. But, on the whole, the Ethiopians displayed the greater equanimity. In Jigjiga and Dessye, with enemy planes circling in the vicinity, the necessary exodus reminded me of the bored formality of a fire drill.

"In Ogaden, semi-savage Somali province ruled by a handful of Christian Amhara, when I was there just before hostilities, there was little evidence of effective war preparation. The Ethiopians depended upon the League of Nations to the very end. But discipline, so far as carrying out civil orders and permits went, held absolute.

"Indeed, I often had occasion to marvel how, in a country so loosely consolidated, with many proud chieftains professing their own pre-eminence, the power of the subtle little diplomat-Emperor holds. There are rebellions to be sure, but they are merely local and soon put down.

Cements Empire

"On the whole, Haile Selassie has not only held his position, but has gradually pulled the far corners of his heterogenous realm in toward Addis Ababa by a disciplinary and organization system based on the old tribal traditions.

"The army is far from being as disorganized as it looks to European eyes. Many times have I witnessed the spectacle of irregular troops arrive by train over the single stretch of railroad. Each exodus from the front looked like wildest confusion. Each time I thought the tangle could never be straightened out. Despite the apparent confusion, each man seemed to know his place and went to it.

Soldiers Rarely Checked

"On the front line there is little external checking of soldiers. At Daggahbur, the wounded and isck were sent out without record when cured. Anyone could run away if one wanted to. Yet the warriors reassembled themselves with almost 100 per cent thoroughness when scattered or separated. The flexible Ethiopian organization is admirably suited to the guerilla warfare that is Ethiopia's only hope."

COUP SEEN BEHIND ATTEMPT TO PROVE ETHIOPS AREN'T PART OF BLACK RACE

Political Purpose Believed Behind Racial Propaganda; Ethiopians Seen As Wedge to Freedom of the Rest of Africa.

By J. A. ROGERS
(Special to The Courier)

HARAR, Ethiopia, Feb. 15—(By Mail)—Behind the propaganda which attempts to prove that the Ethiopians are not a black race; that is to say, are not what America knows as Negroes, is a very definite political purpose.

The Ethiopians are the only independent people in Africa. They are the wedge to the freedom of the rest of Africa. Therefore, the plan always used by white intruders, is to isolate the Ethiopians by telling them that they are a different people.

Singularly, the Ethiopian tradition lends itself to this propaganda. Some two thousand years ago, it appears that members of an Arabian tribe, known as the Habashat, migrated to the region of Aksum, the holy city in the northern part of Ethiopia near the Eritrean border. The color of these invaders is unknown, but since Arabia is, generally speaking, a mulatto land, it is probable that these early marauders were a people of mixed black and white.

Used Dixie Methods

These newcomers of those days, being strong in military power, adopted the same methods as the whites do now in the southern part of the United States. Although they mixed their blood with that of the native Africans, they held on to the fiction that they were an Asiatic people. As the years went on, however, and there was no new migration, the Habashat strain grew less and less ,and these mixed bloods became more and more African. Most of them became indistinguishable from the native African, but they held on tenaciously to the claim that they were not Africans.

This is readily understood by anyone who has lived in the Orient. In these eastren countries the nominal quality of one's descent is determined through reference to the father. For instance, one who is to all appearances a full-blooded Negro, as was Tippoo Tib, may be classified as an Arab because generations ago his paternal ancestor was an Arab. The opposite is true in the United States where a descendant of Robert E. Lee by a Negro woman would belong, not to the white race, but to the black.

This Asiatic tradition among the so-called upper caste of Ethiopia was kept alive by the coming in of some white strain through the Byzantines, the Portuguese, and other whites and near whites. This lighter color helped to set them off from the blacker Africans.

Are Just Like Negroes

Today, as I have recorded before, this so-called superior caste of Ethiopians; that is, the Amharas, the Tigreans and a few others, are in color and hair the type which would be instantly recognized in the United States as black. In the West Indies, many of them would be called "sambo," a term applied to those who have a slight admixture of white blood. Some of these Amharas, while having the African color and hair, have profiles which are Caucasian. These "white" features distinguish them from the purer African stock, such as the Chankalla, precisely as the color, hair and features of some American Negroes mark them from the true African.

This ancient tradition of the Amharas that they are not an African people in origin has been used for ages as evidence of superiority and for the purpose of exploiting the purer African stock. And it is still very much alive. Tradition dies far harder in the East than in our Southern States.

The Europeans who came in toward the end of the last century did all they could to sustain this tradition for obvious reasons. At the same time they exploited the Ethiopians, regardless of caste, for all that the traffic would bear. The result was that these Europeans excited a more extended racial consciousness in the minds of Ethiopian overlords, who, under this treatment, began to realize that they were only a black people after all.

While telling the Amharas that they were a superior people before their faces, the Europeans called them "n——rs" behind their backs as they did the other Africans. I myself have heard them.

Young Ethiopia Is True

Today the younger generation of Ethiopia knows that it is black and that its future lies in the recognition of the fact that it is. Young Ethiopia is rejecting the barren tradition of Semitic descent, whatever that is. Young Ethiopia knows that this race which has been robbed, cheated and despoiled by Europe. Ethiopia's military power, their country would be free; that is, as slaves—an attitude trampled under foot as other African groups have been in the past.

This younger generation of Ethiopia, with whom I have discussed the question at great length, is listening eagerly and gladly now to the words, and observing the activities, sympathies and aspirations of other black peoples in other parts of Africa, America and Europe. And the more enlightened ones among the older generation are doing the same. This attack on Ethiopia's very existence by a white power has heightened racial feeling until it has become a source of dread among even the friendliest whites here. As one white American who is a true friend of Ethiopia remarked recently:

"Americans are well liked in Ethiopia. Neevrtheless, there is an element of great danger in our being here, for, after all, we are white. Should there be an uprising, we would share the same fate as the rest."

Must Watch England, France

Young Ethiopians are eager to make an appeal to the dark world. But Great Britain and France, with their vast black populations, have a horror against racial discussions. Both would certainly use their power to increase Ethiopia's difficulties should she come out boldly and take the lead in stirring up racial sentiment among the oppressed black people in Africa and America. The Emperor would at once be accused by his white friends in the League of wishing to start a race war in Africa. Some of these white friends are expecting to be given "fat plums" in Ethiopia after this war.

Speaking recently on the subject of Ethiopia's relation to the rest of the dark world to a young, highly-educated Ethiopian who belongs to one of the leading families, I was told: "Unfortunately, we are not in a position to make a racial appeal. Certain European powers would at once take alarm. Therefore, it is up to you people in America and Europe to do that for us."

No Superior Feeling

The Ethiopians with whom I have talked regard as preposterous the assertion that Ethiopians consider themselves superior to American Negroes. It cannot be denied, however, that some of the more ignorant, provincial Ethiopians regarded the American Negroes who came here in the past as Chankalla; that is, as slaves—an attitude which was as ridiculous as it would be for an African whose blood was fifteen-sixteenths pure to look down upon one of pure stock. But I report with the fullest conviction that this is not the spirit of the younger, more intelligent, rising generation, nor that of the thinking among the older Ethiopians for whenever and wherever I tell of the great sympathy for Ethiopia among American Negroes, I can observe the quickened interest, the eagerness to hear of their blood brothers across the sea.

Ethiopia's noble ruler has set himself to the task of breaking down this prejudice created against itself by the white race. But his task is almost superhuman because of the colore prejudice kept alive in other parts of Africa by white Christians.

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S. AFRICA AND THE ITALIAN VICTORY

General Hertzog and the League

From our South African Correspondent

The statement by General Hertzog on the Italo-Abyssinian crisis was unexpectedly prompt and vigorous. In the earlier days of the League of Nations he was not an enthusiastic supporter of the Covenant, and it has been striking that he should have taken up so strong a line in a dispute where the attacking State was one with which the Nationalist Government established close diplomatic relations and the defending State was the home of a black race. What are the reasons which have prompted General Hertzog and the South African Government in general to take so strong a line?

First, to be quite fair, a genuine sincerity in the upholding of international right. There is a strong sense of law and its sanctity in South Africa and a distinguished legal tradition which, coupled with the sense of fair play which we derive from our British heritage, has made South Africa react to the aggression of Italy much as England and Holland reacted. Not having the responsibility of conducting delicate diplomatic negotiations with the nations of Europe, separated from them by a narrow strip of sea only, educated South Africans have been able to indulge in the luxury of being outspoken more easily than English statesmen could.

In the second place, South Africans are beginning to feel much greater interest in and responsibility for the future of Africa. Perhaps at times, like Mr. Grobler and Mr. Pirow, they take themselves a trifle too seriously. It is inconceivable that the Union of South Africa should attempt to set up a Monroe Doctrine for Africa. At the same time one must welcome the increasing interest of the Union in the continent which forms its hinterland. New annexations in that continent are a matter of serious concern to South Africans. The overthrow of Abyssinia can hardly fail to stimulate colonial activity in Germany, and the re-establishment of Germany in either South-West Africa or even Tanganyika would be thoroughly distasteful to many South Africans. There is, moreover, a school of thought in the Union which looks with a special horror on the arming of the native populations of the continent. Such horror is no doubt inspired by motives not in themselves commendable, for it is rather fear of colour than love of peace that underlies them. Nevertheless, in the thinking of the South African people antipathy to the formation of black armies in Africa is an important factor.

The third reason for General Hertzog's attitude is that any serious interference with the League of Nations as at present established would be most embarrassing in its effect on the relations of the Union with Great Britain. The political position in the Union with regard to constitutional questions is most delicate. Between the Scylla of the Republican Nationalist party and the Charybdis of the Dominion party General Hertzog has to steer the ship of State with some care. The dispute between Italy and Abyssinia gave him the opportunity of extending the fullest support of South Africa to Great Britain, while at the same time ostentatiously professing that he did so as a member State of the League and in pursuance of our obligations under the Covenant rather than as a result of the constitutional tie with England. His actions won him the support of the English-speaking community, while the reasons he was able to give for them were such as not to lose him the support of his old friends in the Transvaal and the Free State.

If the League of Nations were to "go under" General Hertzog would find no middle path; he would have to choose between linking himself much more closely with Great Britain as part of the single defensive unit or standing alone as an isolated and possibly neutral State—a State still in the household of the Commonwealth but with one foot just outside the front door. The mission of Mr. Pirow to England is a sign that in the last resort General Hertzog's sense of political realism will push him into closer co-operation with England. But we can be sure—humanly speaking, at any rate—that the mission to England will be the stock-in-trade of many a Nationalist orator on many a country platform for years to come. It is indeed extraordinary how on all points General Hertzog is being compelled in this fourth decade of the century to do what General Botha did in the second decade. What General Hertzog said of General Botha twenty years ago is precisely what is being said of General Hertzog by Dr. Malan to-day.

But General Hertzog is a statesman and a realist; he knows the necessities of his country; he knows that, as many an old Republican has said during the last few days in Parliament, England is the closest and best friend of South Africa; he knows that if—which God forbid—the League of Nations and the whole system of international covenants should break down the only hope of South Africa lies in close alliance with the other States of the British Commonwealth, and in particular with Great Britain.

Lift Up Your Voices

HAILE SELASSIE broke precedent Tuesday when he appeared personally before the assembly of the League of Nations and asked the fifty-two member nations: "What is to become of the promises made to me?" Never before had the ruler of a nation appeared as the representative of his people to picture the scientific murder and subjugation of his subjects by an aggressor nation.

The Emperor reminded the league that it had agreed that Italian invasion was complete disregard of the covenant of the league and in violation of every pledge which binds the nations in the league.

He noted "with grief, but without surprise, that three powers considered their undertakings under the covenant as absolutely of no value."

He also learned, with profound disappointment, of the attitude of "a certain government (Ed. Note: France) which, while protesting its scrupulous attachment to the covenant, has tirelessly used all its effort to prevent its observance."

The little King of Kings must have caused to flush with shame the faces of the delegates of Britain and France when he reminded them:

"The Ethiopian government never expected any other government to shed its soldiers' blood to defend the covenant when their own immediate personal interests were not at stake. The Ethiopian warriors asked only means to defend themselves. On many occasions I asked for financial assistance for purchase of arms. What, then, is meaning of Article 14 of the covenant and of collective security?"

What comfort could Anthony Eden find in the query: "What undertakings can be of value if the will to keep them is lacking?"

And how many British and French statesmen prate to their colored subjects of justice, integrity and national honor when their ears drum with this unvarnished truth expounded by the head of the nation they so treacherously deserted:

"It is international morality which is at stake. . . ."

Exiled from his capital by the force of the Roman robbers and the perfidy of the "civilized" nations from which he had the right to expect every assistance in preserving Ethiopian sovereignty, Haile Selassie remains a fighter. Even now he desires to return to western Ethiopia to renew the defense of his country. He still pleads for arms which have been denied him.

In our own United States the government has seen fit to end the embargoes against Italy, although Il Duce's forces are not masters of all of Ethiopia. Shall we permit or acquiesce to American recognition of Ethiopia as an Italian empire?

Let protests mount up and alarm Washington. Let West Indian and American Negroes remind the league that abandonment of Ethiopia to its fate destroys every vestige of respect they have held for it, and for the individual nations which refuse to recognize the obligations they assumed as members.

Voices crying for justice must be hushed never.

FASCISTI IN UPROAR SHOUT AT NEGUS AT LEAGUE SESSION

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Ethiopian Emperor Warns the Assembly 'God and History Will Remember Judgment.'

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When the Emperor was called upon to speak, he walked to the rostrum with great dignity and began to unfold the pages of his address. With the spotlight turned full upon him the galleries ending patiently for the noise to subsided began a patter of mild applause. Neighboring colleagues of the demonstration. But when the Italians tried to pull them back to did appear the group of ten Immediately from one end of the their seats and make them subside, handled without ceremony. press gallery where the Italian Fascisti was handsky gendarme grabbed journalists sat together pandemonium arose. Led by a red-faced man collar and rushed him with a bull voice the Fascisti Assembly resumed. shrieked excerations and abuse. Several mechanical whistles were turned loose and delegates on the floor rose and faced the gallery in protest. The Emperor stood wait-

Rushed Out by Police

It was several minutes before the police appeared. They had been stationed in the public galleries below, nobody having anticipated the demonstrations in the press gallery taken their identity aroused some out. Then the Assembly resumed. Outside arrests were made and the offenders were locked up for the night. When their names were each by the Italian Embassy in Turin; Eugenio Moreale, press attaché of the Italian Embassy in Vienna; Lido Caiana, General Secretary of the Fascist Journalists Association and diplomatic correspon-

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It was several minutes before the police appeared. They had been stationed in the public galleries below, nobody having anticipated the demonstrations in the press gallery. Then the Fascisti were made and arrests were made and were locked up for out. When their names were identity aroused some Outside arrests were the offenders were taken their identity included A. Signoretti, editor of the Stampa of Turin; Eugenio Moreale, press attaché of the Italian Embassy in Vienna; Lido Caiana, General Secretary of the Fascist Journalists Association and diplomatic correspon-

dent of Premier Mussolini's newspaper the Popolo d'Italia; Guilio Cabrin and Carlo Ciucci, correspondents of the Corriere della Serra of Milan; A. Marchini, an official of the Stefani News Agency; Giovanni Engely of the Lavoro Fascista; Paolo Monelli and Vittorio Fascetti of the Gazette del Popolo, and Aldo Casuto of the Piccolo.

Mr. Marchini and Mr. Fascetti were released after questioning, but the eight others remained in custody.

Says He Gave Warning

Nobody believes that tha offenders acted in the way they did without arrangement with and authorization by their government. There is, indeed, some color for this impression. Count Bova Scopa, the permanent Italian League delegate, is understood tonight to have already communicated with the League Secretariat recalling that he had given warning in advance that should the Emperor be allowed to speak a demonstration might be expected.

What will be done to punish the offenders is not clear. Technically the League meeting is extraterritorial, but by agreement with the Swiss Government that provision does not apply in case of disturbances. Article 43 of the Swiss penal code provides imprisonment and expulsion for an insult to a sovereign, but it is not likely to be applied. The Swiss Federal Government is generally regarded as pro-Italian. However, should it be disposed to be lenient in this case, the canton of Geneva, which is controlled by Socialists, can expel these men, some of whom have lived here for years.

Their action already has been repudiated by the International Association of Journalists Accredited to the League of Nations, which immediately adopted a resolution pointing out that they were not members of the association, but apologizing, nevertheless, to the Emperor and the League for their conduct. The secretariat has deprived them of their League credentials.

Suppression Moves Fail

Earlier all attempts to suppress the Emperor or, failing that, to mimimize the drama of his appeal had been skillful though ineffective. They began in the Committee on Credentials, which wanted to prepare a report declaring it had not had an opportunity to examine the question of Ethiopia's rights, after the Italian conquest to retain representation in the Assembly. This would have been an entering wedge for discrediting the Ethiopian credentials. Bozidar Pouritch of Yugoslavia spiked that.

Then the steering committee, which prepared the way for the Assembly meeting, took a hand. In its meeting Giuseppe Motta of Switzerland with the support of the Hungarian delegate tried to stress the "unwisdom" of allowing the Emperor to speak. Great Britain and France, however, held it would be unwise for the League to try to prevent it; therefore, that failed.

Crowd Cheers Emperor

So the Emperor appeared for this opening session instead of tomorrow's and half the population of Geneva seemed to have gathered outside the Assembly hall to see him come. The crowd gave him a great cheer as he was escorted inside. There he was detained for a few minutes and then, while the temporary chairman, Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, was making his preliminary announcement, a member of the secretariat led him in and unobtrusively escorted him to his seat. As everybody was occupied with listening to Mr. Eden's preliminary announcement, the Emperor reached his seat almost unobserved and without any demonstration whatever.

Paul van Zeeland, Belgian Premier, was duly elected president of the Assembly and then a long Italian communication setting forth the Italian case was read and translated. It reviewed the history of the Ethiopian conquest from the Italian point of view and stressed the joy of the Ethiopians over it, their fidelity to their new masters and Italy's excellent intentions toward them.

"Italy views the work she has undertaken in Ethiopia as a sacred mission of civilization," said the communiqué, "and proposes to carry it out according to the principles of the League covenant and of other international deeds which set forth the duties and tasks of civilized powers."

It added that religious beliefs would be fully respected and that the free use of the country's original languages was guaranteed. Slavery and enforced labor had been suppressed and taxes would be levied only to meet local requirements. Italy accepted the principle that natives would not be compelled to perform military duties other than local policing and territorial defense. Freedom of transit and communications and fair treatment for the trade of all countries would be guaranteed.

Finally, "Italy will consider it an honor to inform the League of Nations of the progress achieved in her work of civilizing Ethiopia, of which she has assumed the heavy responsibility."

It was evidently intended as a palliative. The reading and translation of the document occupied a long time. The Emperor sitting at the head of his delegation listened attentively, but did not make a sign.

Then José Maria Cantilo, the Argentine delegate, delivered a long speech explaining and defending Argentina's convocation of this special Assembly to recognize the sacredness of the integrity of territory and the necessity for changing it only by arbitration. It was all extremely vague and in the end it was not at all clear where Argentina stood.

Negus Speaks Amid Tension

Finally, Mr. Van Zeeland called on the Emperor. It was under the tension created by the Fascist demonstration that the Emperor spoke, and that very tension caused him to be listened to all the more closely. He spoke in Amharic in clear, even tones. Amharic is not the most suitable language for an impassioned speech, for its words run together so that it is hard to distinguish them. That remarkable American invention, the telephonic translator, however, enabled his audience to hear him simultaneously in either French or English through earphones, merely by turning an indicator to the language desired.

The Emperor's speech concluded the session. During the hour or more in which official interpreters were repeating it in English and French for those who had earphones, the rest were eagerly discussing its effect. It was the general opinion that the speech would be hard to answer, but regarding its practical effect, except upon public estimation of the League itself, opinion was far more dubious.

It was notable, however, that in adjourning the session Mr. Van Zeeland remarked that only seven delegations—those of Colombia, France, Panama, Britain, Russia, South Africa and Canada—had announced an intention of speaking tomorrow, and he urged others so far unwilling to come forward to do so.

Negus Warns Smaller Nations

By The Associated Press.

GENEVA, June 30. — Riotous scenes in the galleries shattered the dignity of the League of Nations Assembly tonight when Emperor Haile Selassie told the world's peacemakers, "You deserted us to Italy."

When the demonstration in the galleries had been squelched by policemen, the Emperor said what he had to say, calmly and fully.

"I could not believe that fifty-two nations—among them the most powerful in the world—could be defeated by a single aggressor," he said sorrowfully.

He warned smaller members that "in this struggle I have been fighting the cause of all small countries against the greed of a powerful invader."

"The representatives of fifty-two nations assured me the aggressor would not triumph," he said, after having asserted that "I did not wish the war that was imposed upon me."

"Despite our lack of airplanes, artillery and other modern weapons, my confidence in the League was absolute," he went on.

"I never expected the people of foreign countries to have their sons shed their blood for us, but I did expect the League powers to grant me financial assistance so I might purchase badly needed arms. * * *

"Outside the Kingdom of the Lord, there is no nation which is greater than another. God and history will remember your judgment!"

Referring to the movement to lift sanctions, he asked:

"Does this not mean that you abandoned us to Italy? Will the world States accept this precedent and bow down before force?"

Describing the Italian campaign, Haile Selassie said:

"From January, 1936, soldiers, women, children, cattle, rivers, lakes and pastures were drenched continually with gas. These fearful tactics succeeded.

"Men and animals succumbed. The deadly rain made the people flee, shrieking in pain. All those who ate affected food or drank poisoned water also succumbed amid dreadful sufferings.

"Tens of thousands of victims of Italian mustard gas fell. It was to denounce to the civilized world the tortures inflicted upon the Ethiopian people that I resolved to come to Geneva."

Ethiopian Army Reported Moving On Addis Ababa

LONDON, July 21.—(AP)—A report that Ras Kassa, Ethiopian chieftain, was moving on Addis Ababa with a large force brought a declaration tonight from the Ethiopian legation here that Ras Kassa was visiting former Emperor Haile Selassie at Worthing, England.

An official of the legation pointed out, however, that Ras Kassa has two sons, one of whom might have been mistaken for him.

An Exchange Telegraph dispatch from Cairo said the Egyptian foreign ministry had received word from its Addis Ababa consul that the Ras was advancing and that heavy fighting had occurred.

This account said Ras Seyoum, another of the deposed Emperor's former army leaders, was reported moving toward the Ethiopian capital in another direction and planned to make contact with Ras Kassa.

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

Abyssinia.

New York N.Y. 6-10-36

Times Wide World Photo.

THE ARRIVAL OF HAILE SELASSIE AND HIS FAMILY IN ENGLAND

The exiled Ethiopian Emperor (left) as he landed at Southampton last Saturday with his daughter, Princess Tsahai; the Crown Prince and the Duke of Harrar, his youngest son (at the extreme right). Walking beside the Emperor is Dr. Martin, the Ethiopian Minister to Great Britain.

ETHIOPIAN FORCES CONTINUE FIGHTING

11,500 Warriors Are Within Fifty Miles of Addis Ababa—Heavy Rains Due Soon.

BANDITS ALSO ARE ACTIVE

Italians Execute 50 in Group With Machine Guns—100 Others Also Put to Death.

JIBUTI, French Somaliland, June 6 (AP).—Ethiopian troops, despite the flight of their Emperor, are still under arms and at least 11,500 of them are within fifty miles of Addis Ababa.

With heavy rains due late this month, Italian troops are making no serious effort to penetrate the country beyond Addis Ababa with the sole exception of the Province of Gojjam.

In addition to the warriors, thousands of bandits are roaming about looting and burning homes and slaying farmers.

A troublesome situation around Addis Ababa is disclosed by Italian general staff maps showing the location and strength of unsubdued and warring tribesmen. This information has not heretofore come from Addis Ababa, where there is a military censorship.

Ethiopian Forces Listed

The following Ethiopian concentrations, the military maps show, are still afield:

Five thousand under Blata Tacle, former police chief at Addis Ababa, west of Addis Alam, forty-five miles west of Addis Ababa.

Fifteen hundred under Ras Emerou at Adgile, northwest of Addis Ababa.

Fifteen hundred under Baskia Uoldit, near Ankober on the road to Dessye.

Two thousand under Gulama Tessema, southwest of the capital.

Five hundred under Ailu Gabre at Zuduaca, to the south.

Five hundred under Auerria Cassa at Salale, north of Addis Ababa.

Three hundred under Ligabau Tessau in the mountains northwest of Addis Ababa.

Two hundred under Grasnacs Chefle at Verer, twenty-five miles east of Addis Ababa.

Ethiopians in exile here insist the Ethiopian forces will be extremely troublesome during the heavy rains.

Italian forces at Addis Ababa were greatly weakened when two brigades of Askaris were sent to riotous Gojjam province. Troops in the capital scarcely out-number the surrounding Ethiopian forces.

Italian Trucks Are Attacked

There is much guerrilla warfare outside the capital. Italian trucks are raided and their drivers killed. In reprisal, the Italians have executed many.

Native runners are spreading the wild rumors from tribe to tribe in an effort to keep up moreale. They say Emperor Haile Selassie is returning and report the Askaris are killing their white officers and will give Addis Ababa back to the Ethiopians.

Executions of Ethiopians in Addis Ababa numbered at least 150. One group of fifty was shot down by machine guns under beam lights as they stood roped together on the edge of a gully near the aviation field. The officer in command of the firing squad was almost caught in the Italian fire when the guns opened up prematurely.

One hundred other Ethiopians, arrested on charges of looting and withholding arms, were forced to witness the mass execution.

Viceroy Marshal Rodolfo Graziani is enforcing an iron-handed régime. When his car passes other automobiles all persons in the other cars, including foreigners, must stop, get out and give the Fascist salute.

Italians discovered 4,000 pounds of dynamite under the supports of a big railroad bridge over the Awash River recently just in time to prevent its destruction, which would have stopped the Addis Ababa-Jibuti line for months.

SLAVERY REPORT

Reservations on Italian Document

From our Geneva Correspondent

The report of the Advisory Committee of Experts on Slavery was issued on Monday. It includes the information given to the Council of the League by the Italian Government about slavery in Ethiopia, with photographs supplied by the Italian Government. 6-12-36

With regard to this information the Council made all necessary reservations and expressed no opinion upon the documents submitted by the Italian Government, in accordance with the rules of procedure, which provide that if a communication relating to slavery and concerning any country is submitted by the Government of another State the Committee shall forward it to the Council with a view to its transmission to the Government of the country concerned so that the latter may be enabled to submit its observations.

THE EMPEROR OF ABYSSINIA

"Appeal to all Peoples"

6-12-36

The Emperor of Abyssinia will probably leave this country in a week or two, it was stated at the Abyssinian Legation on Sunday. "He will possibly visit Switzerland," said an official. "He will not go personally to the League Council at Geneva, but he will be represented there. He is not ending his visit earlier than was originally intended. It was never intended that he should stay permanently in this country."

The Emperor held a reception on Saturday, and those who attended included Mr. Lloyd George and one or two other members of Parliament.

On Thursday of last week the Emperor met a number of pressmen, when the following statement was read:—

> We have never desired war. It was imposed upon us and with our people unarmed and unprepared we have resisted for seven months. Our subjects were poisoned, burned, and decimated by gases against which they had no means of protection.
>
> Returning with us to Addis Ababa, our troops passed through devastated fields and ruined villages covered with the bodies of the aged and of women and children massacred behind the lines by the pitiless aviation of the enemy. In the face of such horrors we had to choose either to allow the complete annihilation of our people or, on the other hand, to terminate their sufferings and to come in person to appeal to the sentiment of all peoples.
>
> We were living peacefully in our homeland and had never menaced other peoples. An invader has come and destroyed our homes and our defenceless people. Trusting in the solemn engagements of treaties, we had not found it necessary to prepare for war in order to preserve the benefits of peace. The Covenant of the League of Nations, an ideal which was born out of the painful experiences of the World War, cannot in silence and indifference be destroyed without subjecting humanity to the triumph and rule of force over right.

THE ABYSSINIAN ROUT

Turkish Adviser's Revelations

6-12-36

From our Cairo Correspondent

Wehib Pasha, the Turkish general who was Chief of Staff of the Abyssinian Southern Army, has been making shrewd comments on the Italo-Abyssinian war. He granted interviews here. But he had nothing but admiration for the Negus, who was on a plane above any of his countrymen. Flight was the only thing possible in the face of open rebellion.

The use of gas by the Italians, he said, may have been a contributory cause for the rout in the north, but lack of food and war material, Italian espionage, propaganda, and money were the downfall of the Abyssinians on both fronts. Gas undoubtedly had a demoralising effect, but actually it was not so effective as in France owing to the nature of the country; it hung in the valleys, and troops could escape by moving up the hills. In the same way air bombing had little effect. The General said that sometimes for days on end the Italians sent over countless 'planes, dropping tons of bombs, but there were no proper buildings to bomb, and no real damage was done. The troops became so indifferent that it was only with difficulty that they could be forced to take cover. But espionage was the deciding factor. Despite the Abyssinians' inherent suspicion of foreigners, the Government service was full of spies in the pay of the Italians, so that every movement of troops was conveyed to the enemy, in many cases by the aid of wireless. In this way the Abyssinians were outwitted at every turn. Nevertheless, Wehib Pasha was anxious to point out that in his generalisation he did not include the Swedish officers attached to the Emperor. He said that they all gave of their best, and many of them distinguished themselves with remarkable feats of bravery.

Speaking particularly of the southern front, Wehib Pasha could not withhold a compliment to General Graziani, the Italian Commander-in-Chief. He said that from the first he had advanced cautiously, always making sure of his lines of communication and never leaving a loophole for the Abyssinians to attack. But as he was kept fully informed by spies of the disposition of the Abyssinian forces, he always had a great advantage. Moreover, General Graziani made full use of his Askaris and other native troops (of whom Wehib Pasha was not a great admirer), so that, apart from Italian officers, white troops were rarely seen. In the last stages of the fighting on the southern front the Italians suffered heavy casualties among their native troops, and detachments of white troops were brought up as reinforcements.

Of the majority of his own forces Wehib Pasha spoke highly. In the circumstances they gave a very creditable performance. For days they marched on nothing more than a handful of meal, and towards the end of the war, when food supplies became still more scarce and irregular, they often went for days without any food at all and sucked pebbles to remove the pangs of thirst. Of their equipment Wehib Pasha could only speak with disgust. He said that the majority were in possession of at least half a dozen different sorts of rifles and a similar number of kinds of ammunition. Consequently, when they did receive fresh supplies of ammunition it was often found to be unsuitable for the many antiquated rifles in the possession of the troops. The Abyssinian Imperial Guard, from which great things had been expected, proved a disappointment. They had been trained, said Wehib Pasha, how to shoulder a rifle and march in step on the parade ground, but had been robbed in the process of their natural fighting qualities. In battle they were not to be relied upon like the untrained irregulars, and their hasty flights in the face of the enemy were infectious.

Then the Italian agents got to work with a liberal supply of money among the petty chiefs and discontented troops, so that one morning Wehib Pasha and other members of his staff woke to find that the troops they had posted overnight had disappeared. They had mutinied and made off to the capital or to their native villages. It was not disloyalty to the Emperor, said Wehib Pasha, but merely a question of hungry and ill-equipped troops passing to the highest bidder.

But Wehib Pasha had a moral to draw from the war which deserves more than a passing consideration from all those interested in the Italian adventure in Africa. He believes that for the moment Italian bribery has triumphed over half the country, but there still remains another half unconquered and no thought anywhere of allegiance to the Italians. Moreover, despite the supposed collapse of the Abyssinian Empire, the Abyssinians still remain, in his opinion (and Wehib Pasha has had considerable fighting experience), some of the finest natural soldiers in the world. It only remains for them to be equipped with modern weapons and led by white officers to provide an army which no one could afford to despise. Wehib Pasha is convinced that within a few years Italy can raise an army which would be a menace not only to Egypt and the Sudan but to all the surrounding countries.

EMPEROR'S HOME IS LIKE PALACE

LONDON, June 25—(By Rudolph Dunbar for ANP)—Haile Selassie, whose presence here has made him a sort of "problem child" of the diplomatic corps, has been living in London as the guest of a millionaire he has never met.

Th mansion he has occupied at No. 6, Prince's Gate, is owned by Sir Elly Kadoorie, reputedly worth more than $20,000,000, who is at present in China. Next door are the new headquarters of the Imperial Ethiopian legation, headed by Dr. Martin.

Sir Elly not only cabled an immediate affirmative to the request from London that he should lend his house to the Emperor, but added a hope that Haile Selassie, his family and suite, should be his guests during their stay here.

The British nobleman's mansion is filled with valuable furniture and an almost priceless collection of art objects. The carpets alone are worth many thousands of dollars.

Marble Used

The hall is black and white marble; the staircase is marble; the mantel-pieces are marble. The Persian carpet in the drawing room is worth $10,000 and priceless Persian carpet is laid on the staircase. Selassie himself sleeps on an old French gilt bed. Adjoining his chamber is a bathroom with a white marble bath.

Above the house floats the red, green and yellow flag of Abyssinia from a new erected staff. Next door in the legation, the walls of the reception room have been painted Abyssinian pink. The color was copied from an old Ethiopian scarf belonging to Waizero Asfa Yilma, who has superintended the decoration of the new legation. The Waizero is the wife of Capt. Elgernon Holland, secretary to Dr. Martin, the Abyssinian minister to London.

It was in the garden behind the legation that the Emperor's garden party was given which left many a diplomat squirming with uneasiness.

Italians Furious

The Italians have been furious since his arrival and popular reception. When invitations went out to some 700 people for the garden party, the Italian ambassador, Signor Grandi, rushed to the British foreign office to remind officials that the King of Italy is now Emperor of Ethiopia and Italian-Ethiopia is represented at the court of St. James by Signor Grandi.

Most European ambassadors and ministers decided to boycott the party. But several officials of Britain attended and were greeted in the receiving line by the emperor, the Crown Prince and Princess Tsahai, who speaks English fluently.

Among English guests were Lloyd George, Hore-Belisha, Lord Cranborne, under-secretary for foreign affairs; Herbert Morrison, M. P.; General Evangeline Booth of the Salvation Army and Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M. P., as well as many others prominent in Britain's civic and political life.

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

Abyssinia.

The Jibuti Railway

One of the many prophecies about the Abyssinian war which have been proved false was that the Italian army would try to cut the railway from Jibuti to Addis Ababa. As the only railway in Abyssinia it forms the obvious and, indeed, the only reasonable way by which the Emperor can import what few arms and munitions his country can afford to buy; yet not once, though Italian aeroplanes have flown over many times, has an attempt been made to destroy this vital line. Some explanation may be found in a sentence from the appeal by the Empress of Abyssinia given to the press last week.

> This most unjust discrimination against us is aggravated by the fact that a large quantity of arms is still detained at Jibuti, although the Power controlling the railway is bound by treaty to transport such material to Abyssinia.

The Power controlling the railway is France. By the Arms Convention of 1930 France is bound to permit the passage of all arms necessary for the defence of Abyssinia from external aggression; why, then, is the French Government detaining arms at Jibuti to-day? There may be some technical excuse ready, but the true reason is the fear that if it permits the passage of arms the Italian aeroplanes will bomb the railway. But by the Franco-Abyssinian Convention of 1908 the French company bound itself not only to keep the line running in case of war but to run it to suit the wishes of the Emperor of Abyssinia; why, then, does the French Government break a second treaty? To this there can be no technical excuse, but only the answer that it seeks every means to avoid giving offence to the aggressor, and, worse still, that the company has no wish to spend money on repairing a damaged railway.

Lest anyone should think that so unpleasant a charge must be false, it is not only dependent on the Empress's statement. Over a month ago it was first stated in the press that this was so, and in its appeal to the League on April 2 the Abyssinian Government asked that all the obstacles and hindrances which certain States members are still placing in the way of transport of arms to the Abyssinian troops should be removed.

As Britain is permitting the passage of arms through her colonial possessions, to be hauled laboriously by car and even by camel over several hundred miles of desert and mountain, this can only apply to France and the Jibuti railway. Yet, as far as is known, in all the discussions at Geneva in all the many committees the French Government has never been asked a question on this point. It is full time that the question be asked now, for if we cannot give Abyssinia the spirit of justice let us at least abide by the letter of the law.

Ethiopia Not Subdued, Says Black Condor

Returned Flyer Tells About Four Armies Still in Field.

EMPEROR'S DEFEAT LAID TO REVOLTS

Red Tape Hindered Arms Purchases.

NEW YORK—The inside story of the collapse of the Ethiopian forces before the Italian invaders was given to the AFRO on Tuesday in an exclusive interview with Col. John C. Robinson, who served with the Italian air forces and was a trusted lieutenant of Emperor Haile Selassie.

The 31-year-old flyer, known as the "Brown Condor" of Ethiopia, landed in New York on Monday aboard the North German Lloyd liner Europa. He was the only American of either race (not counting Col. Hubert Julian) to cast his lot with Ethiopia under actual war conditions. He served for thirteen months, and left Addis Ababa only three days before the Emperor's flight.

Revolution Led by Native

It was the opinion of Col. Robinson that Ethiopia's downfall was brought about by dissension within her own ranks. He said a revolution was incited and led by Ras Hailu, former king of GojGam Province, who had been convicted and imprisoned for three years for intrigues against Ethiopia.

Ras Hailu, according to Robinson, headed a movement to depose the Emperor. He gathered a strong army about him and the Emperor took flight as the revolutionary forces neared the capital. He said Ras Hailus misled his men into believing that they were merely helping to place another emperor on the throne, but that the embittered Ras was bargaining with the Italians all the while.

Bandits Attack Regulars

Ras Hailu's treachery, together with defections as regular units of the army went over to the enemy, and the repeated attacks of Ethiopian "shiftas" or bandits who fought the regular army from the rear, paved the way for the Italian advance into Addis Ababa.

As a colonel in the air forces who had traveled to all fronts and talked with the various defending Rases, Robinson asserted that Ethiopia could have resisted the Italian armies indefinitely, if the revolution had not been started. He said the Italian armies from the South would not have been able to advance past Makale.

Supplies Run Low

The colonel admitted that the supplies of Ethiopian bullets were running low, but the various Rases were confident of holding off the enemy until the beginning of the rainy season, which would have given them a breathing spell to replenish all supplies.

Even now as the colonel sees it, Ethiopia is far from conquered. He says there are practically no Italians in the western and southwestern parts of the country, which are occupied at present by four armies of Ethiopian regulars.

There is an army of 35,000 regulars and 70,000 recruits at Goree, another army near Lake Tana, another near the Sudan border and a fourth in the uplands west of Addis Ababa. If these armies can be co-ordinated, the colonel said, Italy will face an endless guerrilla warfare.

19 Old Planes Used

The Ethiopian air force was comprised of about nineteen obsolete war planes, with fifty native pilots and a dozen foreigners. The foreigners served for the most part as instructors and as messengers for Red Cross units. The air force was made up of two divisions, with Col. Robinson in command of one.

The colonel said the air fleet had never been sent out to engage the enemy in actual combat, and had only resorted to fighting when pursued by the enemy. He said most of the Ethiopian planes were unfit for combat purposes and were used only to convey messages and to carry medical supplies and ammunition to the front. Most of them were finally destroyed or taken by the Italians.

Unable to Buy New Planes

The Emperor, according to Col. Robinson, was anxious to purchase modern combat planes, but was unable to get them because of international red tape, and was forced to pay for inferior equipment at three times the actual value.

Guerrilla tactics by the Ethiopian forces were daily occurrences, the colonel said, but big engagements between the opposing armies were very rare. He said the biggest battle was staged in the territory of Ras Mulughetta, Ethiopian war minister, whose armies succeeded in slaying 4,000 Italian colonial troops and hundreds of Italian whites.

Robinson Has Narrow Escape

The colonel's own narrowest experience occurred at Dabatt, where he had been sent with Red Cross supplies. A fleet of thirty Italian planes attacked an open Ethiopian camp, and a piece of shrapnel killed an Ethiopian attendant who was pulling off the colonel's flying boots.

Col. Robinson had his choice of taking off and outdistancing the enemy, or attempting to hide and allowing his plane to be destroyed. His plane was capable of 175 miles an hour, and he decided on the flight.

Fog Aids in Flight

He made the takeoff safely and was immediately spotted by the enemy. The chase lasted for three hours until the colonel reached a bank of fog near the Sudan border, where the enemy planes turned back.

The colonel, who was met at quarantine by a group of friends, including Claude Barnett, director of the Associated Negro Press, and William Jay Schiefflin, chairman of the board of trustees of Tuskegee Institute, was banqueted in Harlem Tuesday night. Barnett, who arranged for Robinson to go to Ethiopia, announced that the flyer had accepted a contract to teach aviation at Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

The League of Nations and Abyssinia.

Natal Advertiser

We are in a momentous turn in the history of Africa. The European Nations have taken for themselves the whole of the African Continent for various reasons and pretexts and now goes the last country where the Native African had freedom to do as he liked. The Negus has been betrayed. But we cannot blame the League of Nations and Britain who did their best to adhere to the Covenant but the odds against them were overwhelming.

The feelings in our hearts about this catastrophe can better be described in the words of "Pro Pace" a Correspondent of the Natal Advertiser of last Friday who writes :- 5-9-36

"No one with a spark of humanity in his soul could have read the Emperor of Abyssinia's appeal, published in the Natal Advertiser of April 30, without a sense of burning shame and humiliation -- shame that in this so-called enlightened age such a tragedy as Abyssinia's could happen; humiliation that it should fall to a "barbarian" to expose the hollow hypocrisy of the "collective security" enshrined in the Covenant of the League of Nations.

"Must still hold on until my tardy Allies appear," says the Emperor, and one can sense the tragic disillusionment of these words. "And if they never come, then I say prophetically and without bitterness, the West will perish."

NO HONOUR AMONG THE NATIONS.

And there can be no doubt sir, that if these tardy Allies never appear, if the Italian juggernaut in all its militaristic arrogance is permitted to possess the land and slaughter its well-nigh defenceless inhabitants, the West will perish, for it will mean that there is no honour among the nations, that the obligations solemnly entered into to defend the weak against the aggressor are worthless, that self-interest is still the strongest motive power in the world today, and that, in fact, we are as near a state of universal peace today as we were 500 years ago.

Day by day a proud but poor people, attacked by a powerful and remorseless enemy, have looked for aid from 50 odd nations which gave their solemn hand to provide aid in just such a case as this. Day by day they have looked in vain and now it is too late; now that their land is almost wrested from them and their dead lie thick on the plains and hillsides, they realise what the promises of their "civilised" Allies mean.

DEVILISH DEVICES.

What an indictment of Western civilisation! What a disgrace to every one of us who is a product of that civilisation! What spectacle it has been--the smug and sanctimonious mouthings of the League of Nations, the presence of sanctions, the pious appeals and the impotent plans, and the ghastly horror of men, women and children killed and crippled by all the devilish devices of modern warfare!

Is it to be wondered at that the Emperor says, "The West will perish"? Certainly, if faith can count for anything among nations, the civilisation of the West as we know it today will not survive."

"If It's God's Will . . . Then I Shall Some Day Once Again Sit Upon the Throne of Solomon."

By Special Correspondent

JERUSALEM — Very Christ-like in his demeanor and conversation, according to the general impression during his stay here, Emperor Haile Selassie invariably began his days with a trip to the weird church of the Ethiopian monks on the roof of the great Church of the Holy Sepulchre, almost immediately above Mount Calvary.

With the proviso, "If it is God's will," he prefaced all his discussions of his own or his country's future.

"If there is justice in this world," he told a reporter, "—and I know there is—then I shall some day in God's own time and when He considers it suitable and fitting, once againg sit upon the throne of Solomon."

The Emperor was a distressed figure, as he sat motionless in a large chair, his hands folded just below the breast and his cheek bones gaunt above his black beard, but his depression was buried in a cloak of noble resignation. He wore a biscuit-colored mantle and matching lower clothes.

Swims with Sons

Evenings, after the crowds have left the pool in the YMCA, he frequently went there for a playful and carefree swim with his two sons, Crown Prince Asfadu Wassen and his favorite, little Prince Makonnen, the Duke of Harrar.

Something of the difficulty with which his aides convinced the Emperor that his duty lay in "the far more difficult task of living for Ethiopia instead of taking the easier task of dying for her," was told by Dr. Malaku Bayen, the nephew he sent to Howard University in Washington, D.C., for his medical training.

Dr. Bayen has been with Selassie ever since the beginning of the war and credits his courage and his "burning, consuming drivinr-force" with bringing the imperial body-guard to comparative safety in Addis Ababa.

Cared for Wounded

He told how, during their retirement to the Capital from the battle front, the Emperor insisted upon stopping while wounded comrades were treated. With his supply of anaesthetics depleted Dr. Bayen said, he was obliged to perform even abdominal operations upon still-conscious patients.

Selassie's merciful attitude was further exemplified in Dr. Bayen's vigorous denial that Italian prisoners were made victims of reported atrocities at the hands of Ethiopian soldiers. The Negus, he said, would have severely punished any of his men who thus "shamed the Ethiopian name."

This is how Dr. Bayen described the eventual abandonment of his Majesty's stand at the front:

"Flight, confusion, horror, despair and mad terror, with the never-ending crashing of the bombs and the rending shells falling upon us. But it had one good effect.

"His Majesty, suddenly realizing the peril in which we stood and knowing that only he could save us, became again, in an instant, the forceful commanding personality that we had always known.

Shared Hardships

"Sharp, crisp orders came suddenly from him. In a few minutes we collected what men of the Imperial Guard we could find amongst the press of fugitives—and there were not many who had survived the great charge we made—and then, with a few tribesmen we struck off from the main body of fugitives.

"Days of hard traveling followed, days and nights when his Majesty shared all our perils and hardships, sleeping in caves or in the shelter of rocks, living on the most meagre of diets, taking his turn like any private soldier upon sentry duty and look-out for any approach of the enemy.

"Many a time our little party had to cower amidst the rocks whilst the aeroplanes roared overhead. More than once we were seen, but, luckily, none of the pilots recognized us for what we were.

"Several times they dropepd bombs around us, and once we were machine-gunned from the air."

Reorganization Futile

Upon their arrival at Addis Ababa, Dr. Baayen said, the Emperor immediately sought to reorganize the army for another stand in the mountains between the Capital and the enemy's advance post, meanwhile seeing that the royal family reached safety.

The attempt was futile, however, because too few members of the guard were left and the other soldiers—mainly clansmen separated from their chieftains—were bewildered by the effect of enemy gas.

"I am related to his Majesty," Dr. Bayen concluded, "and he has always taken the greatest interest in my care. It was through his personal munificence that I was sent to America to study medicine, and, when I returned with my degrees, he accorded me the signal honor of attaching me to his person."

ANOTHER JUDGE OFF BASE

Last week we had occasion to comment on the open letter of New York State Supreme Court Justice Cotillo urging President Roosevelt to bless Italy's grab of Ethiopia on the ground of "morality."

Justice Cotillo, American spokesman of Italian Fascism, is mild, however, compared to Justice August C. Hopppmann of the ninth judicial circuit of Wisconsin, who recently told a Negro involved in a case with a white girl: "In many places after what happened you would not have the chance to be brought before a court—you know what I mean by that."

Here we have a plain bid for a lynching procedure as opposed to orderly court procedure. This is the spirit of Fascism that crushed justice and liberty in Italy and Germany, and may do the same in this country if we are not careful in the selection of judges and political representatives.

Unfortunately there are few Negro voters in Wisconsin to take care of this lynch-minded judge when he comes up for re-election or to launch impeachment proceedings against him, but what there are should get busy. Judge Hoppmann should be removed.

No Negro is safe when judges condone injustice and laud the practice and spirit of lynching.

Race Problem – 1936

Africa

Abyssinia

Emperor's Palace Is Thrown Open to Looting Mobs

Constitution 5-4-36 Atlanta Ga

Sunday the imperial palace of Ethiopia, in Addis Ababa, the most imposing structure in the city, wa thrown open to looters by royal decree. The building was stripped quickly of treasures beyond the wildes dreams of the natives.

THE RAPE OF ETHIOPIA

* * * * * *

The rape of Ethiopia by a power crazed and egotistic Wop is a crime to be laid not only at the door of the Fascist government, but also at the doors of the Imperialistic governments of England, France and the League of Nations which these governments dominate. The United States of America which adopted a policy of neutrality, which served only to strengthen the arm of the rapist Mussolini, is also particeps criminis. The cowardice and hypocrisy of these governments overshadow the greed, vanity and avarice of the paranoac who controls, at present, the destinies of the Italian people.

Now that the Italian dictator has carried civilization to the backward Ethiopian people through the use of poison gas and through the slaughter of non-combatants killed by his bombing planes, we suggest that President Roosevelt extend Mr. Mussolini an invitation to duplicate the stunt in this country.

He could send a portion of his African expeditionary forces into the benighted Southland, where feudalism is still in full bloom, where the natives are of low mentality and have demonstrated their nearness to savagery by making the torture and lynching of human beings a favorite pastime.

Although apparently subjugated by the Fascist rapists, Ethiopia still may entertain a hope that Lake Tena and Mr. Stalin may eventually be the instruments of retribution and restitution.

Seeds of Retribution

Race

5-8-36

Kansas City Star

When Italy aroused the indignation of the world by its unprovoked invasion of Ethiopia, the people of color in the United States added sympathy born of a fellow feeling, even though the Ethiopians disclaimed kinship. The war is about over, but the victory goes to Italy only in part. It is shared with their allies, blacks to the north and south of Ethiopia whom everyone know are Negroes.

The situation in Africa resembles that which prevailed in the United States during the Civil war. Brother fought brother, and either had the consolation that only a foeman like himself could contend against him. This war in Africa was carried on in the name of Italy, but it was the bodies of Selassie's black enemies that filled the gullies and let the Italian Juggernaut roll on to victory. Those who let their feeling of race kinship lead their sympathies still have the consolation that by Negroes the courage of the defending Ethiopians was overcome.

At the same time a white world may reasonably pause for thought. During the World war France was urged to beware how it drew upon Africa to man trenches. And now Italy plays with fire. At the same time England which holds the blacks of South Africa with a heavy hand, makes wide use of the dark people of India in its army. The man power, courage and military training used for European advantage and against homeland interests cannot be kept permanently at the beck and call of invaders.

If history repeats and future ages follow the war pattern set by the enlightened Christian nations of today, Italy's invasion of Ethiopia will prove another opening into the dark continent intended to give Europe entrance, but turned into an outlet for its pent-up millions. Two thousand years ago Goths rolled down to the Mediterranean from the north. A thousand years later the Tartars swept over Europe from the east. Only conceit and stupidity keeps the great powers from seeing that they cannot go on making soldiers of men they call savages and be themselves immune from their attack. Not only Italy, but the other nations that permitted Ethiopia to be invaded are making another Ishmael.

Race Problem – 1936
Africa

Abyssinia

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LESSONS FROM ETHIOPIA

From the defeat and probable dismemberment of Ethiopia by Italy there are many lessons to be learned by colored people everywhere.

The first lesson is that the price of freedom is preparedness.

The second lesson is that you can only really depend upon yourself in a pinch.

In an increasingly competitive world, in which international and interracial rivalries and hatreds grow with the intensity of that competition, a group is foolish to place too great reliance on good will, love, friendship and diplomacy.

There are all desirable and necessary, but in the final analysis the fate of a people is determined by the power, physical, economic or political, which they either have or lack.

As rates leave a sinking ship, so many "friends" desert in the hour of need.

How often have we not seen that happen right here in America in times of crisis and stress?

The fate of Ethiopia and other peoples unprepared to withstand the pressure and competition of stronger groups should spur us on to renewed activity in acquiring additional economic, political and intellectual power through enlightened co-operative effort.

Our rights as citizens and men are only as safe as we are able to make them.

Fascist Rule For Ethiopia To Be Stern

Merciless Lordship of Italy in Colonies Is Cited by Writer

What the Ethiopians might expect from Fascist rule should they submit is vividly told by J. A. Rogers in his book, "The Real Facts About Ethiopia," just off the press.

Rogers bases his argument on what has been done in Tripoli, Eritrea, and more recently in Ethiopia. He says:

"In their bombing of non-combatants in the town of Adowa after forty years in spectacular revenge for a battle that was actually not fought there; in the bombardment of hospitals and Red Cross stations with the sick and wounded; the rape of nuns and girls of tender age; and the use of poison gas in violation of the Geneva Convention of 1925, the Italians are only running true to form. The Fascists, ruthless at home, have introduced some new terrors and atrocities in the gory history of white imperialism.

Fought by Tribesmen.

"Notable has been the case of Cyrenaica, Tripoli. In the war of 1911-12 with Turkey, Italy took away what is now Libya. The desert tribesmen of this country had never really recognized Turkish rule, consequently they opposed Italian occupation. The Italians descended on the tribesmen with ferocity, not only attacking their warriors, but massacring the non-combatants, 4,000 of them on one day. For a recital of these horrors not from one news correspondent, but several, see F. McCullagh's 'Italy's War for a Desert,' Part IV. 'The Massacres,' Pages 246-395. Also the New York Times, October 31 and November 1, 1911.

"During the world war, however, these tribesmen succeeded in driving Italy from all but the seacoast. But in 1923 Mussolini, having crushed resistance in his own people at home, resumed the attack. A long and bloody war followed. Badoglio, now commanding on the northern front in Ethiopia, used the utmost savagery not only against the tribesmen but against their families. He reported to Mussolini: 'No rebel will have peace, nor his family, nor his heirs. I will destroy everything.'

"He was so thorough that De Bono, then Minister of the Colonies, was able to report to the Italian Parliament: 'The material consequences of the operations of 1928 are 2,500 rebels attacked, of which 2,302 were killed. Tens of thousands of heads of cattle were captured or slain, and whole caravans were pillaged or destroyed.'

Many Preferred Death.

"The desert warriors, choosing death rather than Italian rule, fought on. It was then that Graziani, who had succeeded Badoglio, took a step unprecedented in the annals of colonial barbarity. Hoping to deprive the defenders of all aid, he arrested 80,000 adults and children, or a half of the population, who had taken no part in the fighting, and transported them into concentration camps in the midst of the desert, where they died by thousands of hunger and thirst. As for the women and girls in these camps, they were raped indiscriminately by the Italian soldiery.

"Graziani then spun 180 miles of barb-wire around the fighting tribesmen, herded them together with tanks and airplanes, showered bombs on them from the air, killed 50,000 in one day, and ended further resistance. (New York Times, May 2, December 16, 1931, and January 27, 1932.)

"This is the same Graziani who, in February, 1936, swept into Sidamo with tanks and planes, machine-gunning the fleeing population from the air and driving the women, the children and the aged into the jungles to be eaten by lions, leopards, hyenas, and crocodiles.

Poverty of Remainder.

"The result was that Cyrenaica has been depopulated by Italy. And the remainder of the population has been reduced to the direst poverty. The chief subsistence of the dwellers of the desert were their herds. In 1910, before the Italian invasion, there were 1,100,000 head of cattle; in 1933, only 139,000.

"Is it any wonder, then, that in 1935, when Laval ceded to Mussolini the adjoining region of Tibesti, that the 1,600 inhabitants, on hearing of the news, fled, all but 60 of them, overnight into French territory with their cattle.

"The greatest injustice suffered by the natives of the Italian colonies has been the seizure of their lands by the Italian capitalists. In consequence, the Africans have been reduced to a miserable and most uncertain wage system. Graziani, Volpi, Leno, and other Italian commanders are among the largest of these colonial landowners."

After giving reasons why Mussolini's pretext that he needs Ethiopia for colonizing his own people is false, and that such white immigrants that settle in Africa are treated hardly better than the natives by the capitalists who own the land, Rogers continues:

"One of Mussolini's spokesmen, Edoardo Zavatarri, has already told the Ethiopians what to expect. He said: 'The relations between white and colored peoples is exclusively one of domination. The white directs and the black obeys. The white makes himself served and the black serves him. Our conception is clearly anti-democratic and anti-socialistic. We must oppose all utopias and all fraternity and equality which permit in certain of our colonies an intolerable mixture of Europeans and colored people. Only by an absolute differentiation between dominators and subjects can a colonial territory be solidly governed. There must be absolute domination of the white over the black; and an indestructible separation of principles, habits, work, methods between master and subject.'

"The Corpse of Liberty."

"In this respect Mussolini's famous attack on freedom in 1923 will be recalled. He said: 'We have already walked over and will continue to walk over the putrid corpse of Liberty.' He then had Italians in mind. If this is his atitude towards whites, what must it be towards blacks?

"In barbarity the Fascists have far excelled even the Belgians in the Congo.

"After Fascist pronouncements as the above, it is hardly necessary to say that chattel slavery exists in Libya, Erithrea and Somaliland. Indeed, Italy was forced to confess at the League of Nations in April, 1935, that slavery existed in Libya. She said, glossing over the full truth: 'In the zones controlled by us it was not possible, however, to extirpate the residual form of slavery that subsisted—essentially slavery of a domestic character. The old slaves continued to live in the families in which they already were, some of them refusing to leave their former masters . . .

" 'The present situation as regards domestic servitude is uniform throughout the colony . . .

" 'These remnants of domestic slavery will gradually disappear.' (League of Nations Publications. Slavery. I. B. 1, Pages 100-101.)

Only Dead Will Be Happy.

"Italy, even before this war, was very poor. Now she will be miserably poorer. Should she win, she is going to make the Ethiopians pay for the war and more. With their genius for cruelty, the Fascists have already shown themselves the most high-powered colonial exploiters since the days of Spain. The Belgians, with their Congo atrocities, were very feeble in comparison, for the airplane had not yet been invented. The only happy Ethiopians under Italian rule will be the dead ones.

"And should Italy win, the chains of Fascist slavery will be fastened tighter than ever on the Italian people, and Fascism become a greater menace to humanity than ever

World's Window

BY PIERRE VAN PAASSEN.

A Judgment On the Negus.

Dr. H. J. Kloosterman, the Dutch physician who astonished all England with his courageous letters on the Italo-Abyssinian affair, had this to say as aparting shot: "It would be doing an injustice to the chivalry of the English if I thought there were need to draw their attention specially to the heroic figure of the emperor. The man is a hero who will live in the ballads of his people for ages to come, who is described by anyone who has had the honor to meet him as a refined and born ruler, who was guiding his people to progress in a wonderful manner, who expressed his willingness to accept European help to develop his country, and who has shown royal dignity in all his words and actions during this unholy war which was forced upon him.

"If the members of the League back out of their obligations, or pretend to fulfill their duty toward Abyssinia by insufficient sanctions and further sighs of pity and resignation, they will never more be able in honesty to appeal to the sacredness of a treaty, to a received or given pledge, neither between themselves nor with any other nations, without being the laughing stock, without being called and thought, rightfully, opportunists and hypocrites. Must we live in the memory of coming generations, shamefully as criminal "go-getters," for whom only oil, gold, coal and cotton counted and were worth any trouble, or shall we live gloriously as the Crusaders live in our memory, who carried an ideal and were willing to fight for it?"

Race Problem — 1936

Africa.

Abyssinia.

BATTALIONS OF DEATH FORMED; RAINS CONTINUE

Pittsburgh Courier

Pittsburgh Pa

1-25-36

By J. A. ROGERS
(Special to The Courier)

ADDIS ABABA, Jan. 20—(By Cable)—Cloudbursts, lightning, and clouds that turn day into night, are bringing disaster and starvation to the Italian troops under Marshal Pietro Badoglio in the north, official dispatches to the palace here state.

Mile after mile of the temporary roads built by the Italian invading forces when the offensive from the North began in October, have been washed away and the troops at Makale, 100 miles inland, are in danger of starvation.

Nearly 700 trucks are needed to bring the daily supply of food to the Italian northern army under normal circumstances.

Roads Washed Away

But with the roads washed away, the Italian and native soldiers at Makale and in the Tembien mountain section must depend on the reserve supply and on purchases from the natives.

The natives in the occupied area refuse to sell the invaders food.

The Ethiopians have concealed their grain and meat and are saving it for the troops of Haile Selassie when they have driven the Italians out.

Furthermore, these natives refuse to accept Italian money.

Starvation Offensive

It now becomes apparent that the Emperor is directing a "Starvation offensive" on the northern front. It was predicted after the Ethiopian victories at Christmas that Ras Seyoum and Ras Kassa might press on to retake Makale and Adigrat. But the intensified guerilla offensive for the last three weeks indicates that the northern generals have chosen to cut off the Italians' arteries of supplies and to force them to evacuate Makale without a battle.

It is clear that a large army which is separated from its main food base by nearly 200 miles cannot hold its position unless it can keep the roads clear which lead to this base.

Roving Ethiopian bands make this impossible, even where the roads have not been washed away. The Ethiopian soldiers are learning to eat canned beef, hi-jacked from the Italian truckmen who are ambushed on their way to Makale.

Storms Hamper Aviators

The violent thunderstorms, accompanied by electrical disturbances have hampered the Italian aviators so that a severance of the land and air forces of Badoglio in the north is imminent.

If the atmospheric disturbances break the link connecting the Italian land and air forces, it is expected that the Ethiopian commanders will marshal their forces for a swoop upon the main Italian army.

The Ethiopians have discovered that they have nothing to fear from the mechanized Italian army if it does not receive support from the airplanes.

"Battalions of Death"

The Societe de Jeunnesse de l'Ethiopie, composed of the young soldiers in the Ethiopian army, has organized "Battalions of Death," the objective of which is the capture of the Italian tanks.

These young soldiers set out after the tanks and never turn back.

Scores of these death engines have been captured on the northern front and sent to the rear where the Ethiopian gunners are learning how to operate them.

Reports have reached Addis Ababa from both Rome and Neghilli in the southwest of what is termed a major offensive under Gen. Rodolfo Graziani against the army of Ras Desta Demtu Haile Selassie's son-in-law.

This fighting is in the extreme southwest near Kenya (British) colony and began late in December when Italian aviators bombed a Swedish Red Cross hospital.

In order to understand what is happening, it is necessary to retrace.

Front 400 Miles Long

The entire southern front is more than 400 miles long. At the beginning of the war, while the forces under the deposed Emilio de Bono in the North were swooping down on Aksum, Adigrat and Adowa, Gen. Graziani, regarded as Italy's most able colonial officer, began a push north from the South.

He began the invasion from the eastern end of the front, near British Somaliland.

It was his intention to press quickly north and east, across the dry, thorny Ogaden desert, up the Webbe Shebeli and Fafan river basins to Jijiga, then strike north and west to Harar, second city of the empire, from which point he would have the advantage of the roads and a clear path to Addis Ababa.

Graziani's advance carried him to a point 280 miles east of the present fighting in the southwest.

Ras Nasibu Threatened

Troops under the command of Ras Nasibu, high commander on the southern front, poured out of Jijiga and hurried south to meet the Italian thrust up the Fafan river valley.

An advance guard of Nasibu's soldiers encountered the Italians at Anale in late November and routed them, capturing sixty-seven trucks, six tanks and large stores of ammunition.

The Italians speedily retreated back to the Ogaden desert and toward Somaliland.

In the meantime, a huge, unadvertised force under Ras Desta Demtu had, by forced marches, completed a semi-encircling movement 300 miles west and 100 miles south, penetrating the western end of Italian Somaliland.

Major Coup of War

This was the major coup of the war so far. Desta Demtu had force-marched an army of nearly 100,000 men through Sidamo province and into Italian Somaliland with the Italians completely in ignorance of his operations.

Once he had reached Italian Somaliland, however, the Italian aviation scouts spied his force and Graziani, whose chief force was nearly 400 miles away, was notified.

This is the prospect which faced the Italian commander: The Ethiopians under Ras Nasibu were pressing him in the Fafan river on the north and east. Should he meet Ras Nasibu's challenge and continue to press north, there was a possibility that Desta Demtu would press through Italian Somaliland to Mogadiscio, the port and capture the supply base.

Or, Desta Demtu, might have marched his men east across the border of Italian Somaliland, then pressed north after Graziani and placed him between the fire of Ethiopian armies on the north and the south, a strategy similar to that which has been employed by the native generals in the north.

Graziani Retreats

Graziani quickly gave up his gains in the north and east and hastened to meet the threat to his rear.

Three divisions, a native, the Peloritana and a Blackshirt division were switched to the south and west to meet Demtu.

Haile Selassie's orders to Demtu in the south were the same as those to his generals in the north, to avoid large battles employing masses of men. Large bodies of Ethiopian troops make easy targets for the Italian airplanes.

Therefore, when it became known that Graziani planned to press north from the west, Demtu was ordered to retire in front of the Italian army, in the same manner that Ras Nasibu had held back from Jijiga and Seyoum and Kassa had withdrawn in the north until the Italians were so far inland that the Ethiopians could make the defense of any position perilous.

"Back Door" Entrance

Military strategists insist that it is impossible for the Italians to reach Addis Ababa through the "back door" of Ethiopia on the southwest.

The mountains are not merely difficult, they are impenetrable.

In view of the exaggerated reports that have reached here from Rome concerning Italian advances on the southwest, it is believed the Italian government seeks something upon which to base claims of a great victory to counterbalance the depressing reports from the northern sector for the last two months.

Official Explains

"Pressed by the land and air forces of the Italians, it is necessary that the Ethiopian commander should order a speedy retreat to protect the lives of his men from the machine gunners in the Italian planes. The Italian advance will continue without serious molestation until the mountains are reached. Then it will cease. The airplanes are no good against the mountains.

"In the meantime, Demtu will have kept his army intact and you may expect to find Graziani again embarrassed from the rear as soon as Demtu has time to move east and advance to the south again.

"We know that the Italian people will not continue to support Mussolini's vain war if all the reports tell of Italian failures. But such successes as they may have will be similar to the successes in the north in the early days of the war. They are the successes which the Ethiopian military strategists deliberately plan for them as a part of their own victorious strategy."

It is impossible for me to state whether the interpretation of this government spokesman was true, but there is a noticeable absence of alarm in the palace here.

Ethiopia's Defense Arouses All African Negro People

By ELINOR BURNS

Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia has not only put the fascist regime in Italy in jeopardy. . . . It has also had profound repercussions throughout the imperialist world. . . . The greatest of the imperialist empires, Britain, could not fail but be affected by the magnificent defense conducted by the Ethiopian people. . . . A British Communist here tells us what the Italo-Ethiopian war has meant for the British empire. . . .

In all parts of the world the African people have been roused to a renewed national consciousness, a stirring of revolt against their own imperialist oppressors, by Fascist Italy's war on Ethiopia.

In some of the British islands of the West Indies last October martial law was declared, following on demonstrations of the Negro workers, which were reported to be due partly to unemployment, but mostly to feelings excited by the war on Ethiopia.

From Egypt week after week comes news of great demonstrations of national feeling and of growing unity in the struggle for independence.

Longshoremen Act

The longshoremen of Cape Town, South Africa, were among the first to take action in stopping the transport of cargoes to Italy.

In the British colonies of both East and West Africa thousands of Negroes have given money and volunteered for service in Ethiopia.

The "African Morning Post," a native-owned paper, published in the British colony of the Gold Coast, reporting an appeal for help for Ethiopia, shows, in their own words, what is making Africans everywhere respond:

"Let Ethiopia, the only black kingdom, be shattered, and all our hopes will be doomed and our aspirations curbed. . . . On the other hand, let Italy be subdued by Ethiopia and the New Africa shall have been ushered in, wherein grateful and kind Africans will be able to cooperate with all men, black, white, yellow or red, who had proved themselves our friends indeed."

The eyes of all the colored peoples of Africa are turned to Ethiopia because they know from their own lives what the subjection of an African country by an imperialist power means.

All Colonies Aroused

In the French colonies, in the Belgian Congo, in the territories already ruled by Italy, and in the vast area of the British African empire they have seen the process at work.

In the thirty years before the world war the whole of Africa, except Ethiopia, had been divided up and brought under the direct control of imperialist Governments.

Colonies became more and more necessary to the capitalists of the European countries, not only as markets where manufacturers could be exchanged for the raw materials of Africa, but because capital could be invested in the railways and ports, the mines and plantations of the colonies, and immense profits could be made by employing Africans as wage workers.

But the people of Africa were accustomed, in general, to live by working for themselves.

When capital on a large scale was invested in the colonies, and profits had to be made out of the Africans, not only through trade and taxation, but by exploiting them directly as wage workers, the old peasant economy had to be broken up by force.

The people had literally to be forced into wage slavery.

In other words, the colonial people must be completely bound down under the State machine of the imperialist Government, with its troops, police, prisons, law courts and Government officials.

Unions Outlawed

What does this mean for the Africans? The carrying out of the process can be seen most plainly in the British colony of Kenya, bordering Ethiopia on the south.

First, Africans in Kenya have been driven from the best land and confined to reserves, too small or too barren to provide a living.

Second, they are forced to pay taxes in cash (penalty for non-payment, imprisonment).

Third, in order to obtain money for the payment of taxes, they must undertake to work for a white employer. Any breach of this agreement is again a criminal offense, to be punished by imprisonment.

And so there is no escape. Wages under these conditions average less than 1s. a day, and trade union organization is prohibited.

In Northern Rhodesia, which has been directly administered by the British Colonial Office since 1924, the same method is used, particularly to secure Negro workers for the copper mines.

Last year there were widespread strikes among the Rhodesian Government.

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In Nigeria the most important products include palm kernels, the raw material of margarine. Palm kernels are gathered by native labor from the forest palms, and sold to the agents of Unilevers.

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But at the same time a further "stimulus" was applied through taxation. The native producer has to pay in taxes about a quarter of the net value of his products, while the Nigerian wage worker is taxed at a lower rate.

According to the statement of a Northern Nigerian mineowner, "in many cases they (the Africans) realize that the easiest way to pay such taxes is to work for the money required, instead of selling goats or farm produce. The Government is certainly doing all it can reasonably be expected to do in assisting us in the matter of labor."

Six years ago, when a number of Africans in Nigeria, including many women, assembled to protest against low prices and intolerable taxation, they were met by the calling out of troops, and 37 women were killed.

Volume Increased

It is obvious that as long as African peasants produce little beyond their own subsistence, the volume of trade and the surplus that can be taken by British—or any other—capitalists is limited.

Increased output, and the organization of large-scale production, therefore, have to be forced on the colonial people by the methods described above. And these methods involve complete control by imperialist interests of the colonial State.

This is why imperialist Governments have poured out lives and money to conquer and hold the colonial countries of Africa.

This is why Mussolini is attempting to conquer the last independent kingdom of Africa.

The establishment of trade is not the object: that in itself does not depend on conquest.

Nor is it to find new opportunities for "surplus population." Emigration does not depend on conquest, nor, for any capitalist country, does it end unemployment.

The object is to find investments for surplus capital and, by controlling the whole administration of the colony, to force the people to work for the white employer's profit.

SALEM. ORE.
CAPITOL JOURNAL

MAY 22 1936

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Unless the Italians show a greater tendency to migrate to Ethiopia than they have to Somaliland, Libya and other Italian controlled countries, there is no danger of a mulatto nation, though a large proportion of the native tribes are already mulattoes, an intermixture of Semitic, Hamatic and negro stocks. Of course the dictator can force mass colonization as ancient Rome did on conquered territory, but the African climate will militate against its permanency for the tropics are no place for white women and deterioration follows rapidly.

Miscegenation is the inevitable result of conquest. It is nature's revenge for the conquered. No matter what restrictions are enforced to guard the purity of the conqueror's blood, such as slavery in the Roman empire or the religious caste system in India and Egypt, eventually the native element absorbs the alien and in progress of time the melting pot produces a racial type in which the aboriginal characteristics predominates, as the invader's strain is diluted by the native.

Historians say that the long history of Egypt, which was frequently overrun and ruled by invaders of various racial types, shows that it took 600 years for the racial amalgamation of conquered and conquerors and yet the native characteristics persisted. All Africa is a melting pot of races, as is and Italy and every other country for that matter—a composite of conquerors and conquered, of invaders and invaded.

There never has been the racial prejudice in Europe against the black races that exists in America, because of the centuries of slavery. There is a negro admixture among the Portuguese, as among the Berbers, and Arabs of North Africa, and French, Spanish and Italian colonists easily go "native" in Africa just as they do in South Africa and Mexico and Europeans to a limited extent in North America.

Ethiopia's Defense Arouses All African Negro People

By ELINOR BURNS

Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia has not only put the fascist regime in Italy in jeopardy. . . . It has also had profound repercussions throughout the imperialist world. . . . The greatest of the imperialist empires, Britain, could not fail but be affected by the magnificent defense conducted by the Ethiopian people. . . . A British Communist here tells us what the Italo-Ethiopian war has meant for the British empire. . . .

In all parts of the world the African people have been roused to a renewed national consciousness, a stirring of revolt against their own imperialist oppressors, by Fascist Italy's war on Ethiopia.

In some of the British islands of the West Indies last October martial law was declared, following on demonstrations of the Negro workers, which were reported to be due partly to unemployment, but mostly to feelings excited by the war on Ethiopia.

From Egypt week after week comes news of great demonstrations of national feeling and of growing unity in the struggle for independence.

Longshoremen Act

The longshoremen of Cape Town, South Africa, were among the first to take action in stopping the transport of cargoes to Italy.

In the British colonies of both East and West Africa thousands of Negroes have given money and volunteered for service in Ethiopia.

The "African Morning Post," a native-owned paper, published in the British colony of the Gold Coast, reporting an appeal for help for Ethiopia, shows, in their own words, what is making Africans everywhere respond:

"Let Ethiopia, the only black kingdom, be shattered, and all our hopes will be doomed and our aspirations curbed. . . . On the other hand, let Italy be subdued by Ethiopia and the New Africa shall have been ushered in, wherein grateful and kind Africans will be able to cooperate with all men, black, white, yellow or red, who had proved themselves our friends indeed."

The eyes of all the colored peoples of Africa are turned to Ethiopia because they know from their own lives what the subjection of an African country by an imperialist power means.

All Colonies Aroused

In the French colonies, in the Belgian Congo, in the territories already ruled by Italy, and in the vast area of the British African empire they have seen the process at work.

In the thirty years before the world war the whole of Africa, except Ethiopia, had been divided up and brought under the direct control of imperialist Governments.

Colonies became more and more necessary to the capitalists of the European countries, not only as markets where manufacturers could be exchanged for the raw materials of Africa, but because capital could be invested in the railways and ports, the mines and plantations of the colonies, and immense profits could be made by employing Africans as wage workers.

But the people of Africa were accustomed, in general, to live by working for themselves.

When capital on a large scale was invested in the colonies, and profits had to be made out of the Africans, not only through trade and taxation, but by exploiting them directly as wage workers, the old peasant economy had to be broken up by force.

The people had literally to be forced into wage slavery.

In other words, the colonial people must be completely bound down under the State machine of the imperialist Government, with its troops, police, prisons, law courts and Government officials.

Unions Outlawed

What does this mean for the Africans? The carrying out of the process can be seen most plainly in the British colony of Kenya, bordering Ethiopia on the south.

First, Africans in Kenya have been driven from the best land and confined to reserves, too small or too barren to provide a living.

Second, they are forced to pay taxes in cash (penalty for non-payment, imprisonment).

Third, in order to obtain money for the payment of taxes, they must undertake to work for a white employer. Any breach of this agreement is again a criminal offense, to be punished by imprisonment.

And so there is no escape. Wages under these conditions average less than 1s. a day, and trade union organization is prohibited.

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Race Problem—1936
Africa.

Abyssinia.

THUS SPAKE HAILE SELASSIE

(Chicago Daily News published by Col. Frank Knox)

Out of the mountains of Ethiopia; out of the midst of a national tradition older than any that survive in Europe; out of a primitive state which modernity had barely touched with its transforming finger, stepped a slim figure of tragic dignity into the presence of the world's mighty. The self-constituted guardians of the peace and justice and order which they call civilization had assembled in their international council chamber. They had come to give judgment. They dispersed, flushed and squirming under unanswerable condemnation.

As they sat, a league of nations bound by solemn covenant, behind them rose a background of power. Vast resources of population, of material wealth, of culture and science and industry; trained armies, equipped to the last button; great navies, manned and gunned to execute their will; fleets of the air that could obscure even an imperial sun by their marshaled wings, and shelter from its heat the weak and the exposed—these were at their command. Before them stood this quaint person of outlandish speech and requested hearing.

From the mountains and plains of Ethiopia, drenched with the blood of his people; from the midst of the dead whose agonies he had witnessed; from the lost kingdom over which he had ruled, over which kings of his race had ruled for 3,000 years, he had come and he would be heard.

He spoke, and as his quiet voice told in unsparing words the story of treachery, of broken pledges, of shameless desertion by fifty-two pledged nations, in whose word of honor he had trusted for aid against a pitiless enemy, his slim figure grew until it towered.

"In October, 1935, the fifty-two nations that are listening to me today gave me assurance that the aggressor would not triumph, that the resources of the covenant would be employed to insure the reign of right and the failure of violence. . . . In that struggle I was the defender of the cause of all small states exposed to the greed of a powerful neighbor. . . . Apart from the Kingdom of the Lord, there is not on this earth any nation that is superior to any other. . . . It is international morality that is at stake. . . . God and history will remember your judgment."

The world was listening. Here was something more than a king and emperor; here was a lone man courageously speaking cold truth. In that moment the voice from Addis Ababa was mightier than any voice from London or Paris—or Rome. Disinherited of a kingdom by violence, Haile Selassie, negus of Ethiopia, had stripped hypocrisy from these covenanters; he had left them naked and ashamed. God and history will remember!

LIBERATORS HAVE ALL BEEN STRUCK

BY CRUEL FATE

By J. A. ROGERS

Arthur Brisbane, who, because he writes for William Randolph Hearst is as free from all journalistic responsibility as a lunatic from the law and may murder the truth to his heart's content, has said that the Italian "annexation" has wiped out a "profitable slave-trade" in Ethiopia.

But the exact opposite of this is most likely to be true. The Italians and after them, the French colonists in Somaliland, have been the chief beneficiaries of the slave-trade in Ethiopia.

Slave-raiding in Ethiopia has continued almost solely for the purpose of supplying the demand for slaves in Arabia. Certain Arab leaders have asserted that but for the importation of these blacks, which has gone for thousands of years, Arabia would have been depeopled long ago. Incidentally this fact ought to answer the question of what race are the Arabians.

Since Arabia is across the Red Sea and since Ethiopia has no sea-coast, the Ethiopian slaves must be taken either through Italian Erithrea or French Somaliland. Had Mussolini really wished to suppress the traffic in human beings, as he pretended he was, it was only necessary for him to take steps to prevent the slaves for Arabia from passing through his territory.

In 1931, Henri Kessell, a French journalist, ably exposed the slave-traffic that goes on with Arabia through Italian and French territory in a series of articles published in Le Matin of Paris, and later in his book "Marches d'Esclaves" (slave markets). The most notorious of the slave-traders was a renegade French nobleman, Henri de Monfried. This man was finally expelled from Ethiopia by Haile Selassie and was of course a highly acceptable member of the French press with Graziani's army in Somaliland. Monfried is also the author of several popular books, which strongly defend the Italian atrocities.

Thus the slave traffic in Ethiopia is likely to increase under Italian rule. The Italians are desperately short of money and just as they hesitated at no savagery to gain their present success it is hardly to be expected that they will balk at such a comparatively mild thing as slave-trading. As was recently said, Italy was forced to acknowledge in April, 1935, at Geneva that slavery still existed in her African colonies.

The truth is that slavery, open or veiled, exists in all the European colonies in Africa, including those of England and France. Ethiopia and Liberia, however, were held up as horrible examples simply because they were black and independent.

The part that Haile Selassie's stand against slavery has played in bringing about the events that led up to his flight from Ethiopia has yet to be told. Slavery was one of the great issues between him and some of his chiefs, notably Ras Hailu, who, according to a dispatch, was accused by Haile Selassie on the day of the latter's flight, as being largely responsible for the Italian success.

About 1931, Ras Hailu revolted against Haile Selassie largely over the issue of slavery, Haile Selassie victorious, freed Ras Hailu's slaves and so reported to the League. Prior to that Haile Selassie had issued drastic orders against slave-raiders, when caught they were to be shot, and as regards escaped slaves, no one but their own master could pursue them. If a slave escaped into another province he became automatically free. There and other laws which led up to the final emancipation in 1935 were published in the League of Nations Bulletin in May 14, 1924.

Haile Selassie as an opponent of slavery has had to pay the price exacted of almost of every other emancipator. Abraham Lincoln and Czar Alexander of Russia were assasinated; Toussaint L'Ouverture died in a dungeon in the Alps; Louis Delgres black liberator of Guadeloupe, who blew up himself and his men in a fort rather than surrender to Napoleon, who wished to re-impose slavery on his people, and the wise and humane mulatto, Emperor Dom Pedro II, of Brazil, was forced to flee for his life after signing the decree that emancipated the three million slaves in his empire in 1888.

This much is certain. Those Ethiopian chiefs, who wish to continue slavery, if ever they wish to make a bargain about it with Mussolini, will find him far easier to deal with than Haile Selassie.

ITALIANS THREATEN DEATH FOR WOMAN

Commercial Appeal

Known as Mata Hari of East Africa

6-22-36

Jerusalem—Known to the Italians as "Mati Hari" of the East African War, but to her own countrymen as the Ethiopian Joan of Arc, Wozero Manen, the mystical woman who played a big part in placing the now deposed negus on his throne, had not only a price on her head, but orders had been issued that she was to be shot out of hand when captured by the Italians.

Belonging to an ancient Ethiopian family, she claimed direct descent from the house of Solomon and with a passion for political intigue she returned to Ethiopia, after being educated in England and France, to throw herself wholeheartedly into the intrigue that removed the son of Menelik from the throne and put in his place the Negus who is now a fugitive.

The whole ofthe details of the coup d'etat were carried through by her with the aid of funds the source of which was unknown.

The Italians allege that she for a time had been one ofthe agents of the late Colonel Lawrence, operating in different parts of Africa.

They declared that she proved herself an apt pupil, putting into practice the lessons Lawrence gave her in political intrigue to rally to the standard of the new negus the discontented nobles on whom the former negus, Lidji Yassou, had to rely to maintain his power.

When the new regime came into being she was well recompensed for her work, and became one of the intimates of the court.

That did not prevent her undertaking delicate and sometimes dangerous mission for the negus.

For example, she haunted the anterooms and corridors of the League of Nations palace at Geneva during the crtical sanctions discussion of last autumn, lobbying actively in the interests of her country.

Then she was recalled urgently by the emperor to undertake a task she alone was deemed capable of carrying through.

This was to penetrate the Italian lines to bring back definite news of the strength of the Italian forces in Eritrea.

The woman who had dazzled Paris and Geneva by the splendor of her gowns and her jewelry, this proud offspring of the race of Solomon, strayed into the Italian territory disguised in rags, coated with mud and dirt, haunting the camps fo the Italians and passing always as a native woman of the lowest class.

In some way the Italians learned of her appearance, and in addition to placing a price on her head, the high command gave instructions that if she was caught, the penalty of death was to be carried out at the once.

Soldiers who had encountered the supposed peasant in rags and could be relied on to know her again, were instructed to shoot at sight.

But she was too clever for them and got back safely to the capital, and was to be rewarded with the Star of Ethiopia, the highest order in the gift of the negus.

League Retreat

No Help for Haile Selassie

In their recent devotion to the doings at Philadelphia and Cleveland Americans have tended to lose sight of Geneva, Paris, London, Berlin and Rome. Europe, however, has not been sitting still. For weeks it has been trying to forget that such a thing as the Italo-Ethiopian war ever took place; it has been thinking of the future of the League of Nations, and it has been trying to devise means with which to prevent a European war.

Last week in Geneva, where the Briands and Stresemanns once made stirring appeals for peace and good-will among nations, a most unusual event occurred: for the first time in the history of the League a sovereign, Haile Selassie I, who now disputes the title of Emperor of Ethiopia with Victor Emmanuel III of Italy, arose before the assembled delegates, challenged the League to live up to its obligations and asked that it do justice to his country and himself.

The League found itself powerless to act. Thus was written a further paragraph in the melancholy chapter which history books of the future will probably call "The Italo-Ethiopian War."

Nine Tragic Months

The beginning of the end of the League's most tragic experience came nine months ago. On Oct. 2, 1935, Benito Mussolini sent his East African armies into Ethiopia on a mission of conquest.

In November the League, spurred by Great Britain, went into action. It replied to Mussolini's aggression by voting sanctions against Italy. But by the beginning of May this year the fight between Italy on the one side and the League and Ethiopia on the other was over; Mussolini was the winner.

Haile Selassie fled from Addis Ababa and took ship for Jerusalem and later for London; Marshal Badoglio, commander of Italy's East African forces, marched proudly into Addis Ababa. Not only had Haile Selassie lost a throne; the future of the League had been jeopardized

Last week a Special Assembly of the League met to remove sanctions from the books and to discuss the reforms necessary to strengthen the League and prevent another débâcle.

Tuesday the day of days came for the King of Kings. Half the population of Geneva seemed to be assembled outside the Assembly Hall to see the Ethiopian Emperor. When he appeared they gave him a great cheer. A member of the League secretariat led Haile Selassie inside to his seat.

There was no interruption in the regular proceedings. Paul Van Zeeland, Belgian Premier, was elected President of the Assembly; a long Italian communication to the League was read. Italy, the communiqué said, looked upon "the work she has undertaken in Ethiopia as a sacred mission of civilization." Haile Selassie listened attentively; made no movement; said nothing. Finally Mr. Van Zeeland called upon him to speak.

The Emperor Speaks

There was mild applause as the Emperor mounted the rostrum. He unfolded the pages of his speech and was about to start when pandemonium broke loose. Italian correspondents in the press gallery shouted abuse at the Emperor; other correspondents tried to restrain them and the League delegates arose in protest at the catcalls.

Husky Swiss gendarmes removed the offending journalists; they were jailed and later expelled from Switzerland. Throughout the tumult Haile Selassie stood calmly waiting.

In his speech he accused Italy of employing barbaric methods of warfare. "Apart from the Kingdom of the Lord," he said, "there is not on this earth any nation that is superior to any other." He concluded with the questions: "What measures do you intend to take? What reply have I to take back to my people?"

The Emperor spoke in Amharic; his voice was clear and even. Among the non-Ethiopian delegates there was probably nobody who understood Amharic; yet the delegates, by putting on earphones connected with the League's telephonic translator, followed almost simultaneously the Emperor's speech.

Fast Work

(The speech translator has helped solve language problems at League meetings. Wires connected with a microphone in front of the speaker carry his voice to interpreters, each of whom is able to translate the language being used into a second language. These interpreters speak into telephones which are connected with earphones on the desks of the delegates. The delegates press a button on their desks for whichever language they want to hear.)

Thursday the Ethiopian delegation embarrassed the League again; it offered two resolutions for a vote by the League Assembly. They were: (1) The Assembly will not recognize any annexation made by the force of arms; and (2) the Assembly recommends to the member States that they guarantee a $50,000,000 loan to Ethiopia.

The Assembly did nothing to comfort Ethiopia. Delegates of member nations, including Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary; Premier Blum of France and Maxim Litvinoff, Russian Foreign Commissar, paraded to the rostrum; made no answer to Haile Selassie; declared that the League must go on. They were more worried about the future of the League and Europe than the past of Haile Selassie.

Praise and Condemnation

In Italy the League and Haile Selassie were condemned; the Italian journalists who had staged the Geneva demonstration were praised. In London Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin declared that Britain would go to Geneva this Autumn to consider "the future of the League * * * in the light of lessons we have learned this last year."

Answering critics of his government's policy—and he has many in Britain—Mr. Baldwin followed the example of Democrats and Republicans in this country when they seek to justify their acts: he quoted Abraham Lincoln.

The quotation follows: "I do the very best I can and I mean to keep on doing it until the end. If the end brings me out all right, what is said against me will not amount to anything, and if the end brings me out wrong, ten angels hearing that I was right would make no difference."

ETHIOPIA ADOPTS 'JIM CROW' BUSES

Must Not Become Empire Of Mulattos,' Say Leaders; Color Line Drawn

By A. EDWARD STUNTZ
Associated Press Foreign Staff

ROME, July 11—(AP)—Italian leaders have resurected the old Anglo-American horror of "going native" in a campaign to convince colonists of Ethiopia that the color line must be sharply drawn and rigidly observed.

"The fascist empire must not become an empire of mulattos," said one government inspired editorial.

A provincial commissioner for the examination of peasant aspirants for Ethiopian homesteads said the government was doing everything possible to remove any temptation to race mixture.

"Most of our peasant boys are either married or bound in engagement vows in their early twenties, or late teens" he said. "We have found that it is mostly the ones with young wives or sweethearts who get a chance to make something of themselves in the new colonies. And our government has very wisely made provisions to send their girls out with them."

Race Segregation Decreed

Other authorities revealed that a color line and race segregation already have been started.

The new bus services opening up week by week in the vicinity of Addis Ababa, Harrar, Gondar and other cities, have two sections in each vehicle, one for whites and the other a "Jim Crow" compartment for natives of Ethiopia.

Two forms of townships in sectors of intense agricultural or other development also are planned. Where large concentrations of Italians are settled, Ethiopians will be largely excluded. Where Ethiopians are given the major task of resource exploitation they will do so under command of only a few, married white officials.

The press campaign at home to disillusion proponents of race amalgamation was inspired, an authority said, by fascist detestation of false sentiment.

"Facetta Nera," with its picture of Italian knighthood liberating a charming Ethiopian slave girl was all right as a war song but "dangerous" he said, as an inspiration to sentiment.

Italian Ideas Modified

"Dangerous," too, was the wave of "exhibitionist" offers from well-to-do Italian families to adopt homeless little Ethiopians.

This government, informants said, has had to throw overboard a former mode of Italian thought which was incapable of understanding the North American color line. Rather it intends to create an understanding of the race problem based upon woeful experiences in the Americas.

Mussolini intends to follow in part the policy responsible for the big negro educational institutes in America. He has laid his groundwork in the form of a secondary school program in Ethiopia.

But, although this program may eventually evolve a race of Ethiopians of great value to the fatherland, there is no talk here about their equality.

Like citizens of the vassal states of the old Roman empires, future Ethiopians must be content to regard themselves as subjects of a great white father overseas, their rights as citizens restricted by what Rome thinks best.

HISTORY REPEATS

Elderly statesmen see in Haile Selassie's journey to England a reminder of Oom Paul Kruger's fruitless pilgrimage to Europe 36 years ago to enlist aid against the encroachment of Great Britain on the South African republic of which he was president.

Defeated, but with the plaudits of the world ringing in his ears for his defense of his homeland, Kruger sailed for Europe on a Dutch man-of-war, while his countrymen carried on guerilla warfare. But exploitation of African territory by the powers of Europe was popular in those days; Britain was determined to rule over South Africa, and there was none to offer opposition.

Kruger's statement provides a remarkable parallel to that recently made by the Negus. Landing at Marseilles, he said:

The war in South Africa has exceeded the limits of barbarism. I have fought against many barbarian Kaffir tribes in the course of my life, but they are not so barbarous as the English, who have burned our homes, ruined our farms, and driven our women and children into destitution.

The King of Kings fled from Ethiopia, via Jerusalem, to London, where he said:

We were living peaceably in our homeland and have never menaced other peoples. An invader came and destroyed our homes and a defenseless people. Our subjects were poisoned, burned and decimated by gases against which they had absolutely no means of protection. Our troops saw devastated fields and ruined villages covered with bodies of the aged, and of women and children massacred behind the lines by the pitiless aviation bombers of the enemy.

His pleas for aid fruitless, Kruger retired to a villa at Clarens, on the edge of Lake Geneva, where he died in 1902. Observers, knowing that the mission of the Negus is hopeless, see him soon retiring to his villa in Switzerland in the same frame of mind as that of Kruger, and they wonder how long his 51 boxes of gold thalers will last.

Race Problem—1936
Africa.

Abyssinia

MOON MULLINS—COLOR BLIND

ITALY'S PLANS GO AWRY

A year ago Mussolini and his inner circle thought the conquest of Ethiopia would be a cinch. They know better now.

Then it seemed easy, equipped as Italy was with trucks, tanks, airplanes and other modern war equipment. It doesn't seem so easy today.

Elaborate plans were worked out. First, the Ethiopians would be terrified and overwhelmed by the mass of mechanized equipment of the Italians. Roads would be promptly built and over them the Fascist army would roll in triumph into Addis Ababa.

The elaborate plans have gone awry. The Ethiopians were not overwhelmed and terrified by the mechanized equipment of the Italians. They have shot down airplanes and captured tanks, machine guns and cannon.

The Ethiopians did not present themselves en masse to be mowed down by Italian artillery and machine guns. They have all along fought a clever guerrilla war, luring the Italians farther into the inhospitable country.

Roads were built according to plan, but the tropics seem to have taken a hand in the matter, because rains, unpredicted and unforeseen, have poured down and ruined them, thus cutting off Italian supplies and forcing a hasty retreat.

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They are accused of aiding the Italians.

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It is my first experience with Ethiopian justice.

A hushed, but otherwise unmoved group, looks on stoically at a sight which makes my blood run cold.

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Forty lashes are administered to each prisoner.

Often I lose count and wonder if the cracking of the flails will ever cease.

For about the first four lashes I can hear the prisoners groan.

After that they are silent.

The human frame can take only so much.

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Ethiopians tell me it is difficult to abolish flogging because their people fear it more than any form of punishment.

Sentences to jail leave them unmoved and unrepentent. They can be fined only if allowed to wander through the streets and beg the sum of their fines.

Race Problem—1936
Africa.

Abyssinia

MOON MULLINS—COLOR BLIND

ITALY'S PLANS GO AWRY

A year ago Mussolini and his inner circle thought the conquest of Ethiopia would be a cinch. They know better now.

Then it seemed easy, equipped as Italy was with trucks, tanks, airplanes and other modern war equipment. It doesn't seem so easy today.

Elaborate plans were worked out. First, the Ethiopians would be terrified and overwhelmed by the mass of mechanized equipment of the Italians. Roads would be promptly built and over them the Fascist army would roll in triumph into Addis Ababa.

The elaborate plans have gone awry. The Ethiopians were not overwhelmed and terrified by the mechanized equipment of the Italians. They have shot down airplanes and captured tanks, machine guns and cannon.

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All day long we see men shuffling along, snaffled ankle to ankle by heavy chains about a foot long.

Debtors Bound.

They may be debtor and creditor, having obtained a judgment, has his debtor bound to him until the debt is paid.

A man and woman—not related—may be chained. They seem to find no embarrassment in such intimate association, 24 hours a day for days at a time.

Chains are common on charges of manslaughter chained to relatives of their victims.

They are permitted to wander the streets that way, begging enough funds to satisfy blood money demands of their victim's relatives and thus win their freedom.

LEAGUE BODY TO WEIGH BOYCOTT MOVE TODAY

Diplomats, However, Are Now Less Fearful of European War.

GENEVA, Jan. 19.—(AP)—Geneva's diplomats, facing consideration of vital world problems when the League of Nations council convenes tomorrow, generally saw tonight a lessened danger that any European war will grow out of the Italo-Ethiopian conflict.

Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden of Great Britain, it was believed, is coming to Geneva to meet the foreign ministers of other powers more tranquil than previously over the African war.

Some even wondered if Baron Pompeo Aloisi, of Italy, inspired by Premier Mussolini, would make a move to reopen peace proposals.

Many officials felt the long-talked proposals for an oil embargo against Italy would never see light at the coming sessions.

Aside from the Ethiopian war, the council will, it was believed, consider Japan's bolt from the international naval conference with its probable effect on world armaments and the political and economic position of European nations in the far east.

Rhineland Issue.

It was presumed also that consideration would be given to rumors that Germany will occupy the Rhineland, demilitarized under the treaty of Versailles.

Efforts were apparent tonight to prevent the quarrel between soviet Russia and Uruguay over alleged communist activities in South America from developing into a major league problem.

Information from official Latin-American quarters indicated a tendency to appraise Uruguay's rupture of diplomatic relations with Moscow as a matter solely within the domestice jurisdiction of Uruguay.

The question presumably will be entrusted to a member of the council for a special report.

At international Red Cross headquarters meantime the bombing of a Swedish Red Cross ambulance center in Ethiopia by Italian airplanes and reports of other such raids raised the question as to whether the Red Cross emblem should be exhibited during future Ethiopian activities.

Red Cross Position.

Red Cross officials frankly admit there is no possible way of forcing obedience to Red Cross principles and explain that the belligerents themselves must agree to respect the Red Cross emblem.

The famous Article 30 of the Geneva Red Cross convention was intended to take care of the question of responsibility for violations of the convention.

But many delegates have objected to the provision on the ground it lacked stipulations calculated to insure respect for Red Cross ideals.

The article says that at the request of one belligerent an inquiry should be begun on the subject of any alleged violation of Red Cross regulations. Once this violation is proved to have been committeed the belligerents presumbably will end it as soon as possible.

Therefore Ethiopia has no means of securing redress through the international committee of the Red Cross except by inducing Italy to respect the Red Cross convention if a violation has been established. Furthermore, only the belligerents in a war have the right to make a protest to the Red Cross headquarters. This means that Sweden must send its protests to an organization like the League of Nations or to Italy itself.

Assistance Offered.

Official communiques issued by the Red Cross international committee indicate that 25 national Red Cross organizations have offered assistance in various forms to the Ethiopian Red Cross in its project of caring for the wounded. The Italian Red Cross refused all offers of foreign assistance.

The contributions from abroad to Ethiopia took the form of money, material and the dispatch of Red Cross corps to the scene of hostilities.

Turkey has sent 100,000 packages of individual bandages. The Red Cross of Latvia has sent 30 cases containing 225,000 pounds of iodine. The Spanish Red Cross has forwarded nine cases of various medical products. The Japanese Red Cross sent sanitary material sufficient to care for 10,000 Ethiopian wounded.

AMERICAN IMPRISONMENT BY ITALIANS DISCLOSED

ADDIS ABABA, Jan. 19.—(AP)—The American legation was informed today that Dr. George E. Reeves, former American medical adviser to the late King Alexander, of Yugoslavia, had been imprisoned recently for 11 days by Italian authorities at Massaua, Eritrea.

Information reaching the legation stated the doctor, clad only in a bathing suit, was allowed only bread and water rations and was threatened with lashings.

Advices from Reeves, now stranded at Port Sudan, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, said his arrest apparently was provoked by suspicions he was either an Ethiopian or English spy after he had landed at Massaua from Djibouti, French Somaliland, in a storm-battered schooner with a cargo of foodstuffs and liquors.

Finally, it was reported here, he was towed seven miles to sea and set adrift without gear or food, and was rescued later by British coast guardsmen.

Seek Unity Of Dark Races

Ethiopian Defense League Issues Call For A Giant Conclave

PARIS, France, Jan. 17—A call for an international Congress of all black and Mohammedan people throughout the world has been issued by the French International Committee for the Defense of Ethiopia.

This Congress, according to the Committee's secretariat, is to take place in Paris, February 17, 1936. In the sumptuous hall of the Committee's General Headquarters. Delegates representing the darker races from all parts of the world, including Arabia, Egypt, and South India, are expected to participate in the momentous occasion.

The Congress has on its agenda the following items for deliberation: first, the defense of Ethiopian sovereignty; second, the establishment of a permanent central organization which may handle all complaints, injustices, social persecution and industrial exploitation that arise from racial antagonist; third, means for effecting Race solidarity and, a quick method of awakening the consciousness of all blacks to the danger of isolation and gradual extermination; fourth, central authorities with vested power to adjust claims of the blacks wherever such claims may arise, whether in North and South America, in Asia in Africa or in Europe.

To Unite Races

The Congress' highest keynote will be the unification of all the

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF BLACKS MEETS

(Continued from Page 1)

darker races. The question of unity will be stressed to its full import, according to Paul Perrin, the secretary-general. It will also seek to establish bureaus of information in the capital of major countries of the world.

The executive committee of the organization will devise means for an annual congress at which time reports relative to world conditions will be made and resolutions adopted. The committee will proceed with the election of permanent officers and offices and the financial means for general unkeep of current expenses.

The Congress is sponsored by such men as Lord Robert Cecil, Norman Angell, Pierre Cot, Manuel Azana Jean Longuet, Paul Perrin, Prof Marcel Cohen, Marc Sangnier, Francis Jourdain, Senator Henri Rolin, Dr. Wibault, and Prof Arthur Postmus.

The French anti-Fascist League announces its intention to support the Congress in whatever action it may take against Fascism and war. Though this international conclave has been called in the interest of the darker races, representatives of the white races who are interested in the welfare of the less favored few have been invited to attend. They have voice, but no vote.

Those who are promoting the meeting are hopeful that it will stir the moral and political consciousness of the world to such a pitch as to direct its attention toward a more humane and equitable policy.

Isolated by geographical and linguistic barriers, the blacks heretofore have been a mosaic of peoples with insufficient motive power to lift them above the level of national consciousness For years they have stood in need of a cohesive platform designed to safeguard their economic security and political independence. The Italo-Ethiopian conflict has provided the opportunity for the operation of a program that will rally all of them to a common cause and a common destiny.

The Soviet Government has instructed its official representatives in Paris and London to lend their moral support to the conference so that it may attain its objective.

Editor Again Off to World News Centers

BALTIMORE — William N. Jones, of the AFRO-AMERICAN editorial staff, sailed from New York Tuesday on the Normandie for Europe and other sections of the world, where he will cover news events in connection with Ethiopian developments.

William N. Jones

Mr. Jones, who is making his third foreign news gathering trip for the AFRO will also study the present and immediate prospective status of colored races and write interpretive articles.

Get Behind Scenes

With excellent contacts at Geneva, the AFRO editor will be on hand when that body meets June 16 to decide what is to become of Ethiopia. He will be able to report from behind the scenes in this stirring drama which may again plunge the whole world into war.

Recent announcements that Haile Selassie is Europe-bound indicates that the Negus will make a desperate fight at the League of Nations. The AFRO correspondent will follow these events on the spot, wherever they occur.

The part that other nations are taking in the conflict between Italy and Ethiopia will be followed and studied by Jones for AFRO readers.

Race Problem - 1936
Africa

Abyssinia

MAYOR ASKED TO BAR JULIAN

Boston Chronicle

Strong Sentiment Against His Pro-Italian Views

Boston, Mass.
1-18-36

Announcements that Col. Hubert Julian, Harlem's "Black Eagle," who is now in Paris, is planning to return to America to start off a lecture tour in Boston on January 28, has brought a storm of protests from the colored residents here.

The general feeling is that Julian's decidedly anti-Ethiopian and pro-Italian utterances will not find favor among friends and sympathizers of the Black Empire and especially after the rousing welcome and support recently given to Lij Tasffaye Zaphiro.

Protest to Mayor

The following letter has been sent to Mayor Frederick W. Mansfield by George W. Goodman, Executive Secretary of the Boston Urban League:

My dear Mayor Mansfield:

Col. Hubert Julian, recently of the Ethiopian army, is to lecture at Tremont Temple on Tuesday, January 28 on "Why Italy did Ethiopia a favor by Invading."

Julian allegedly coming into conflict with the Ethiopian government he now returns to America reputedly with certain anti-Ethiopian propaganda which he hopes to sell throughout the country in a series of lectures.

To date there has been no active . . . . . I maintain that such a state of affairs will not only be sensitized but subject to a violent outbreak if Col. Julian is permitted to appear and thus incite Italian and colored citizens as well as their representative sympathizers.

I should be happy to know at once what your position in this matter will be and earnestly request a conference with your Honor on this matter in company with a representative committee of white and colored citizens who are most anxious to have you exert your every influence to forestall this unfortunate development."

Rockville Center, N. Y.
NASSAU DAILY REVIEW

JAN 17 1936

Black Race Aroused

SOUTHERNERS in this country have never ceased to marvel at the way news travels among the Negroes. Many a Southern mistress receives the first inkling of sensational scandals in the community from her cook, and after listening eagerly for all the details scolds the colored woman soundly for being a gossip.

The facility with which news travels by the "grapevine" route among the Southern Negroes is a lingering vestige of an ancient African custom which the Ethiopian War has brought into prominence.

It is an established fact that detailed information about developments in Ethiopia is available in the remotest part of the continent. The messages are transmitted by the primitive, but highly efficient system of drum signals. Messages travel hundreds of miles in a day, relayed by a trans-continental net of huge drums whose signals can be heard clearly over a distance of 15 to 20 miles.

The drum code is still a complete mystery to Europeans, but is universal throughout Africa and apparently can be understood by the drummers of all African tribes speaking 600 different languages and dialects.

The keen interest of the natives in the Ethiopian war is a source of concern to French and British officials in the vast colonial possessions of these two countries in Africa. The exultation of all tribes at the least bit of news favorable to the Ethiopians is significant of the strong color ties that bind all African races, no matter what mixture of other races they may have.

The possibility of racial trouble throughout the continent, inspired by the declining prestige of the white man at the spectacle of a black army defeating a white army, is feared by England and France.

The situation reminds the two countries of their shortcomings as colonial administrators. Under their sovereignty the black race has been exploited. Civilization has not improved the economic status of the natives to the degree that it has enriched the white colonizers.

A sufficient number of Negroes have been educated, however, to assume the leadership of their race and impress upon them the wrongs they have suffered. If all the movements throughout Africa could be amalgamated the Dark Continent would be unsafe for the white man. There are upwards of 200,000,000 people in Africa, 80 per cent or more being members of the black race, even though they may not call themselves Negroes.

The Japanese feeling that the Far East should be reserved for the yellow race finds a parallel in the educated leaders of Africa who feel their race should regain its supremacy on that continent. Graduates of universities and colleges which admit natives spread this sentiment when they find many professions and callings closed to them after they have received specialized training.

One wonders if there is not justice in this sentiment, as there is in the Oriental's dislike of European exploitation in the Far East. Should the three great races—the white, yellow and black—partition the world according to their traditional habitats and live in peace without intruding upon each other, should the strongest seek the mastery of both of the others, or should a gradual mingling of races wipe out all racial and color distinctions in a practical realization of the Brotherhood of Man.

Negro Then, White Now?

THE learned ethnologists have all been mixed up and furious and fussy about the racial identity of the Ethiopians. But soon after the inauguration of President F. D. Roosevelt there was no question nor debate about it in Washington.

There appeared upon the scene Ras Desta Demtu, son-in-law of Haile Selassie, to pay an official visit to Washington as special ambassador of his father-in-law.

The State Department was much perturbed and was put to it to find accommodation for the ambassador in the hotels in Washington. No one, no hotel wanted to entertain the Negro even though he was the son-in-law of an emperor, who was destined to teach Mussolini that he could not ride rough-shod over his people.

By an accommodating arrangement Ras Desta Demtu stayed at the Mayflower hotel, but he was to remain garbed in his official regalia—which included a lion skin over one shoulder. By making this concession to American prejudice the ambassador was entertained in the Mayflower.

But since Mussolini's outbreak of madness has met with such stubborn and effectual resistance, the learned men, and the wise have suddenly discovered that the Ethiopians were white.

The League's Dilemma

SINCE the outbreak of the Italo-Ethiopian conflict in East Africa, it has been generally suspected that the role of the League of Nations, or at least the major powers which dominate that international confederation of states, in moving to halt the "slaughter" of Ethiopians, were seeking to accomplish something other than common justice for HAILE SELASSIE'S people. The fact that nothing of any consequence has been done by the League to halt, or impede, MUSSOLINI'S colonial expedition, despite the admitted power of the nations comprising the League to so cripple Italy that continuation of her aggressive warfare would be disastrous, gives strength to that suspicion.

The prospect of an Ethiopian victory, providing the fuse to set off a world-wide revolt of subjugated darker races against their controlling white European governments, was given only the most casual consideration. For the easy triumph of the superior Fascist fighting machine was expected long before now. It appears today that the League states merely wanted to raise their holy voices to the high heavens in indignation while MUSSOLINI made quick work of his African expedition.

But Emperor HAILE SELASSIE, King of Kings, Conquering Lion of Judah, had not been reckoned with as a diplomat, statesman and leader of unexcelled craft and genius. By shrewdly avoiding any of the many diplomatic traps set for him by the League, by admirable leadership of his subjects, he has kept Italian progress down to a snail's pace. And now, with the rainy season just three months away, it would seem that MUSSOLINI'S mission of "civilizing" Ethiopia must be prolonged way into next winter.

That has created a grave crisis in European capitals—a crisis that has changed the entire complexion of hitherto apparently righteous dealing with the European question. If MUSSOLINI fails in Africa, if he even requires too long to succeed, he will be disgraced at home, discredited and perhaps decapitated. And if MUSSOLINI collapses in Italy, it will be a sad omen for the rest of Europe's dictatorships and autocratic governments. The dictators evidently still recall the fate of monarchies just after the World War once the epidemic of revolution broke out. So as a matter of saving their own faces—and hides—League statesmen must now save MUSSOLINI'S face—and hide.

The opening sessions of the League of Nations Council this week were so tranquil and so devoid of that atmosphere of aggressive righteousness that the possibility of its doing anything serious to halt Il Duce is too remote for even passing consideration. One readily concludes that the League has set itself definitely to the task of working out a settlement of the Italo-Ethiopian conflict that will save all the faces—and all the hides—chiefly concerned. And in the evolution of that settlement HAILE SELASSIE'S face and hide are likely to be terribly distorted.

The practical effects of the picture of European nations "ganging up" to crush Ethiopia in order to save African domination for the white race may be quite different from those anticipated. It must be ceded that the "civilizing" processes of British, French, Dutch, Italian and Belgian imperialism, together with the general broadening of educational opportunity even in Africa, have left the darker peoples far more intelligent than they were a century, or a quarter-century ago. To expect that they will not grasp the significance of this "ganging up" of white nations to preserve their domination over the darker races, is to deny to them even rudimentary intelligence.

Moreover, it will likely accelerate the ultimate union of Far Eastern darker groups—a much dreaded coalition which European influence in the Orient has discouraged and hindered to the utmost. Japan, seeing that her potential enemy is not

Was Zaphiro Given Double-Cross In U.S.?

Ethiopian Envoy Recalled Suddenly to to London.

HIS SPLIT WITH WHITES BLAMED

Secret Papers Reported Withheld.

NEW YORK — Why was Lij Zaphiro, delegate from the Ethiopian Legation in London, suddenly recalled from America?

That is the question which Harlem is asking after it became known that Mr. Zaphiro, who had been engaged in the work of co-ordinating the various organizations interested in Ethiopia, sailed on Thursday for London.

He was recalled by Dr. Wargnet Martin, Minister to England, cutting short his extended Western tour planned under the direction of the United Aid for Ethiopia.

Three-Way Feud

The sudden departure of Mr. Zaphiro brought out in bold relief a three-cornered feud over the Ethiopian situation in America and which is said to be the direct cause of the recall.

The three groups involved are the United Aid for Ethiopia, an all-colored organization, the American Friends of Ethiopia, a predominantly white group, and the American Consulate, headed by John A. Shaw, who is the Emperor's representative in America.

Huggins Resigns

Dr. Willis N. Huggins, Harlem educator, said to have been instrumental in having Mr. Zaphiro come to America, resigned from the United Aid for Ethiopia and cast his lot with the white organization.

Mr. Zaphiro, however, broke with the white group to work with the all-colored organization. Both publicly and privately he revealed that he had little faith that the white group has the best interest of Ethiopia at heart.

His determination last week to go on a tour under the sponsorship of the colored organization is said to have been the last straw.

Believed Double-Crossed

From authoritative sources, it was learned this week that Mr. Zaphiro intimated that he felt his work here had been misrepresented to Dr. Martin in secret reports.

Partial confirmation of this rumor was obtained from Dr. P. M. H. Savory, treasurer of the United Aid for Ethiopia.

Mr. Zaphiro is said to have discovered that instructions sent to him from the Londan legation had not been received, and believes that other important papers intended for him were withheld.

Authenticity Doubted

That a sharp difference of opinion on Zaphiro's office status existed between Dr. Huggins and Dr. Savory became apparent last week when Dr. Huggins suddenly demanded that he show credentials from the Ethiopian Government.

Dr. Savory, on the other hand, stated that he was thoroughly convinced of the young man's authenticity as he had numerous papers of a secret nature which he could have only obtained with the direct knowledge of Dr. Martin.

World's Window

BY PIERRE VAN PAASSEN.

Who Killed Cock Robin?

ZURICH, Switzerland.—There seems to be a sort of debate running in the world as to who caused the Negus to lose the war. The first thing that should be settled is this: who urged him to start it? That question has already been answered by Dr. Hugh Dalton in the British parliament when he said: "We gave the Negus to understand that we would back him up." "Let us admit that we betrayed Ethiopia," added Mr. Leopold Amery, former minister. Once convinced that he could count on the support of England, the Negus disdainfully waived aside Mussolini's offers to negotiate the cession of part of his territories. It will be recalled that initially the Duce only asked for Ogaden province and the right of way for a railroad across Ethiopia to link the two Italian colonies of Erythrea and Somaliland.

But British aid did not arrive. England did not even put its protege in a position to defend himself decently. Economic sanctions might have worn down Badoglio's army in the end, but Mussolini was not going to wait for that end. Necessity knows no law, we were told when the German armies invaded Belgium in 1914, and the same law was applied by Mussolini in Ethiopia. Poison gas was let loose on the native armies and chased them all over the place. Even then, Britain continued to hedge and hesitate. An English firm, in which the British government is the main shareholder, the Anglo-Iranian Petroleum Company (the former Anglo-Persian) supplied the oil for the bombing planes and tanks that were beating down Ethiopian resistance. British coal was sold to Egypt and re-shipped to Asmara and Italian home ports. And all the time the Negus got half a dozen machine guns or so, and a few boxes of hand grenades. Fair, wasn't it?

* * *

Dr. Melly.

The death of Dr. Melly, senior medical officer of the British Red Cross in Abyssinia, brings the total of Europeans killed in the service of the Red Cross in this war to four. Dr. Melly died as the result of a bullet fired by a half-crazy rioter in the streets of Addis Ababa when he was attempting to rescue a wounded man; the other three were all killed, either directly or indirectly by Italian bombs. Dr. Lundstrom, of the Swedish unit, was killed in a wanton raid on the hospital near Dolo; Dr. Hockman, an American, was killed by accident when digging up a bomb dropped near his unit, and Major Burgoyne, also a British subject, was killed in an air raid when his transport was caught in an Abyssinian retreat. These men and all those more fortunate who went with them fully realized the dangers they would run in a wild and war-ridden land—from disease, stray bullets and the attacks of native bandits. Probably they did not imagine that the Red Cross, which they served as the symbol of humanity, would be treated by the Italians as an invitation to attack, but there is little doubt that it would have made no difference if that additional danger had been realized in advance of actual experience.

Handicapped by lack of money and men, by the distances and difficulties of the country, by the inadequate roads and means of transport, all the 17 units in Abyssinia together may have provided only a fraction of the attention necessary for the gassed and wounded, but there can be no praise too high for the courage and perseverance of their staffs. They represented to the Abyssinians another kind of civilization than that of death and destruction, and they alone of European peoples, have nothing of which they need feel ashamed.

Race Problem - 1936
Africa.

Abyssinia

Emperor's Palace Is Thrown Open to Looting Mobs

Sunday the imperial palace of Ethiopia, in Addis Ababa, the most imposing structure in the city, was thrown open to looters by royal decree. The building was stripped quickly of treasures beyond the wildest dreams of the natives.

Only a Few Persons at Djibouti To Greet Negus, Prince Wosan and Officials; "Conquering Lion" Bars Reporters.

Constitution

BOARDS WARSHIP FOR GREAT BRITAIN

5-4-36

Imperial Train Loaded With Several Tons of Baggage; Italian Newspapermen, Natives Fight

Atlanta

DJIBOUTI, French Somaliland, May 3.—(AP)—Emperor Haile Selassie and his imperial family reached the sanctuary of French soil and a British destroyer today after a precipitate two-night flight from the capital of his crumbling empire.

The little "King of Kings," now another exile, boarded the destroyer Diana, sent here by the British government, and will sail shortly for Aden, Arabia, en route to England.

Refusing to make a declaration as to his intentions, the emperor—appearing very thin and tired—asked the French governor, upon his arrival, to bar newspapermen from the railroad station.

An Italian who attempted to photograph the negus was prevented from doing so by Ethiopians and several blows were exchanged. The incident took place in front of the Ethiopian consulate.

Emperor Bareheaded.

Several Italian newspapermen and secretaries of the Italian legation silently watched the little one-time ruler leave the train. He was bareheaded and wore white clothing with a light brown cape.

Several ministers and a number of other officials accompanied the negus.

The train arrived 35 minutes late. It was composed of special cars, including a sleeping car and a club car.

Among officials to greet the imperial family were the French civil and imperial governors and their staff officers in dress uniforms.

The Empress Mennen was the first to get off the train, followed by Haile Selassie and Crown Prince Asfa Wossan, but neither Prince Makonnen nor the little princesses was seen. The empress was heavily veiled and appeared to be overcome by emotion.

Guard of Honor.

The small crowd at the station was ascribed to the boiling heat, which kept most of the population indoors. A company of Senegalese troops formed a guard of honor, presenting arms as the defeated emperor walked between two columns.

After leaving the railroad station, the imperial family rode to the governor's palace in automobiles supplied by the government. There they were also saluted by troops. A double line of Senegalese sharpshooters was drawn up outside the entrance.

By then a large crowd had assem-

SELASSIE SAID BEATEN BY HIS OWN PEOPLE

Constitution

Natives Balked His Every Attempt To Civilize Nation.

5-4-36

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(Copyright, 1936, by United Press.)

Haile Selassie I, who took his last chance for freedom as the Italian pincers closed and revolt swept in from the west, failed as ruler of Ethiopia because he was too good for his country.

He has no European education like the young men he has yearly sent abroad to absorb civilized ideas and technique. His entire education came from an old French priest in Harrar.

He [illegible] here. When he tried to educate technicians abroad he was forced to do so out of his own pocket, because priests and advisors blocked spending public money on "farengi civilization."

When he brought the first airplane to Ethiopia during the reign of the Empress Zaouditu, it was shipped back post-haste because the priests convinced the empress man was not made to fly and the plane must therefore be the devil's work.

When he tried to lay telephone lines the wires were stolen by natives to stick in their noses or ears as ornaments. Grafting ministers sold to their own advantage the rifles and machine guns which he attempted to lay in against the Italian invasion.

With the exception of a half dozen young progressives who were generally overworked and whose enthusiasm was offset by their ineptitude, no one in Ethiopia cared whether civilization progressed or not and at least 50 per cent of the powerful chiefs openly opposed it.

Haile Selassie knew war probably meant the end of him and his attempted progress. Even if he had held the Italians off and eventually gained peace, he was through as dictator. He had remained the supreme power, like all Ethiopian rulers, because he "had the big guns," in this case guns that would really shoot.

When war threatened he distributed them among his chiefs, many of them openly hostile to him and others sympathetic to the old dynasty which considered him a usurper. If peace had come, he would probably have faced revolt.

He was forced to refuse all concessions when peace efforts were made because to make them would have meant revolution in the north. Totally unfitted for military command, he was forced by tradition to take the field when he would have been much more effective at Addis, organizing supply and directing both fronts from a central point.

He knew guerilla warfare was Ethiopia's only chance—that through it he might make the war so expensive and long-drawn Italy would be content with part, rather than all, of Ethiopia.

The chiefs stuck it out for four months in which the Italians advanced roughly 75 miles, went to him shouting "We beat them in 1896 and we can do it again," and proceeded to risk open battle in which they were wiped out.

Haile Selassie now would probably prefer to fight it out, perhaps to save part of the western half of his country still untouched by the Italians. With revolt to the west and Italians to north and south, he couldn't do it. He was beaten more by his countrymen than by the Italians.

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The crossing of the frontier into French Somaliland by Emperor Haile Selassie I apparently has ended the reign of Ethiopia's most enlightened and powerful monarch.

The little emperor—barely over five feet tall—was conceded intelligence, gallantry and courage by foreigners who have been in close contact with him.

He did more in 20 years to modernize and develop the backward and impoverished empire created by his great uncle, Menelik II, than all the previous rulers of Ethiopia.

Haile Selassie has often been called the hardest-working man in Ethiopia. No minister or subordinate would make a decision without his approval. His cabinet was a puppet one.

Selassie was regarded as a god by his subjects. He not only took the ancient title of "King of Kings," and had turned over the government to ministers.

Speaking at Leamington last night, Eden said "Whatever the lessons of the last seven months, we must be prepared to learn from them and profit by them in a spirit of realism."

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The imperial family was served luncheon at the governor's palace in strict seclusion and only the highest French officials were permitted to the dining room.

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Accompanying the emperor were Ras Kassa, Ras Desta, Foreign Minister Herrouy and Dedjazmatch Emerou, and 30 high court dignitaries. The British destroyer arrived this morning from Aden.

The imperial family was served luncheon at the governor's palace in strict seclusion and only the highest French officials were permitted to the dining room.

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The British government has received no information the emperor had abdicated, but it was understood

stroyer Diana, the family would transfer from the destroyer to a liner at Aden and go on to England. All members of the government are expected to accompany the family. The imperial train carried several tons of baggage.

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Ababa today, the governor-general of French Somaliland paid a visit to Prince Menelik, a grandson of the late Didj Yashu, who was removed from the throne by Haile Selassie and imprisoned.

Menelik, who is a great-great-grandson of Emperor Menelik II. is considered an outstanding candidate for the throne of Ethiopia if the Italians seek a man to replace the "Conquering Lion of Judah." He has a villa at Tajura, a few miles from here.

Anointed of God, Lion of Judah and Light of the World:" a title even more significant as an indication of the awe in which he was held by his people was that of "Little Father."

He was also the real master of the powerful Coptic church. In contrast to the many Ethiopian rulers and rases, he would not be dominated by the priests.

In private life, Haile Selassie preferred to live as a European. He joined rarely in the raw meat feasts of his chieftains. His experiences in Europe had given him different tastes and the imperial banquets were equal to the finest dinners of state in modern countries.

ITALIAN TROOPS ENTER ADDIS ABABA

Flight of Emperor and his Family

Italian troops entered Addis Ababa on Tuesday afternoon without resistance.

At a great demonstration in Rome Signor Mussolini made a speech which seemed to amount to a declaration of annexation. "The war is finished and peace re-established," he said. And he went on: "It is necessary I should add that it is our peace—a Roman peace—which is expressed in these terms, the final and definite terms, 'Ethiopia is Italian.' The people of the Lion of Judah have shown clearly that they wish to live under the tutelage of the Italian people."

The resistance of the Abyssinian troops in face of Italy's ruthless use of modern weapons, including prohibited poison gases, had been rapidly weakening. The complete hopelessness of their position was indicated on Saturday by the flight of the Emperor and his family. With the consent of the French authorities they travelled by railway to Jibuti, where they rested at the palace of the Governor of French Somaliland.

The Emperor expressed a wish to be taken to Palestine, and the British Government placed at his disposal the warship Enterprise, which left Jibuti on Monday for Haifa.

The departure of the Emperor was the signal for an outbreak of rioting and looting in Addis Ababa which put the foreign communities in grave danger. The large compound of the British Legation, defended by its guard of Sikh troops, became a refuge for over two thousand people of many nationalities. The American Minister, Mr. Cornelius Van Engert, and his staff defended their legation gallantly against overwhelming odds. On Sunday a British rescue party reached the American legation and offered to take away its occupants. The offer was accepted, however, only for the women. The Minister and his staff decided to hold on. The attacks of the rioters became too bold and strong, and the Americans had to appeal for aid. British troops were able to take them away in safety at the same time that they were defending the adjoining Belgian Legation. They also took into safety the Turkish Embassy.

In addition to these exploits men from the British Legation made many difficult journeys into the city to rescue stranded foreigners. Dr. A. John Melly, leader of the British ambulance, was fatally shot by a drunken looter when picking up a wounded Ethiopian.

The Italian advance to Addis Ababa was led by Askari troops, which were reported to be within seven miles of the city on Sunday. They were, however, held back until the European troops had been brought to the fore to make a triumphant entry into the unresisting capital.

THE DUCE'S SPEECH

In his speech from the balcony of the Palazza Venezia Signor Mussolini said:

During the thirty centuries of her history Italy has lived many memorable hours, but this hour of to-day is certainly one of the most solemn. I announce to the people of Italy and to the world that the war is finished. I announce to the Italian people and to the world that peace is re-established.

It is not without emotion and without pride that after months of harsh hostilities I pronounce these words. But it is absolutely necessary that I should add that it is our peace, a Roman peace, which expresses itself in this simple, irrevocable, and final proposition, "Ethiopia is Italian."

It is Italian in fact because it is occupied by our victorious troops. It is Italian by right because occupied by the sword of Rome and the civilisation which triumphed over barbarism. Justice has triumphed over a cruel, arbitary rule, and the redemption of the miserable has triumphed over age-old slavery.

With the people of Ethiopia peace is now an accomplished fact. The many rases of the former Empire of the Lion of Judah have shown clearly that they wish to live and work quietly under the shade of the Italian tricolour. The chiefs and the defeated rases no longer count, and no force in the world can make them count.

In the rally of October 20 I promised solemnly that I would do everything possible to prevent the African conflict from spreading into a European war. I have observed this undertaking, and I am convinced that to disturb the peace of Europe would mean to make Europe itself fall. But I must add that we are ready to defend our victory with the same determination with which we won it. We feel that we are thus interpreting the will of the fighters in Africa.

To-day is a great day for the Blackshirts and the Italian people, which has endured and has not bent before the League of Nations. Blackshirts, men and women of all Italy, a stage in our journey has been completed. We shall continue to march in peace towards the tasks which face us with our courage, our faith, and our will.

LORD CECIL AND THE FUTURE

By our Political Correspondent

LONDON, TUESDAY.

Lord Cecil talked to me for a little while to-day about the Abyssinian debacle and the future. Speaking first of the British Government's duty at Geneva next week, Lord Cecil said he felt very strongly that the Government should stand for maintaining and also for increasing the present sanctions against Italy. "We know very little of what is going on in Abyssinia," Lord Cecil proceeded. "We cannot say Abyssinia has ceased to exist, and until that happens we are not entitled to relax the existing sanctions. Indeed, we ought to increase them, our object still being to secure peace within the framework of the League."

"A second question arises for the League Council," Lord Cecil went on, "and that is whether or not Italy shall be turned out of the League. That step should, perhaps, have been taken at the beginning of the war, but since it was not I would not turn her out now as long as there is the slightest hope of getting a settlement. She should only be asked to leave when we are satisfied that she will not consent to a settlement under the League."

Lord Cecil was not prepared to discuss at this moment what, if any, reconstruction of the League may be necessary, but he was quick to reply to the suggestion of Lord Lothian and others that the time has come when we must wipe out articles 10 and 16 from the Covenant and consider whether Great Britain shall now seek isolation or limit her obligations to guaranteeing France, Belgium, and Holland against aggression. "I thoroughly disapprove of all these ideas," said Lord Cecil with energy. "You cannot secure peace by zones. Peace is indivisible, as Mr. Litvinoff said. You may not like it, but there it is. That is a fact, like the sun.

"Assume we renounce articles 10 and 16 and have a military alliance with France, undertaking to go to her assistance if she is attacked. Suppose trouble to break out in Austria and Germany moves to protect the German minority there. Is it not conceivable, even probable, that France's allies would at once become involved, that France would move to support them, that Germany, fearing an attack by France, would attack France first and we should then be called upon to honour our engagements and go to war to protect France? This is no fantastic notion of what might happen. It is exactly what happened in 1914 and what could very well happen again. You simply cannot carve up Europe in that way and think to make peace secure."

"If any Government went to the people of this country and said 'Our policy is to abandon the League of Nations and have a defensive alliance with France, Belgium, and Holland' what do you think would happen to it?" Lord Cecil asked. "I do not believe myself that it would get ten seats in the new House of Commons. The people will not have such an alliance, and, for myself, I can imagine no wilder course than to say that this is now the only way left to us of ensuing peace.

"Not only can a military alliance not guarantee peace but it is governed by an out-of-date conception of British interests. The doctrine that British interests demand the independence of the Low Countries was proper to the eighteenth century, not to the twentieth. As for isolation as recommended by Lord Beaverbrook, that, too, I believe to be a mistaken policy. It would not guarantee peace any more than an Anglo-French military alliance would, but I am bound to say I think it would meet with a slightly better reception in the country than the policy of the military alliance."

Race Problem - 1936
Africa.

Abyssinia.

SAYS DESERTION OF RAS GUGSA WAS SMART TRICK OF HAILE'S

LONDON, Feb. 1.—(ANP)—According to sensational facts uncovered and headlined in a recent edition of The Sunday Referee, one of the biggest papers in the British Isles, the "desertion" of Ras Gugsa to Italy was not a desertion but an amazing trick by Haile Selassie calling for almost superhuman courage on the part of Gugsa.

Thus far, reports the local paper Gugsa has caused body after body of black troops serving Mussolini to desert to Ethiopia, risking his own life every moment by so doing. The "traitor" was recently arrested by Italians who finally got wise to his real mission, but no matter what happens, Gugsa rests in the assurance that he has saved his country.

Recorder

The complete story follows, taken word for word from the Referee:

2-1-36

"Out of Italy and Abyssinia came yesterday facts which revealed that the "desertion" to Italy by Ras Gugsa, son-in-law of Emperor Haile Selassie, was a trick by the Emperor "Lion of Judah," one of the greatest military minds in the world.

"And it is a story of heroism . . . which will be told to our children and our children's children.

"When Benito Mussolini, after months of blustering, sent his troops into Abysinian wilds and his bombers to Adowa, the Lion of Judah did not rush to the front, as he had always done before.

The Twinkle

"He sat in Addis Ababa. He let his savage chieftains come before him, wave their spears, and swear to cut the enemy to pieces.

"But that was not why he stayed at home. He stayed to think. Occasionally, as we saw on the newsreels at the cinemas his eyes twinkled.

"We thought that twinkle told of his schemes with the League of Nations, swaying world opinion in his favour. It meant more.

"Mussolini, trying with the adroitness of a man breaking eggs with a sledgehammer to arouse fervour in Italy and favour in the world, announced with great publicity that his sons and his son-in-law, Count Cinano, were going off to slaughter the enemy.

"The Lion of Judah's son was twelve. His son-in-law was a great chief. The Lion said nothing to the world of him.

"But secretly he sent for him.

"My Son"

"Ras Gugsa came. So different from the man to whom he owe everything. Fat, with smooth face high cheekbones, and parted lip showing long, white teeth, he looked into the lean face, the kee black eyes, of the Lion of Judah.

"My son," said the Emperor. He had made him his son.

"Gugsa, a minor chieftain in Eritrea, had fallen in love with the daughter of the Emperor. He had been given lands. He and his wife had lived happily. Then the wife died. Sorrow brought the two men closer together.

"My son," said the Emperor when Mussolini started his war "you are not afraid to die?"

"No, father,"

"We have no aeroplanes to fight the Italians; we have no tanks We must beat them with our brain —and our courage.

"Turn Their Troops"

"Take some of your chiefs, take men, go to Aksum, and tell the Italians you have decided to go over to them.

"When you have been long enough with them to gain their confidence start quietly to turn their native troops against them!"

"Long they talked, the Lion of Judah, keen and masterful, Ras Gugsa, heavier, slower, but slavishly faithful. Every detail was arranged.

"Shortly after Adowa fell, and Mussolini's son-in-law had been on a new bombing expedition, the Italian publicity organization broadcast with great excitement that Ras Gugsa, the Emperor's son-in-law, had gone over to the Italians because he knew the Abyssinians had no chance.

Reception

"Ras Gugsa went forward with his chiefs, waving a white flag. The Italians welcomed him, and accompanied him, accepting the chiefs disarming and disbanding the men "General de Bono, a day or two later, received them in state.

The Italians made Ras Gugsa king of a wide area. They promised to make him Emperor of all Abyssinia, in a few weeks, when they would have conquered it all.

"Ras Gugsa bowed his gratitude.

"Then right in the midst of the enemy, Gugsa began his work. Every second he might be revealed —and shot.

"The dark eyes of the Lion of Judah smiled with deep pleasure at the courage of his son-in-law.

"Stories were set going by the Italians of what the Abyssinians would do to Ras Gugsa when they caught him. The Lion of Judah smiled.

"Ras Gugsa worked on.

"Eventually came strange news First one body and then another of the black troops used as cannon fodder by the Italians revolted and went over to the Abyssinians.

Desertions

"The latest report was that six Askari officers, twelve N. C. O.'s, and 125 Eritrean soldiers had deserted to the Abyssinians.

"More news came. A number of chieftains in the Northern territory occupied by the Italians had been executed.

"Then it became known that Ras Gugsa had been arrested in Tigre Province by order of the Italian Commander-in-Chief.

"Ras Gugsa, the Italians shamefacedly admit, was actively organizing a revolt behind the Italian lines.

"Ras Gugsa may be shot.

"But his work is done. Revolt was begun. Courageous Ras Gugsa may have to pay with his life, but he had put the last nail in the coffin of Mussolini.

"And he has saved his country.

"The Lion of Judah is proud of the husband of his daughter."

Governor of Ethiopian Province Is Indignant at Italy's Gas Bombs

Note: The following dispatch is the third in a series of "Leaves From an Ethiopian Note Book," by H. R. Ekins, United Press staff correspondent, who was on the southern front in the early months of the war.

By H. R. EKINS.

(Copyright, 1936, by United Press.)

I met the most indignant of Ethiopians when I talked at length with Dajazmach Nasibu, governor of Harar and commander-in-chief on the southern front.

He was mighty sore, for he had just received reports from the Dajazmach Habte Michel, in command at the actual fighting line, that Italian airplanes were using gas bombs.

"I suppose that is Italy's first contribution to the civilization of Ethiopia," the governor said after he had announced primitive, feudal Ethiopia's first experience with the weapons of modern warfare.

Nasibu is one of Emperor Haile Selassie's most trusted officials. Tall, dignified, at home in the French language and an able administrator, he was Ethiopian consul general at Asmara, Eritrea, and mayor of Addis Ababa before becoming governor of Harar, the emperor's own province.

Painful Earache

When I saw him he was suffering a painful earache. His head was bandaged. He wore a military tunic, the inevitable white jodhpurs of the Ethiopian gentry and—unusual among his countrymen—shoes.

"Why are you taking notes?" the governor asked after he had told us about the gas bombs.

We explained the deep interest of the world press in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict and the interest in the struggle between medieval and modern armaments.

Then he became bitter. His eyes flashed.

"We are tired of seeking support abroad," he said.

"We delayed defending ourselves because we pinned our hopes for peace in the League of Nations.

"We believed Mussolini was bluffing. Now we know he was not. Now we know that he intended to do everything he said he would do. He has belittled and humiliated the other nations of Europe and Ethiopia with them.

"Now we know that we must fight alone. Our only hope for salvation lies in our own guns, our own courage and our own sacrifice.

"But look at these reports on gas bombs. They are disheartening.

"If this were not a one-sided war we could win. But the enemy uses weapons we know nothing about. He hurls bombs from airplanes flying so high we cannot shoot at them.

"That, I suppose, is what you call civilization. We are confronted with an enemy we cannot reach, although every man among us is craving to fight in defense of his homeland."

Governor Nasibu also announced Italian use of dum-dum bullets. But he was not so angry about them as he was about gas bombs, for he knew ther were dum-dum bullets in the bandoliers of his own soldiers.

Lived in France.

Unlike most of his followers he has been abroad. He lived in France. He knows what his soldiers—hordes of blacks shuffling off to war with stout hearts—must face in resisting conquest by a modernly equipped Italian army.

He is about to leave for the front; to establish field headquarters at Jigjiga. The war has disrupted his scheme of things. Until some other day—if he survives—he must shelve his plans for reform; his efforts to work with his emperor to change the old and strange customs of Ethiopia and fit the nation for membership in the family of nations.

The governor was rich. But now, he told me, he has placed all his possessions at the disposal of the emperor for the defense of Ethiopia's 7 centuries of freedom. Many other major chiefs in the country have done likewise.

Governor Nasibu has one of the few modernly trained, equipped and disciplined military units in the country.

His Galla rifles, recruited from among Galla tribesmen who were conquered by the late Emperor Menelik many years ago, are uniformed, have machine guns, mountain guns and crack new Mausers. They are a dashing, courageous force. The Galla rifles were organized to be the governor's bodyguard. Now they have been sent off to fight in the front lines along with the feudal levies.

Ethiopia's New Guns Force the Italian Planes to Fly High

Pilots Can't See How to Drop Bombs; Prince Makonnen, 15, Enlisting 10,000 Ethiopian Boys to Fight.

By A. B. ABDELMALIK
(AFRO'S Own Correspondent in Ethiopia)

ADDIS ABABA—Ethiopian anti-aircraft guns are causing Italian planes to fly so high that accurate bombing of cities and troops is impossible.

This is believed to be the reason why so many Red Cross ambulance units and aged women and children have been killed. Afro-American 2-15-36

At the outbreak of the war, Italian planes swooped down within a few hundred feet of their targets... The arrival of modern rifles and guns of large calibre has changed all that. Baltimore, Md.

Orders to the flight commanders to stay out of range followed Ethiopian success in shooting down four planes and damaging a score of others.

Italy Disappointed When Ethiopians Resist Bribes

Il Duce, who expected to bribe the Gallas, and even Amharic warriors to desert the Emperor, has been disappointed.

Ethiopian money for many years has consisted of Maria Theresa dollars stamped with the year 1856 and coined in Austria. Italy purchased this press and sent agents here laden with money that could not be told from regular Ethiopian currency.

Airplanes dropped propaganda promising amounts totalling real fortunes to the leaders, but Ethiopians took all money in sight and then changed the Italian agents in such numbers that this form of attempted bribery has nearly ceased.

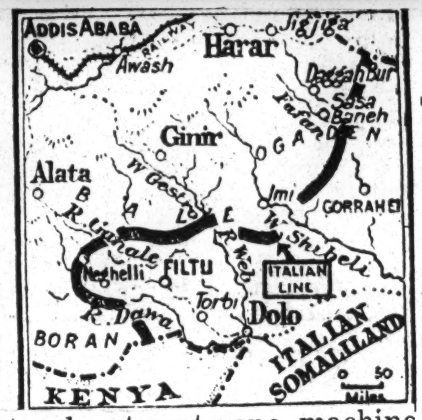
16 Machine Guns Taken in Tembien Region

Ras Kassa, aided by Degaz Hailow Kabao and Degaz Kasa, report they have cleaned up the Tembien region of Italians, capturing 16 machine guns, rifles and munitions.

Not only the city of Makale but also Adowa is expected to fall into Ethiopian hands. These generals have promised Haile Selassie to clear the invaders out of the entire Tigre province.

Victories Reported Now on the Southern Front

The southern front along which the Italians advanced from Dolo reported. this week, another victory in



which the Italians lost four trucks, twenty-one machine guns, scores of prisoners and hundreds of rifles.

Ethiopians retreated to the foothills, knowing well that the approach to the interior from Dolo is more difficult than from Walwal even though it is not so hot and sandy and has water.

The Dolo road is swampy and full of malaria. Besides, the high hills and mountains are the homes of the Sidamo and Arosy peoples, hardy fighters, who are especially eager to get at the Italians since they have never seen any white peoples except an occasional traveler. The Emperor has been assured that the Italians will never get through.

Night Raids Shake Morale of Italians

Afro-American 2-15-36

Warriors Slit Throats of 10, Escape without Detection.

Baltimore, Md.

PLANE SEEKING HAILE SHOT DOWN

Two Occupants Burn, Third Hangs Self.

(Special to the AFRO)

DESSYE, Ethiopia — The battle for Makale which is surrounded by Selassie's warriors goes on. The garrison is supplied with food and munitions by airplanes.

Italians are seeking to recover positions taken January 28 by the Ethiopians.

An official bulletin reads that Gerasmatch Teka and 25 men penetrated the Italian lines at night and crept among the sleeping troops, killing ten, wounding five and capturing 26 rifles.

Warriors slit the Italians throats and retreated quietly without being discovered. They hope to break the invaders' march and to some extent are succeeding.

In another raid (the bulletin continues) five Italian officers were captured, while an Italian captain and 50 native troops were killed when an Eritrean column was ambushed on January 19.

Ras Kassa's troops have now split up into hundreds of small groups and are being directed from headquarters hidden in a cave in the mountains.

It is stated that many gas bombs have been dropped by Italian aeroplanes, but without appreciable effect.

Plane Shot Down

The report says further:

"A few men in the Tembien owning antiquated rifles opened fire and brought down an Italian plane in flames January 27.

"One of the occupants leaped out with his parachute, but landed in a high mimosa tree and was hanged. The other two were burned to death.

"A patrol of 19 men belonging to the army of Dedjasmatch Sahle ambushed a column of white Italian soldiers near Makale, killing 35. The rest fled, leaving the lorries loaded with munitions and foodstuffs.

"The fort of Shouma Abera, which was taken during the great battle begun on January 20, is still held despite repeated Italian attacks."

Planes Hunt Selassie

Objective of the frequent Italian bombings is the Emperor Haile Selassie himself. Prisoners declare that if the Emperor can be killed or wounded, a revolution would set in and an Italian conquest quickly follow.

The feeling is general that the Emperor is Ethiopia and nobody dares think what would happen if his miraculous luck should fail.

One thing would be certain, an immediate massacre of all foreigners and nobody wants that.

Rivalry over Bombs

Rivalry is sharp among the warriors for the honor of finding unexploded bombs and carrying them to the Emperor.

Last month a soldier and a farmer came across a dud at the same time. Each claimed it.

An officer appeared on the scene and heard the argument of both men. He ordered the soldier to his tent and told the farmer, "Do you want to go to battle, if not hurry off to your hut."

"Here you," he called to two nearby witnesses, "carry this to the Emperor for me." The officer marched at the head of the procession to the Emperor's headquarters.

Race Problem - 1936
Africa.

Abyssinia

African Women Are Busy Aiding The Victims Of The War

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa
1-25-36

J. A. Rogers, Special Correspondent For The Courier In Africa, Tells What Noble Women Are Doing In Wartimes.

By J. A. ROGERS
(Special to The Courier)

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia, Jan. 23.—(By Mail)—Today I had the great pleasure of visiting the Ethiopian women who are working for the wounded and was courteously conducted through their atelier.

At the tables and the sewing machines were fifty-four Ethiopian ladies, all distinctly colored, the wives and daughters of high nobles and officials, engaged in rolling spotless white bandages, making warm coats, and preparing first aid kits. Working among them were the Empress, who is patron of the movement, and her daughter, the Princess Tsahai, who is the president.

The scene took me back to the World War, and it was evident that although Addis-Ababa is calm, stern war is raging not far away.

In addition to this these women have units on all the fronts tending the wounded. Unit No. 8, the first that went to the front, was sent by them.

But I was very much grieved to hear that the work of these splendid self-sacrificing women, who sometimes do not even stop for lunch, was seriously handicapped for lack of money. Four hundred bandages are prepared daily, which number I was informed is far too few.

Lady Barton, the wife of Sir Sidney Barton, the British Minister, an earnest and splendid woman, who has been a leading spirit in this movement, expressed her disappointment that the women of America, usually so quick to respond in similar cases had shown so little interest in this. She had written she said on the suggestion of a friend to four American women very well known for their altruism and the result had been nil. So far she said, only $2,500 had been received from America.

She added, "I suppose that the American Red Cross, having decided not to help Italy, will not help Ethiopia."

If it is so then this is neutrality with a vengeance for the difference between Italy and Ethiopia in this respect is immense. Italian bombers are dropping hundreds of bombs daily on Ethiopian soil, killing and wounding women, children, the aged, and the infirm, while not a single Italian civilian is being hurt by an Ethiopian. Even admitting that one should be neutral in the case of the wounded soldiers, what about these innocent Ethiopian noncombatants whose country has been invaded and who are suffering through absolutely no fault of their own?

America generously contributed for the care of the wounded during the world war. Here I think is even a more pressing case. The European nations were rich; Ethiopia is financially poor and she is engaged in a struggle that is taxing her resources to the utmost. The women workers have given not only of their time, but of their money. Differences of rank, strong in Ethiopia as elsewhere, are being forgotten in this crisis. Surely when it is known how hard these noble women are working and the great handicap they are under for lack of money in aiding the wounded, the response from America will be great.

As Lady Barton said only $2,500 has been received. This reminds me of certain organizations in America that were and perhaps still are collecting funds for Ethiopia. I recall, for instance, one immense mass meeting at Madison Square Garden where thousands of dollars were handed over by an aroused and sympathetic audience. I remember the vast show of hands with bills of from $1 to $20, and the long line of organizations whose representatives brought up to the platform checks of $100 and over. How much of the moneys collected by these and other organizations has reached Ethiopia? I shall make diligent inquiry here and if any of these societies have been collecting under false pretenses they may look forward to an unpitying exposure.

The Abyssinian War

The Abyssinian Emperor himself wrote a remarkable communiqué on the war on the northern front, which was published on Saturday. He claimed that the battle "on the Tembien sector" which began on January 19 had lasted for ten days and was the greatest since the beginning of the war, that the Italians had been repulsed with heavy losses, and that the Abyssinians were firmly established near the Adowa-Makale road. This account is denied by the Italians, who state that the battle only lasted for two days and that they were completely victorious. The only facts agreed upon by both sides are that the battle began with an Italian offensive on January 19 and that the Abyssinians are still in the Tembien. If another report, which states that Dedjasmatch Kassa is menacing the Adigrat-Makale road near Hauzien, is correct, the well-fortified Italian position at Makale must be in danger of being surrounded. In the south General Graziani, after driving back the Abyssinians on his left flank as far as beyond Wadara, 200 miles north of the frontier, now seems to be moving eastwards, possibly merely into more hospitable country, but perhaps to resume the advance towards Harar and the railway. He has still hundreds of miles to go before he reaches his object, and both rain and Abyssinians are making ready to resist him. (p. 105)

BIG BATTLE SOUTH OF MAKALE

Victory Claimed by Italians

The biggest engagement on the Abyssinian northern front since the capture of Makale ended last week-end after a week's fighting, in which Italy claims a complete victory.

The Italian front, it is declared in dispatches from the Italian lines, has been advanced about ten miles, with the capture of the rocky massif of Mount Aradam, which commands the way to the South and the Abyssinian communications to Dessye, the northern headquarters. This 9,000ft. mountain to the south of Makale had been strongly held by the Abyssinians for many weeks.

The casualties are put by the Italians at

	Dead.	Wounded.
Italians	**500**	**1,000**
Abyssinians	**5,000**	**15,000**

Over 70,000 Italian troops have been engaged, and for the first time the attack was made by white troops only.

Heavy rain hampered the Italian attack.

Artillery played a great part in the Italian attack, Marshal Badoglio's aeroplanes acting as observers in addition to bombing the enemy, but tanks were not used.

The news of the advance was received in Rome with relief. Communiqué 126, specially issued on Sunday contrary to the usual practice—the capture of Adowa was the only previous exception,—describes briefly the Italian victory as follows:—

Marshal Badoglio telegraphs:

The battle of Enderta, which began on the 11th and continued until yesterday, the 15th, with fierce fighting to the south of Makale, has been won.

The First and Third Army Corps have attained all the objectives marked out for them, overcoming very tenacious resistance by Ras Mouloughetta's army.

The Italian flag, hoisted by a detachment of Blackshirts of the 23rd March Division commanded by the Duke of Pistoia, flies over Amba Aradam, the bulwark of the enemy defences.

The previous day's communiqué referred to the troops as being engaged in a "big battle south of Makale since dawn yesterday."

Later Marshal Badoglio telegraphed:

The air force continues to bomb the enemy, who are fleeing southward. The Third Army Corps have reached the plains of Gaela, on the route from the Tembien to Sakota. They met with no resistance and were welcomed by the population.

The occupation of Gaela is important, since by this move the Italians have succeeded in cutting the only remaining line of communication between the interior of the country and Ras Kassa and Ras Seyoum, who are both operating in the Tembien.

Processions of students and others marched through the principal streets of Rome throughout Monday evening waving flags and singing patriotic songs in honour of "Italy's great victory near Makale." Outside the Palazzo Braschi the Federal Secretary addressed the demonstrators. The feeling prevails that the victory has brought the war to an end.

Signor Mussolini ordered all flags to be flown throughout the country from dawn until dusk.

THE ABYSSINIAN VERSION

ADDIS ABABA, FEBRUARY 17.

The Abyssinian version of the Italian victory is as follows, according to a semi-official authority here: The beleaguered garrison of Makale, realising that their communications with the north were cut off, made a sortie to the south. This move was preceded by intense artillery bombardment by light and heavy guns stationed on the outskirts of Makale.

It is believed that the Italians succeeded in inflicting heavy losses on the Abyssinian troops, who—according to competent observers—massed in too great force to the south and south-west of Makale. It is also thought possible that Italian flying columns have reached Antalo, which is less than twenty miles from Makale.

But Marshal Badoglio's claim that the Tembien district is lost to Abyssinia following on this attack is regarded as ridiculous.—Press Association War Special.

BRITISH REPLY TO ITALIAN NOTE OF PROTEST

The British Government, it was learned officially on Monday, has communicated to the Italian Ambassador in London a memorandum in acknowledgment of the Italian Note of protest against steps to obtain assurances from the Mediterranean Powers for mutual assistance under paragraph 3 of article 16 of the Covenant. In this Mr. Eden informs the Ambassador that the position of the British Government remains as stated in the memorandum on the subject sent by it to the president of the Co-ordination Committee of the League on January 22, and that "they do not feel that any useful purpose would be served by prolonging correspondence on the subject."

ETHIOPIANS PLAN DEFENSE IN THE SOUTH

Daily Worker

Fascists Continue to Make Claims of Big Gains

3-3-36

ADDIS ABABA, Mar. 2 (UP).—Italians are advancing rapidly in Southern Ethiopia, resisted by the army of Ras Desta Demtu, and warriors are speeding from all over southern Ethiopia in hope of keeping them from a main road to Addis Ababa, advices from the South said today.

New York,

The Italians left their base at Neghelli, passed Wordma and are approaching the narrow pass of Adolo which is defended by Demtu and his men.

Finance Minister Fiqir Selassie left for the south by airplane yesterday to join his own troops against the Italians.

LONDON, Mar. 2.—Marshal Pietro Badoglio today continued to make big claims, asserting this time that he has "smashed" all but one of the Ethiopian armies that faced him—the force under the personal command of Emperor Haile Selassie in the Dessye region, about 160 miles south of the present war front in the north.

Aside from the army of the Emperor, Badoglio claims that there remains organized in the north only a small Ethiopian force under Ras Iriru, in the northwest corner of the country near the Sudan frontier.

It was asserted that, as opposed to the estimated 10,000 casualties among the Ethiopians, of whom 3,000 were said to be killed, the Italians lost about 1,000 wounded or killed in the Tembien region.

Italian Advance

This week the world has been permitted to learn of a triumphant Italian advance in North Abyssinia that had actually taken place the week before. On February 11 Marshal Badoglio moved forward from Makale with five divisions of national troops to storm Amba Aradam, the steep mountain which commands the road south to Dessye. Six days' stern fighting against some of the strongest troops in the Abyssinian army under Ras Mouloughета, the Minister of War, ended in what, by the fairly convincing Italian accounts, must have been an important success for Italy. Amba Aradam was won, the Abyssinians routed with heavy loss, and their fleeing columns harried southward by Italian aeroplanes. The importance of the victory must depend on the number of Abyssinian casualties, for the advance in itself is not of great strategic value, and it is difficult to square the Italian claim of 5,000 Abyssinian killed with their own admission of only 134. It seems clear, however, that the Abyssinians made a grave mistake in being caught in mass in this fashion and that the troops of Ras Kassa and Ras Seyoum may be forced to withdraw from the Tembien for fear of being cut off in the rear. This would remove any possible threat to the Makale position, which must in any case have been small if Marshal Badoglio could bring five divisions south of the town.

(p. 145)

ETHIOPIANS WELCOME AID OF THE SOVIETS

Daily Worker

Red Cross Unit Thanks Russian People for Financial Help

3-9-36

(By Cable to the Daily Worker)

MOSCOW, March 8.—The Soviet Red Cross today received a letter of thanks from the Ethiopian Red Cross for money contributions to assist sick and wounded of the Ethiopian Army. The letter to the Soviet organization pointed out the great difficulties under which the Ethiopian Red Cross works.

"Our country is defending its very existence," says the letter, "against an enemy who pays very little attention to international conventions which it seems to have signed in order to violate.

"Things went so far that we began to ask ourselves: Since the unbridled militarists select Red Cross flags as their main targets, wouldn't it be better to conceal them altogether for the safety of the wounded?

"We are all the more overjoyed by your gift because just now we must replenish our medical supplies lost as the result of the recent bombings of several of our field hospitals."

World's Window

BY PIERRE VAN PAASSEN.

Constitution

Goodby Ethiopia!

KHARTUM, Egypt.—Battles are being fought in Abyssinia of which the world hears nothing. That open towns and villages are being subjected to airial bombardments every day and that Italy is employing poison gas and liquid fire in ever larger measures is perfectly unknown here in Khartum, where the great newspapers of France, England and northern Egypt nevertheless arrive regularly. It is, therefore, that the world on the whole is in ignorance of these facts. After a careful computation and comparison of published figures, personal observation, oral reports and estimates by several foreign observers, both inside and outside of Ethiopia, I believe I am safe in putting the figure of human beings who have lost their lives since this war began in the neighborhood of 75,000. Of these, fully 50,000 are Ethiopians, both warriors and civilians. The death rate amongst civilians, especially women and children, has been particularly heavy since February.

* * *

The Upshot of the First Year's Campaign.

Now that the first year's campaign is drawing to a close and only minor skirmishes can be expected on the northern front from now till June, when the "little rains" which are coming down at present change to that antediluvian torrential downpour, it must be admitted that, compared with other colonial wars which I witnessed such as Abd-el Krim's revolt in Africa and the Druse rebellion in Syria, Italy's whole performance is far from impressive. Nothing is settled definitely, except that the Italian army is superior to the forces of the Negus in open combat, but that was known before the war started. The lightning-like advance upon Adowa in November last year has never again been repeated. In order to gain that "moral victory," legions of workmen had constructed a road along the flanks of the mountains. This "tour de force" was the easiest task the labor corps has performed. In the measure that the advance developed toward the south, the Italian army faced a mountainous chaos, ever more difficult to negotiate.

* * *

Roads Are Vanishing.

The Italian roads between Adowa and Makkale are not bearing up even under the little rains which are now coming down. These highways are strewn with wrecks of trucks and motor cars, ambulances, oil tankers and whippet tanks. I am most reliably informed that there is little left of the first 5,000 army trucks with which Italy began the war. The advance of the Italian army as far as Amda Alagi has been accompanied with immense difficulties. What has been done so far is a super-human effort. One hundred and fifty kilometers on the road toward Addis Ababa have been covered. Five hundred and seventy-five kilometers remain to be done.

* * *

Rain Coming Down.

As I left Ethiopia it poured on the average four hours a day. But the brooks and streamlets are swelling. Roads are even now becoming impracticable. Some rivers can no longer be forded. The Taccatze and Mareb rivers will be furiously spuming cataracts at the end of March. Will the heavy material of the Italians in Tembien and Tigre be evacuated to the rear or be left to sink and rust? At present Marshal Badoglio is running supplies to the most advanced sections of his army by airplane. This shows that the roads are already beyond hope. But the aviation cannot operate in the dense rain and fog that are due in a month. Thick clouds overhung the mountains as we made our way out—o so carefully—to the Sudanse border. It was the clearest spell we had had for 10 days.

* * *

Heavy Burden.

If peace does not intervene, the burden of the next six months will be the heaviest one Mussolini has had to shoulder. His army, which will the great war cost Italy per day. It be standing still, will cost more than comes to 30 million lire per day. I am not a military expert, although I have had plenty of war in my day, yet I venture an opinion. Mussolini's army is too big. It lacks something that is obvious even to the layman, it lacks experts in colonial warfare and specially trained troops for the tropics. Events in Abyssinia bring to mind what took place in Holland in the sixteenth century. The Duke of Alva, the conqueror of Moors and Frenchmen, was sent by Philip II to crush the feeble and penniless republic of the Netherlands. "It will be an easy task," said Alva. "I who smashed nations of iron, will soon have this people of butter under my knee." But the people of butter slipped through the iron duke's fists and was victorious in the end over the world-empire of Spain. Mussolini is trying to catch mice with a hammer in Ethiopia.

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Whites In Ethiopia Shun Race From U. S.

Courier 4-4-36

Nordics From U. S. and Europe Are United In Stand Against Presence of American Negroes In Ethiopia.

By J. A. ROGERS
(Special to The Courier)

ADDIS ABABA, March 3—(By Mail)—it is to the credit of American Negroes, I believe, that the whites in Ethiopia now, Europeans and Americans, officials and tradesmen, are united against their presence in Ethiopia in any large numbers.

All of the white legations, I have been told by American Negroes now living here, are against the coming in of colored persons from the United States. The Greeks and the Armenians, who are nummerous, have pledged themselves in their secret societies to keep American Negroes out also, I have been informed by Ethiopians.

The legations, the Greeks and the Armenians fear that the American Negro will fan the racial feeling against them. I, personally, do not see any point in this issue. The American Negro, having been reared among whites and possessing considerable white blood, is far less hostile to white people than any of the native African peoples.

What the Europeans and the near whites, such as the Greeks and the Armenians, do fear is that American Negroes will supplant them in government positions and in trade, for it is undeniable that the American Negro, with his far superior opportunities, is much further evolved in education and general culture than the Greek and the Armenian who now constitute the bulk of the "white" population.

Moreover, it is believed that the American Negro will help to sophisticate the Ethiopians and make them less easy to exploit.

Race Problem — 1936
Africa

Abyssinia.

The Hon. Nana Sir Ofori Atta, K.B.E., Paramount Chief of Akim Abuakwa, Gold Coast. The picture is from the original painting by Mr. Cowan Dobson, recently exhibited at the Royal Academy

KENYA NATIVE TAX COLLECTION.

Government Authorises Inquiry

NAIROBI, January 14.

As a result of allegations by Archdeacon Burns, one of the two members of the Kenya Legislative Council representing native interests, supported by the European Elected Members, the Government has agreed to the setting up of a committee of inquiry into the methods of collection of the Hut and Poll Tax in native reserves.

A proposal by Archdeacon Burns that a period in a detention camp should carry exemption from the tax was rejected by the Government.

1-18-36

Archdeacon Burns asserted that things occurred in connection with tax collection which could not be mentioned in the Legislature. He blamed the Chiefs and headmen, declaring that he did not believe that the European officers were aware of the abuses practised. He alleged that the Chiefs were waxing rich at the expense of the taxpayers.—Reuter.

Tax-Resistance by Natives.

NAIROBI, January 15.

The Chief Native Commissioner has informed the "Times" correspondent that the resistance to the payment of taxation is increasing in the Kikuyu, Kavirondo, and coast areas among young people who, the Administration considers, are able to pay.

One of the reasons is the breakdown of the tribal system under which young men accepted responsibility for the taxation of their parents and elderly relatives. Half-educated youths now prefer to spend money made in the towns and on the farms on themselves and on their women friends. It has become the practice to send those who refuse to pay taxation to detention camps after inquiry by a magistrate or by the tribal tribunals, but these camps are now overcrowded and supervision is difficult. Many of those detained in this way have not been given enough hard work to make the camps a deterrent. There is no concerted resistance, but opinion is growing that two months' detention is preferable to payment.

The difficulty is regarded as a passing phase, but some revision of the taxation system may be required. During the depression the rate of taxation was reduced in the case of eighteen tribes, but not in the affected areas. Legal exemptions normally amount to about 20 per cent. of the population. A reduction of taxes by 1s., as urged by Archdeacon Burns, would mean a loss of revenue of £50,000, and would necessitate a restriction of the native services.

Some of the European elected members of the Legislature believe that one of the causes of the trouble is over-taxation and administrative pressure on natives who are suffering seriously from the decline in commodity prices and unemployment. The most probable cause is the present state of flux in native life, the disappearance of tribal discipline, and the results of undigested education, coupled with the influence of town life.

Operative 22 Digs Into The Mythical Ethiopia

Defender 2-15-36 Chicago, Ill.

(By Operative 22, Chicago Defender's correspondent in Ethiopia)
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ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia, Feb. 14—(By Caravan and Cable)—That Ethiopia since the time of the Pharaohs has been and remains an independent country; that Ethiopia has met and defeated a modern European army within the last 40 years; and that Ethiopia is the last independent black nation on the "Black Continent" are points which every man of color is—or should be—familiar with.

But what is known of the Ethiopia of today? This empire, with her indomitable pride is again defying aggressive efforts of the foe whom she had so recently vanquished, is now the news of the day. Nevertheless, in spite of Ethiopia's present front page leadership, nothing is generally known, or better, the true facts are not generally known of this country.

If a four-and-a-half years' sojourn in this country, with trips into the interior with a view of studying the characteristics which go to make up this much discussed empire mean anything, then I will try in this series of articles to throw some much-needed light on the mythical Ethiopia.

Before we go on to the subject of Ethiopia proper, a general survey of the war situation would not be out of place. Since the Italian in the northern part of Ethiopia, where Italy's colony, Eritrea, borders Ethiopia, and in the south through Italian Somaliland, the issue of the war has been a question. Mussolini's bold declaration before beginning hostilities was that the business of subjugating Ethiopia would be a promenade of a few weeks' duration.

Now it seems that the dictator is finding it difficult to materialize his prophecy. Possibly this statement was merely a blind intended for encouragement to his Fascist black shirt. However, the more than two hundred thousand soldiers, engineers, laborers, doctors, etc., who are participating in Italy's African campaign, have no such illusions.

How They Got In

At the onset of the war Italy has been allowed, by the retreating tactics of the Ethiopian army, into sections of the northern and southern parts of Ethiopia. Looking at the map of Ethiopia, the Tekkaze River will be seen making a natural boundary between the Tigre country and the rest of Ethiopia. The Italian advance had reached as far as the Tekkaze and Signor Mussolini no doubt, finding this African venture too costly in time, as well as money, was willing to arbitrate. The fact is noteworthy when we remember that the concessions now accepted by Mussolini are almost the same as those offered by Geneva before war actually started, and which were bluntly refused by the Dictator. Not that these recent concessions were accepted by Ethiopia.

Emperor Haile Selassie's reply was a distinct no. Il Duce's former demand was for a complete protectorate over Ethiopia. One of the clauses of the recent concessions was that all the Ethiopian territory occupied by Italy to date should become Italy's. Ethiopia's material reply was the repulsion of Italy from the greater part of these territories, and it is now a question whether Ethiopia won't blaze her own way to the sea through Italian Eritrea.

The Caesars Also Tried.

Ethiopia's first clash with Italy was not the Italian threat in 1896, to Menelik's unification of Ethiopia, which culminated in the disastrous

defeat of the Italians at Adowa. The Caesars also dreamed of a subjugated Ethiopia. (By the way, the ancient Greeks and Romans called this country Ethiopia—a country of blacks; and not Abyssinia—a mixture of races—the Arab meaning. The official name is Ethiopia, and the use of "Abyssinia" is disliked.)

After the Romans had conquered eastward as far as Egypt, the thought of adding Ethiopia to their laurels was irresistible. An attack on the ancient Ethiopian kingdom of Meroe ended the Caesar's grandiose schemes. Not only did Ethiopia rid herself of the Roman pest, but pushed her foe back into Egypt where the combined forces of Ethiopia and Egypt freed the latter country from the Roman bond simultaneously killing the expansionist policy of Rome on African soil, at least until modern times.

The Adowa Italian aggression on Ethiopia is merely the 19th century presentation of a play that has been done before—a case of history repeating itself.

Makes No Bones

Today when Italy makes no bones about wishing to make Ethiopia the field for her expansion she may well add that a feeling of revenge has had so small part in forming these policies. The Adowa defeat still rankles.

To anyone living in Ethiopia and marking the Italo-Ethiopian relations it was obvious that Italy could make no progress with Ethiopia on a par with other countries. Until direct diplomatic relations between the two countries were ruptured by Italy's advance in Ethiopia, Italy had been spending prodigious amounts of money on propaganda in Ethiopia to win native sentiment to her side, but all to no avail. Italy miscalculated the almost fanatic patriotism of these people. But might not she have learned that there must be something indomitable in a people who have remained the sole independent black empire in a continent which is now practically all white?

No Man's (?) Land

The country's natural formation—apart from the people themselves—must be learned to know what a foreign attack on Ethiopia would entail. There is no other word I think that described Ethiopia's topography than "rugged". There are few plains. The altitude ranges from three to fifteen thousand feet above sea level. Addis Ababa is 8,000 feet high. This general high altitude puts a strain on the heart, and the weak-hearted visitor suffers. Then these levels do not remain constant—a day's trek will take you from 8,000 feet to 3,000 feet and then to 10,000 feet above sea level! And where the country approaches sea-level, which is only near the periphery, the ravages of arid desert with its extreme heat during the day and cold at night, fevers, etc., permit only a scant life. We must not forget that Ethiopia is only a few degrees, eight to be exact, north of the Equator.

The country is of volcanic origin. This in part accounts for the tortuous formation. This does not mean that the landscape is devoid of beauty. On the contrary an evening sunset view from one of the high peaks reveals a flood of color so rich and varied and vivid on a scenery that can only be described as majestic that the effect is a feeling of awe. The Grand Canyon has its replica in the gorge of the Blue Nile, which takes its source in Lake Tsana.

Ethiopia is also well supplied with Ambas. These are natural fortresses that are nothing short of impregnable. They are flat table-mountains of solid rock and of great altitude, access to the summits being made only by one or two narrow, steep and treacherous trails. A handful of men would suffice to hold these Ambas against a modern army.

The stormy formation of these Ethiopian plateaus can only be negotiated with success by the native Ethiopian. For endurance on the march he has no equal. Warring in these mountain fastnesses suits him perfectly. The agility and quickness with which whole regiments can displace themselves is baffling. The Ethiopian army has no commissarial difficulties—each soldier has a small sack of parched grain from which he rations himself, and which would appear to last indefinitely.

Zaraff!!

In a hand to hand battle no one offers the Ethiopian a second chance. He is then in his element. Discarding his sword and with his war cry "Zaraff!" wades in with his half-moon shaped sword and could well be the reaper in action.

Italy had ideas of pitched battles with machine gun hail fire, deadly unstoppable tanks, and areoplanes playing havoc with the enemy flanks. These things do not work in Ethiopia. Firstly, when the Italians advance to the attack the enemy is generally not there. Ethiopian strategy is to retreat before the attack, offering no resistance.

This naturally disconcerts the already discouraged Italians who have begun to find that the country's natural formation is in itself almost as important an adversary as the human enemy. (All letters from Mussolini's soldiers participating in this East African campaign are censored by Italy before they reach their ultimate destination. The people of Italy therefore have no real idea of the hardships their co-patriots at the front are undergoing. This prevents the kind of public opinion which would spell the end of Italy's strong man.) Then at the moment when the Italians are at a loss as to whether to keep advancing or to call a halt, they hear the cry "Zaraff!" and simultaneously find themselves suddenly swarmed down upon from two sides. In such a situation to put into play aeroplane, tank or gas is out of the question, as attacker and attacked share alike the battlefield. Since the beginning of the war several such attacks have taught Italy's modern Caesar that it might be well to settle this thing other than by conquest, a fact substantiated by Italy's recent willingness to arbitrate. An older Caesar is credited to have said, "I came, I saw, I conquered," at the battle of Phanaces—the modern Caesar is finding it difficult to get past the second sentence.

Pricking the Golden Bubble

Let the lie be forever put to a persistent vision outside of Ethiopia, that Ethiopia is lined with the precious metals awaiting the very smart stranger to come and reap camel loads of it. Such dreams have been the cause of the return from Ethiopia of much sadder, much wiser, and much less-money-in-the-pocket adventurers who have come—and are still coming!—to this country with get-rich-quick ideas. The number of treasure-hunters who come every year to—and leave—Ethiopia, is surprising. As yet no one has become rich through treasure hunts in Ethiopia.

Ethiopia has gold in quantity at the purest. Also the richer and poorer minerals. But the Imperial edict which prohibits private mining puts an abrupt end to the adventurer's dream. Another factor of no small importance is that they, who would not balk at contrabrand underrate the native Ethiopian, but soon find that the native might be willing to sell his contrabrand gold—at a price which is almost on a par with the international market. As a matter of fact, considering the expense of a caravan trip into the interior, where in the end you may not even find a fellow contrabandist, you can buy gold cheaper in the United States!

SELASSIE FLINGS ARMY AT ITALIANS

Haile Pledges Death Fight; Turkey Moves To Junk Another Treaty

By Universal Service

Emperor Haile Selassie and two of his war lords rallied their forces north of Dessye Saturday and flung their troops at the Italian northern lines as reports reached the capital that Italy's southern legions are hammering at Sassa Baneh, chief Ethiopian stronghold in Ogaden.

In government quarters it was stated Haile Selassie has decided to die in battle rather than submit to conquest. His attack near Waldia Saturday was declared to be an effort to halt the further southward march of the Italian legions that twice defeated the emperor's own army.

Fighting with the desperate "king of kings" were Ras Kassa and Ras Seyoum, leaders of two of the four Ethiopian armies the Italians shattered before Haile Selassie gave them battle.

An Italian communique stated 400 of the emperor's rear guard were slain in a battle with Ethiopian Galla tribesmen who have rebelled against his rule. The battle took place 10 miles north of Waldia.

The emperor has shaved off his beard and donned a private uniform to disguise himself against hostile tribesmen, dispatches to Rome newspaper stated. It was declared that, protected by only 100 of his guardsmen, he took refuge in a church to escape capture by Gallas. Crown Prince Asfaou Wosan, arrived with 2,000 troops and rescued his father, the dispatches added.

Fearing meanwhile, apparently, that Italy's next colonial move will be in the direction of Asia Minor, Turkey Saturday formally requested in Geneva permission to scrap another peace treaty, by fortifying the Dardanelles.

A note from Foreign Minister Twefik Rushdu Aras was received by the League of Nations and signatories of the Treaty of Lausanne.

In spite of Britain's historic opposition to forts at the entrance to the Black Sea, sympathetic consideration of the Turkish appeal was expected, with the French especially pointing out that Turkey refrained from tearing up the pact by individual action.

With an army of only 5,500 men left to defend the route to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia's situation is "desperate," Emperor Selassie said in a personal telegram to Foreign Secretary Athony Eden of Britain Geneva newspapers reported Saturday. The Negus begged "energetic intervention" by Britain and the League of Nations.

Addis Ababa was without official word of what progress was being made by the Ethiopian defense in the south, where renewed activity of Gen. Rodolfo Graziani's Italian army was believed to herald a quick thrust northward by his motorized columns to cut the Addis Ababa-Djibouti Railway.

But unofficial reports indicated Graziani's troops were battering at Sassa Baneh, southernmost Ethiopian citadel which for months has withstood countless Italian air attacks but has never been assaulted by Italy's ground troops.

The Ethiopian government, at the emperor's order, sent to the League of Nations an official protest against its delay in applying additional sanctions against Italy, "while hundreds of helpless people are slaughtered."

According to circles close to the ruler a great change has come over the emperor in the last few weeks. Haile Selassie, they stated, is now convinced he cannot expect effective help from European powers and has decided to "fight it out to the last."

During the battle of Lake Ashangi the emperor himself fired a machine gun and went two days without sleep, it was stated. He exposed himself recklessly, it was added, because he has decided to die on the battlefield rather than give up the larger part of his realm to Italy.

ITALY WIPES SLATE WITH SANCTIONISTS

All Trade Treaties Off With These Nations, Asserts Duce's Spokesman

ROME, May 21.—(AP)—Italy considers all her trade treaties with sanctionist nations cancelled and her foreign trade "must change its direction," an authoritative source declared today.

This view was taken by Virginio Gayda, informed writer of the Giornale D'Italia and a friend of Premier Mussolini.

"Fifty-two sanctionist states introduced in a system of commercial accords a new unilateral practice of abrogating to themselves the arbitrary privilege of opening and closing the faucets of trade with Italy," he wrote.

"Commercial treaties with sanctionist countries have been in fact annuled by the initiative of sanctionists. They must therefore be considered a nullity and the subject of radical revision."

News that Marshal Pietro Badoglio, commander-in-chief of the African armies and later made viceroy of Ethiopia, had started home to receive a Roman triumph gave fresh impetus to popular Italian faith in the recreation of the glories of the ancient empire.

Badoglio arrived by airplane at Asmara, Eritrea, from Addis Ababa to receive an enthusiastic reception. He will probably sail from Massawa Monday and lead a triumphant march through the ancient Arch of Constantine June 7 when Italy will jointly observe "constitution day" and its annexation of Ethiopia.

Amid the pomp of the welcome Badoglio will take time for long conferences with Premier Mussolini on the military situation in Europe as well as in Africa. Informed circles, said, however, they believed no important new decisions will be taken.

The "color line" in Ethiopia was drawn today by the influential newspaper, Il Messaggero, which said "the Fascist empire cannot be an empire of mulattoes."

A front page, two-column editorial said the examples of southern countries showed "the formation of a hybrid population arouses serious preoccupation among some leaders of government and science."

The paper urged that many white women be sent to Ethiopia to colonize and the formation of strictly white settlements.

Race Problem - 1936
Africa

Abyssinia

ITALY ASKS LEAGUE TO BAR ETHIOPIANS

Times

Council in Geneva Hears the Terms on Which She Would Return to Her Own Seat.

ACQUIESCENCE IS LIKELY

Rome Is Said to Leave Way Open to Avoid the Issue of Canceling Membership.

9-19-36

By CLARENCE K. STREIT

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

GENEVA, Sept. 18.—Behind closed doors, the Council of the League of Nations, meeting in the League's great new palace today, silently listened to Italy's terms for reoccupying her empty seat.

These terms were delivered by the League's Secretary General, Joseph A. C. venol, who had gone to Rome to fetch them. He said briefly that the upshot of his talks with Premier Benito Mussolini and the Foreign Minister, Count Galeazzo Ciano, was that if only the League would refuse to seat the Ethiopian delegation in the Assembly on Monday, Italy would cooperate later with the Assembly and the Council.

There was no discussion and no decision in the Council. In the corridors League officials, however, said—many with bitterness—that all had already been arranged securely behind the scenes to comply with Mussolini's demands.

One of the best informed asserted that a plan for refusing to seat Emperor Haile Selassie's delegates as lacking proper credentials would go through the Assembly easily. Those doubting the plan's success seem fewer than those who doubt that the League will find Mussolini satisfied for long.

Reversal Not Asked

According to one version, Mr. venol informed the Council that Mussolini had not asked that it recognize Ethiopia as Italian, or reverse the aggression sentence, but many believe all this will come in time.

Defenders of the plan stressed that the European dangers made humoring of Italy the lesser evil now, since the plan did not involve recognizing Ethiopia as Italian or even actually dropping Ethiopia as a League member. The door would be technically left open for an Ethiopian delegation with "proper credentials" to be seated. Few doubt that of all these efforts to patch up Europe should fail and Britain and Italy should definitely break, such a delegation would soon appear here.

This plan frees the Council of the necessity of taking any decision or any lead now. This has been done by simply omitting the Ethiopian question from the agenda and by having Mr. Avenol apprise the Council of Mussolini's terms as a sort of informal aside, done during a private session devoted merely to adopting this warless agenda.

The Journal des Pations, in protesting this omission, pointed out this morning that:

"Hitherto, there have been only two ways to drop a question regularly placed on the Council's agenda—first through a vote by the Council closing the question; second, through a request from the interested parties to withdraw it."

The Council confirmed this argument by deciding today to drop the Irag-Iranian dispute from its agenda at the request of the parties. No member, however, so much as mentioned the irregular omission of the Ethiopian question.

The plan is to decline to seat the Ethiopian delegation on the grounds that Haile Selassie no longer is ruling Ethiopia. The British allow no doubt that they favor these tactics. In fact, it is generally believed that they would not even be attempted if London raised a finger against them. The British, however, admit that they still recognize the head of the Ethiopian delegation, Dr. Ajit Warqneh Martin, as the legitimate Ethiopian Minister to London, though he, too, is accredited by Haile Selassie.

The Ethiopian delegates have not yet arrived to learn how the cards have been stacked against them. They phoned from London today to reserve rooms at the hotel where Emperor Haile Selassie stayed in July, much to the annoyance of the British delegates, who also occupy that hotel. Today the hotel answered that it had no rooms left for Ethiopians.

Warns on Negus's Securities

PARIS, Sept. 18 (AP).—The Italian Embassy issued a warning against purchase of securities from Haile Selassie that he acquired while he was actively Emperor of Ethiopia.

The statement indicated that the Embassy had taken cognizance of Haile Selassie's efforts to negotiate a loan on stock of the Franco-Ethiopian Railroad between Jibuti, French Somaliland, and Addis Ababa.

Italy, the statement continued, would consider any transaction with "Signor Tafari" null and void.

NEGUS'S DELEGATES SEATED BY LEAGUE

Times

Aided by Revolt of the Small Powers Ethiopia Wins at Least a Temporary Success.

9-22-36

EMPEROR FLIES TO GENEVA

New York Times

American Enters Assembly as One of His Group, Which May Be Suspended Today.

By CLARENCE K. STREIT

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

GENEVA, Sept. 21.—Emperor Haile Selassie, his American delegate, E. A. Colson, and a small-power revolt foiled the scheme to unseat the Ethiopian delegation at the opening of the eighteenth League of Nations Assembly today, so that the Italian delegation might return in triumph tomorrow.

They turned a seemingly certain defeat into a doubtful issue that leaves the Ethiopian delegation temporarily seated and with voting rights, while the fight continues and Italian circles fume.

Things seem headed tonight toward trying to leave the problem to the advisory opinion of the World Court and suspending the Ehiopian delegation meanwhile, if the soundings proceeding tonight prove that this will be enough for Premier Benito Mussolini and if it cannot be blocked by the Ethiopians.

It was a dramatic day. Geneva had hardly recovered from the first surprise when there came another and another. The first surprise was to see, when the Assembly opened this morning, an American citizen serving in it for the first time as a fully empowered delegate. No one had expected that the first American to be sent to Woodrow Wilson's League would be sent by the Emperor of Ethiopia, only to have his credentials questioned because of Italy's successful aggression.

Fight in the Committee

The next surprise came when the nomination of the credentials committee proved that the plan to have a hand-picked body of obscure delegates rubber-stamp quickly the Ethiopian credentials as invalid had to be abandoned for a committee clearly having a strong minority in favor of the Ethiopians, thus assuring a fight in that committee.

While the morning session was dispersing, the third surprise spread through the corridors. It was news that the Negus had left London suddenly for Geneva in a fast plane. Insiders grew nervous lest he appear in the Assembly in person in the afternoon to defend his case. He arrived at 5:40 P. M. to find that the fight in the credentials committee had grown so strong that the Assembly had just adjourned it till tomorrow.

Three of the committee's nine members—the Netherlands, New eZaland and Russia—were ready to seat the Ethiopians. Turkey was leaning in the same direction. Czechoslovakia proposed that the World Court's advice be asked. Greece was wobbling.

Only Three Nations Left

This left only France, Britain and Peru presumably in favor of invalidation, though they were very careful not to say so clearly. This was especially true of the British representative, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden.

The scheme on which Premier Mussolini was being sounded tonight is based on the Assembly's Rule 5 Paragraph 4, which says:

"Any representative to whose admission objection has been made shall sit provisionally with the same rights as the other representatives unless the Assembly decides otherwise."

Mussolini, it is safe to guess, is being told that the British and French Governments have done their best, but that all they can promise now is to get the Assembly, under the above "unless" proviso, to suspend the Ethiopian delegation pending an advisory opinion from the World Court on its status. They are arguing with Rome that there is little hope of getting a majority of the small powers even to suspend the Ethiopian delegates, especially when one of them is an American citizen, unless they have the pretext that th ecase is being put before the world Coure.

Questions Up to Italy

The first question is whether Mussolini would agree to send a delegation here on the understanding that pressure would be brought to have the World Court majority advise against the Ethiopian delegation. This seems doubtful. The next question is whether, if he agrees, the goods could be delivered in the Assembly and in the court. There is a big obstacle in the Assembly because for it to ask an adavisory opinion requires unanimity.

The Ethiopian delegation says that if it is deprived of its seat temporarily by this plan it will vote "no." Another obstacle is that it is uncertain whether a majority suffices to suspend a delegation.

Another weakness in the case against Haile Selassie is that the above rule implies that some one objects to his right to give credentials. Inquiry thus far reveals that no government has formally objected. Italy, of course, is absent. A credentials committee member, when asked what member in the committee had objected to the Ethiopian credentials, admitted that no one had taken this responsibility as yet.

British quarters complain that others in the committee, particularly Turkey, tried to put this responsibility on them but stress that they avoided it.

Eden Would Avoid Acting

Foreign Secretary Eden's policy is to keep in a position to tell the House of Commons that "the League" unseated the Ethiopians. Foreign Minister Yvon Delbos of France is following a similar policy. The aim is to have a non-responsible body, such as the credentials committee as a whole, do the objecting without any government therein formally raising the question.

The main questions before the credentials committee are:

First, what are the powers of the committee?

Second, is Haile Selassie still head of a State and thereby entitled to accredit delegates?

The Ethiopian delegation says it has filed with the credentials combittee documents showing that normal relations exist between Haile Selassie and the Ethiopian Government at Gore.

The credentials committee was nominated, as usual, by the acting president of the Council, Rivas Vicuna of Chile, who opened the Assembly. The committee has been left hitherto to unimportant countries and delegates as a mere formality, but the one named today bristled with importance. It included four Foreign Ministers—Mr. Eden, Mr. Delbos, Maxim Litvinoff of Russia and Tewfik Rushdu Aras of Turkey; a former president of the Assembly, Nicholas Politis of Greece and Joseph Limburg of the Netherlands, who has presided over several big League conferences.

It represented every major group and tendency in league.

The Assembly elected as its president Foreign Minister Carlos Saavedra Lamas of Argentina.

ABYSSINIA ADMITTED TO THE LEAGUE ASSEMBLY

Diplomatic Defeat for Britain and France

One of the most important questions before the Assembly of the League of Nations, which opened its seventeenth ordinary session on Geneva on Monday, was whether Abyssinia was entitled to sit. The point came first before the Credentials Committee, which, in face of opposition by Great Britain and France, voiced by the French representative, refused to declare that the credentials of the Abyssinian delegates were invalid, and at first decided to refer the question to the International Court at the Hague. It was a decision that led to some confusion and to some embarrassment, for Mussolini had declared that Italy would not send a delegation if the Abyssinians were there. The Emperor of Abyssinia had flown over from England with the intention, it was presumed, of being present at the Assembly.

The whole situation, however, was changed on Wednesday, when the proposal to refer the Abyssinians' credentials to the Hague Court was abandoned by the Credentials Committee on the ground that no decision could be given by the Court before the Assembly rose.

In its report the Committee recommend the Assembly to consider the Abyssinians' credentials as sufficient, despite the doubt felt by the Committee as to their regularity, to permit their delegation to sit. The Committee stated that this decision applied only to the present session and in no way prejudiced the future.

After speeches by the delegates of Hungary, Austria, and Albania the Assembly adopted the report by 36 votes to four. Six countries abstained from voting. The countries that voted against were Albania, Austria, Ecuador, and Hungary.

The revolt of Russia and the small countries against the attitude adopted by Great Britain and France began on Monday, when an attempt to pack the Committee with delegates prepared to declare the Abyssinian credentials invalid failed. The British and French could find only two delegates—those of Peru and Hungary—willing to join them on the Committee on these conditions. The British and French delegations were therefore obliged to agree to the formation of an unpledged committee.

The Italians express great surprise and state that the decision will prevent them from sending a delegation to Geneva or co-operating with the League, and may also make their co-operation in other international matters impossible.

MR. EDEN'S PART IN THE TANGLE

From our own Correspondent

GENEVA, SEPTEMBER 23.

The League of Nations has to-day won a great victory which, if a proper use is made of it, may give it a new lease of life. This afternoon the British and French delegates finally abandoned their attempt to get the Abyssinian Delegation excluded from the Assembly, and the Credentials Committee unanimously decided to recommend the Assembly to accept the credentials of the Abyssinian Delegation and admit that delegation to sit at the present session.

It is the first time in the history of the League that two Great Powers have been faced by the opposition of the majority of the members of the League and have been obliged to surrender. The result, as everybody is saying this evening, is a diplomatic triumph for Mr. Litvinoff, who led the opposition, and a severe diplomatic defeat for the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain and France, but the British and French peoples have no reason to regret it, for it is, above all, a victory for the League of Nations itself and for the principles on which it is based.

When the news of the decision of the Credentials Committee became known, at about six o'clock this evening, it was at first received with incredulity, but when it was confirmed there was a scene of jubilation such as has not been seen in the lobbies of the League of Nations for several years. Everybody felt that the existence of the League had been at stake and that the League had been saved.

The Credentials Committee has spent four and a half hours to-day in discussing the question. The committee met this morning at 10 30, and, after sitting two and a half hours, adjourned until 4 p.m. and then sat for another two hours.

The proposal to ask the Hague Court for an opinion was, by the way, made by Mr. Limburg, the Dutch member of the Credentials Committee, but I have good reason to believe that Mr. Eden had suggested to him that an application to the Hague Court would be a way out of the difficulty. No doubt Mr. Eden acted in agreement with M. Delbos, the idea being to ask the Assembly to exclude the Abyssinian Delegation under paragraph 4 of article 5 of the standing order pending a reply of the Court.

The proposal that the Assembly should be asked to take this course was, it will be remembered, made by M. Delbos. Thus Mr. Eden kept in the background all the time, and it cannot be denied that he showed considerable diplomatic skill in thus escaping free to take any line that the development of the situation might make desirable.

When the Committee met again at four o'clock its rapporteur, M. Politis, started a further discussion on legal technicalities, of which he is a master, and suggested various methods of procedure. Finally Mr. Litvinoff made a decisive intervention. He said that the Committee should waste no more time on legal technicalities and face the fact that the question was a political one. What they had to decide was whether or not it was to the advantage of the League and the cause of peace to exclude the Abyssinian Delegation from the Assembly. He could, Mr Litvinoff said, see many moral and other disadvantages in excluding the Abyssinian Delegation. Its exclusion would discredit the League and would be a great—perhaps a final—blow to its authority and prestige. He could see no compensating advantages, but there might be advantages that had escaped his notice, and he would be glad to hear from any other member of the Committee what they were.

A Forced Decision

There was complete silence until Mr. Eden said that in his opinion it would be impossible to get a majority in the Assembly for the exclusion of the Abyssinian Delegation, and this being so he proposed that the application to the Hague Court should be dropped and that the Committee should recommend the Assembly to accept the credentials of the Abyssinian Delegation and allow it to sit.

This was supported by M. Delbos and other members of the Committee and unanimously agreed to. Evidently from the point of view of Mr. Eden and M. Delbos the application to the Hague Court had no purpose unless the Abyssinian Delegation could be excluded from the Assembly. It would, indeed, be even dangerous, for the opinion of the Court would hold good for the future, whereas, as the report of the Credentials Committee says, the solution adopted holds good only for the present session and nothing is done to prejudice the future.

The report, by the way, makes the inaccurate statement that no member of the Committee suggested that the question "whether the head of the State from whom the credentials under examination emanate was exercising his legal title effectively enough to make these credentials perfectly in order" should be settled in the negative. That is precisely what Mr. Eden and M. Delbos first suggested, and they were supported by Señor Tudela and M. Politis himself. Indeed, Mr. Eden and M. Delbos unsuccessfully attempted to pack the Credentials Committee with delegates for the purpose of settling the question in the negative. They have agreed to the admission of the Abyssinian Delegation only because they were obliged.

It is rather strange that Mr. Eden and M. Delbos should have waited until nearly six o'clock this afternoon to discover that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to induce the Assembly to exclude the Abyssinian Delegation. The situation was just the same this morning. It seems a probable hypothesis that something happened between one o'clock and four o'clock. It seems also possible that what happened was a communication from the Prime Minister of France to the French Delegation, but at present this is only a hypothesis.

The Assembly met at 7 p.m., and after M. Politis had read the second report of the Credentials Committee, the President asked whether any delegate had any observation to make. Mr. Taezaz (Abyssinia) said that while making express reservation in regard to the motive of the report, his delegation gratefully accepted its conclusions.

General Pamczos (Hungary) then asked that the Assembly should vote on the acceptance of the report by roll-call. He was supported by Dr. Schmidt, the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and by Dr. Aslani, Foreign Minister of Albania. The vote by roll-call was taken, and 39 delegations voted for the report and four against—namely, Albania, Austria, Ecuador, and Hungary. The delegations of Bulgaria, Panama, Portugal, Siam, Switzerland, and Venezuela abstained.

As unanimity was not required in this case, the report was adopted.

M. Motta (Switzerland) explained his reason for abstaining by saying that the gravity of the question was evident, and everybody knew that it was not a question of simple procedure. Until this evening everybody believed that the Credentials Committee would propose to ask the Hague Court for an opinion. The situation had suddenly changed. The Swiss Delegation thought that the Credentials Committee had been wise to abandon the idea of asking for the opinion of the Court, but the question of the validity of the credentials remained. The Committee thought that this question was extremely delicate. It certainly involved serious political consequences. In these circumstances the Swiss Delegation thought it its duty to abstain.

If the remarks made in the Lobbies by some of the Swiss citizens about the declaration were representative, a large number of the people of Switzerland will resent the humiliating situation in which their country has been placed by such an attitude. The abstention of Portugal is more easy to understand.

Authorised representatives of the British Delegation here have been giving out this evening that the Delegation never desired the exclusion of Abyssinia from the Assembly, or at any rate never took any active part in trying to bring it about. The inference, of course, was that the French Delegation was solely responsible. This is exactly what the British Delegation to say.

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

Abyssinia

35,697 Italian Troops, Sick And Wounded, Pass Through Suez Canal, Homeward Bound

PORT SAID, Dec. 31—(Special to The Courier by Cable)—Mussolini's troops have felt the sting of Ethiopia's tropical diseases and unerring "death-dealing" rifle fire!

This fact became known here this week, when official figures for the Suez Canal revealed the startling information that 35,697 Italian soldiers, most of them white, had passed through the Suez Canal, homeward bound.

The men were officially listed as "sick and wounded." The report further says: "In all, 246,360 troops passed southward and 35,697 troops, classed as sick and wounded, passed through the canal, homeward bound."

Although the men were reported homeward bound, Italian citizens are becoming restless over the fact that none of these men have been returned to their native shores. It is believed that Mussolini has established a base hospital on a remote island.

In addition to the wounded, authoritative sources list the number of Italian dead at close to 10,000. This means that less than 200,000 troops are now in Ethiopia, while Selassie's army numbers close to 1,000,000 men.

France, England Ready To Mass Fleets Near Italy

More Ships To Be Sent To Mediterranean At Time Of Oil Boycott Meeting

War Fears Strong

Natives Told To Continue Guerilla Tactics; Il Duce To Send Reinforcements

LONDON, Jan. 8.—(AP)—Great Britain and France moved suddenly today to increase their naval strengths in and around the Mediterranean.

They will do so at the time the council of the League of Nations meets in Geneva Jan. 20, when a proposed oil sanction against Italy is to come up for consideration.

France will send two squadrons, involving a total of 92 warships, to the Mediterranean. The British 21st destroyer flotilla, accompanied by four men-of-war of the home fleet, will hold a "Spring cruise" near Gibraltar and replacements will be made which will strengthen the Mediterranean fleet.

This unexpected maneuver, which appeared to be a move to draw a strong naval ring around Italy, quickly revived speculation in responsible circles of London that oil sanctions are now likely and that the powers are preparing for eventualities in case of an act of desperation on the part of Premier Mussolini.

The British vigorously asserted it was pure coincidence that the fleet announcements were made in London and Paris almost simultaneously.

But observers noted the move closely followed Italian Red Cross bombings in Ethiopia and a disclosure that British and French general staffs had worked out technical arrangements for mutual assistance under Article XVI, paragraph three, of the league covenant. The British let it be known that the general staff arrangements constituted a secret document which it was not to the interest of either country to publish.

A feeling grew in diplomatic circles that angry small nations, perhaps headed by Sweden, will go to Geneva demanding that oil sanctions be invoked forthwith. (Sweden is aroused over the bombing of a Swedish Red Cross unit in Ethiopia by Italian planes.)

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ADDIS ABABA, Jan. 8.—A sealed command from Emperor Haile Selassie to all his chieftains ordering them to refrain from attacking the enemy "in a body" was disclosed today to the Associated Press.

The document ordered a continuation of guerilla warfare and also outlined the procedure for collecting and transporting grains to troops.

Imperial couriers are carrying the orders to the chiefs with a covering letter from Abuna Cyril, Ethiopian religious leader, ex-communicating all violators of the command.

A translation of the imperial document follows:

"The lion of the tribe of Judah hath conquered! Haile Selassie, first anointed of God, emperor of Ethiopia, speaks: "The whole world witnesses that our country, Ethiopia, through which streams of life flow, has lived depending solely on God's strength and attached to her faith.

"You see how all Ethiopians are prepared to shed their blood for independence and unity when an unjust enemy had come to trample under his feet our country, to impair our independence and to defile our faith. All this makes us very proud.

"Since the creation of the world and since the years began to be counted, Ethiopia has never fallen into the hands of foreigners. We have full confidence that the God of our fathers will give us victory and preserve us from this unrighteous foreigner.

"Ethiopians! The present war can be won only by patience and science. Half of our weapons whereby we may attain victory consists in using various strategems patiently and without haste, in only harassing by sudden attacks in difficult places and in lengthening the time. It will mean destruction for our warriors if we should attempt to attack in a body the enemy who has been preparing arms for 40 years. We shall consider the means only whereby we can harm our enemy without injuring ourselves.

"In order that hunger may not strike and disband our troops who have gone forth into this war, all Ethiopians and owners of property shall help in the supply of food in the following manner:

"1. Those who have a harvest for every ten dawulas (a dawula is 200 pounds), shall help us with half a dawula of grain for the soldiers who have gone forth into the war.

"2. The regions beyond the Wayat and the Blue Nile shall pay taxes in accordance with the previous system. However, these taxes cannot be paid in time to meet the present needs, the amount of grain fixed in article 1 shall be collected after consultation with the local elders who will decide as to the best means of bringing this about.

"3. You shall carry the grain you are supplying the army a distance of four days from your place and shall turn it over to the next provinces. You shall immediately return to your own home after delivering the grain.

"4. All wealthy persons who have grain and money are asked to lend me grain and money according to capacity and wish. There is no emergency more important than this one.

"Should you be stingy in lending us and should the enemy occupy the country by force it is certain that he will use the grain for the destruction of your brethren, who are fighting for your independence. You will repent irreparably.

"5. Should there be persons who desire to send food to their sons, brothers or relatives who have gone to war and have not the means to send it, we have established a special office known as the Supply Bureau which will receive such food against receipt and see that it reaches its destination. It is necessary to indicate in such cases the soldier's name, the place of warfare and the name of direct chief and commander-in-chief."

The covering letter from the Abuna said: "I have excommunicated all those who violate the above mentioned commands and who fail to carry out the orders of the Emperor."

The Reuters (British news agency) correspondent said the government claimed warriors had recaptured the Tembien district west of Makale yesterday and that the Italians were fleeing.

An official Ethiopian communique said Italian planes had flown over Fojjam Province in the northwest, dropping pamphlets "inviting the population to revolt against the central government."

The situation because of unrest was reported last week to be dangerous in that province and 5,000 troops were sent there to put down any possible uprising.

ROME, Jan. 8.—(AP)—War cast its somber reflection today over the national celebration of the 63rd birthday of Italy's "Wartime Queen."

Loyal subjects throughout the kingdom displayed flags and bunting. But, following the example of the queen herself, they held other celebrations to the sobriety required by the Ethiopian war and the League of Nations' economic siege.

The queen's anniversary came as informed fascist sources stated Premier Mussolini might send 100,000 more troops to east Africa to strengthen his invading forces. They would be organized in five new divisions, it was said.

Queen Elena spent the day at the Quirinale Palace. There she received the embraces of her royal consort and their children.

She became crown princess of Italy in October, 1896, when her husband, now King Victor Emmanuel, was prince of Piemonte.

The Queen—thought of by Italians as the "wartime queen"—ascended the national throne with her husband in 1900 immediately after the assassination of King Humbert I.

She has shared the throne ever since, passing through the Turkish war, the World War, the Libyan campaigns and now the Ethiopian conflict.

GENEVA, Jan. 8.—(AP)—Ethiopia again asked the League of Nations today to send an investigating commission to the war scene because of alleged Italian methods of carrying on hostilities.

Charging that Premier Mussolini's troops used poison gas and had bombarded Red Cross ambulances on the southern front, Ethiopia asked that "energetic measures" be taken to end such actions.

League officials said the council would consider the Ethiopian request Jan. 20. Ethiopia had urged on Jan. 4 the sending of a commission of inquiry to establish responsibility for "war cruelty."

BLACK PEOPLES LEARN OF TRUE RACIAL STATUS

Ethiopian Tells Harlem Their Real Identity

—BULLETIN!—

Hon. Lij Tasfaye Zaphiro, Ethiopian representative of the Imperial Legation in London, and the only native-born official envoy of the ancient African empire in the United States, will come to Chicago, January 26, on one leg of the speaking tour which will take him into nine states. He will be in the city also on January 27.

(Defender Press Service Dispatch)

NEW YORK, Jan. 3—(Special)—Education, the ultra product of black blood spoke in Harlem Christmas eve and four thousand jammed in the Abyssinian Baptist church to listen to a native Ethiopian, went away heartened and encouraged in the thought that behind the dark clouds of racial woe, lies the silver lining of hope.

They packed into the fashionable

edifice to hear words from the lips of Hon. Lii Tasfaye Zaphiro, schooled at Cambridge university, in England, and Ethiopian representative of the Imperial Legation in London. From him they learned officially that which serious thinkers have denied for decades, "You are not NEGROES but sons and daughters of Africa!"

Hon. Zaphiro had given advance notice that he would do all in his power to blast this "Negro misnomer" of his black blood-brothers in the western world.

Clad in gold braided manteau appropriate to his rank, the youthful diplomat arose in serious mood. He paid compliments to the "Italian people" whom he felt were being misled by the personal ambition of their present leader.

Takes Case of Julian

In a quick shift of emphasis he indicted "one magnificent individual" (Hubert Julian) as an unworthy representative of the black race, one who had recently returned to this country after repeated honors had been bestowed on him by Ethiopia, which he had thrown away.

Addressing himself to his main speech, he said, "I have come a long way to see you. We had hoped that you would have rallied to our cause which is your cause long before now. We were happy when your Dr. Huggins came to see us in London last August and hoped that you would heed the message given him by our legation.

"We have found much obstruction and many jealousies from which we wish you to abstain. We in Ethiopia, of every tribe and every religion, have put away differences because we know that without unity in this struggle we will soon have nothing over which to differ. The same thing in such measures applies to you here. Find a way quickly to unite yourselves.

"Then, too, I have learned of the mischievous propaganda to the effect that Ethiopians do not want your help, that they consider themselves of the white race. All this is unwarranted and false. It is said that we despise Negroes. In the first place you are not Negroes!

Sons of Africa

"Who told you that you were Negroes? You are sons and daughters of Africa. Africa, your motherland which calls you now to aid her last surviving free black people. Our emperor regards himself as the symbol of the hopes of black men and the guardian of their interests in We invite you to come and help Africa and throughout the world us build the Ethiopia of the future

"Come as farmers, mechanics, engineers, bankers, merchants, educators, nurses and physicians. The sooner you come, the better.

"The people of Ethiopia are anxious to do right, and we have every intention of guiding them along the path of improvement and progress; but throughout their history they have seldom met with foreigners who did not desire to posses themselves of Ethiopian territory and to destroy their independence.

"Every time Ethiopia has endeavored to turn her mind towards the developing of her country, she has had to face some uncalled for invasion, all her energies and finances had to be flung into defending her independence.

"On December 5, 1934, she had to begin again this task of defend- sults will be of greater handicap than ever before, because elaborate schemes of improvement which had been started, had to terminate abruptly, and it will be a long while before they can continue because Ethiopia is having to fight a war on a cash basis, which as all of you know, is almost impossible. ing her territory. This time the re-

"For this reason, Ethiopia has appealed to the world to assist her in her task of maintaining her liberty.

"In spite of her many appeals to the League of Nations to put a stop to the grave danger of war, Ethiopia finds herself attacked, wantonly, without provocation and with the devilish machines and indescribable foul chemicals of war, by a country who claims to be a member of the League of Nations, and one of the leading civilized nations of the world.

"Think of the many and grave disadvantages the Ethiopian people have been put to, for example, the applying of an arms embargo last June which made it impossible to obtain the necessary arms to defend herself. The emperor, however, appealed to his people in these words:

"It is better to die free than live as slaves. Soldiers, follow the example of your warrior ancestors. Young and old, unite to face the invader."

"The response was spontaneous, and every man rallied to the call to arms with whatever implement he could lay his hands upon, and as events are showing, he is putting up a stubborn defense to maintain his freedom.

Bear No Malice

"Even in this, their darkest hour, the people of Ethiopia bear no malice to the great masses of their 'Italian brothers' in Christ, and deeply regret that just as they are being butchered in this uncivilized action, so too are decent, good living Italian soldiers being sacrificed to further the selfish interests of an ambitious member of their nation."

Hon. Zaphiro was presented to the vast audience of Abyssinian Baptist church, December 24, by Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., youthful, militant pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist church. A few remarks were made by Dr. Willis M. Huggins who registered a plea for Ethiopia with the Council of the League of Nations in Geneva last August and returned to this country with authority to speak and organize from Dr. Martin, Ethiopian minister in London. Hon. Zaphiro was presented with an offering of $300 in a magnificent example of Harlem's good will at Christmas time.

He will soon be on tour of this country and this paper asks for him the closest cooperation and thus the largest gifts. He will be in America for three months.

He can be reached at the Imperial Ethiopian Legation of which Hon. John H. Shaw is consul-general, 78 Water street, New York City, N. Y.

The meeting was under the auspices of the United Committees for Ethiopia.

BARREN DESERT DEFIES IL DUCE

By J. A. ROGERS
(Special to The Courier)

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia, Jan. 8—(By Cable)—It has become apparent from military events of the last week that the Italian command on the southern front has altered its strategy radically and is determined to attempt to make a "back door" entrance into Addis Ababa.

Such is the interpretation placed by military observers here on the bombing of Red Cross hospitals on the southern front and the determined attempt the Italians are making to break through at Dolo on the border of Italian Somaliland.

It was at Dolo, more than a week ago, that the Swedish Red Cross hospital was bombed, causing the death of injured Ethiopians, the death of one Swedish male nurse and the wounding of two others, including the Swedish superintendent of the hospital.

Longer But Sweeter

The Italian command, headed by Gen. Rodolfo Graziani, decided at first to approach Addis Ababa by following the courses of the Webbe Shebeli and the Fafan rivers, north and east to Jijiga, then to turn westward to Harar and have an open path to the capital.

This was the short, bitter route, through the thorns and scrub of the dry Ogaden desert.

The new route selected by Graziani to penetrate to Addis Ababa is much longer but much sweeter also. It leads through the fertile, comparative plains of Sidamo province in the southwest.

The Fafan river advance was supposed to follow a line north, northeast, then west, in the eastern boundary provinces of the empire. After Graziani had penetrated as far as Daggah Bur, 100 miles from Jijiga, he was frightened back by an encircling movement of 30,000 troops under Ras Desta Demtu in the south and west, centering at Dolo.

Graziani quickly retreated back across the Ogaden desert, covering his flight by aerial bombardment in the rear. There has been no troop action in the Daggah Bur sector for two months.

Hits At Bread Basket

In the meantime, it appears, the Italian commander has determined to dig into the Ethiopian bread basket in Sidamo, Kaffa and Kambata provinces. Under the protection of airplanes, most of his army has been transferred from the eastern route west 200 miles to a point below Dolo, facing the army of Ras Demtu.

Bitter skirmishes occur daily at this point, but so far Demtu has held his ground. Graziani intends to establish bases on the Dawa river, follow the river up through Sidamo, great agricultural province with few elevations beyond 3,000 feet, and reach the series of lakes (Abaya, Shala, Langana, Zwai), which lead toward Addis Ababa, and solve the water problem.

Ethiopian military leaders were surprised when the Italians did not choose this route at first, although it is longer than the one on the east. Government officials are even now suspicious that Graziani may have switched his offensive under instructions involving the interests of foreign powers. Although the western provinces run into Kenya and the Sudan, both under British rule, the route north is far enough away to avoid any foreign entanglements. Such is not true of the eastern route, which dangerously skirts British and French Somaliland.

World's Window

BY PIERRE VAN PAASSEN

Italy To Use Gas.

ROME, Italy—The military situation of the Italians in Erythrea is so bad that the army command fears a disaster and intends to use gas to keep off the masses of Ethiopian warriors who are only now beginning to arrive on the front. The excuse will be that the Ethiopians use or have used dum-dum bullets. This is a lie. I do not say that it is a falsehood, or a misstatement, or that the Italians are misinformed. It is a downright lie. It is a pretext to use gas Gas cylinders are being shipped in their hundreds to Africa. But gas has not been used yet. If the Italians, who have a super-perfect army in Africa, equipped with tanks and steel assault cars and artillery and aviation and heaps of machine guns, use gas against a primitive, almost helpless people, there will be such an outcry throughout the civilized world that whatever sympathy Italy still has will vanish and peace conditions will be much harder on the Duce in the end.

* * * *

Rain Soon Returns.

It will not be long before the torrential downpours recommence in Ethiopia. The short rainy season starts in the beginning of January and lasts about a month. Then in April come the real showers, that uninterrupted, blasting downpour, for four whole months, which I will never forget. Can the Italians obtain a military decision before that time? That would be the end of the war. For an Italy victorious is now most willing to talk peace. The financial situation of Italy is bad and growing worse every day. Don't be so foolish as to imagine that the Italian people like privations and suffering. They don't. They are human. They do a good deal of grumbling as it is. Not openly yet. But, unless I am badly mistaken, that's coming, too.

* * * *

Mussolini Must Win.

If you look calmly and objectively at the situation, you soon reach the conclusion that the Duce must win out in Africa if he is to save himself and his regime from collapse. Everything has been staked on the conquest of Abyssinia. All the money available is now engaged and invested in war preparations. To call off the war without having gained a single benefit, as would be the case if peace came tomorrow, would mean a bankrupt Italian state and a breakdown of the Duce's prestige. Mussolini must, therefore, continue at all costs.

* * * *

A Bishop Under Guard

The action of the Italian authorities in placing Mgr. Johannes Geisler, the prince bishop of Bressanone (Brixen) in the Italian Tyrol, under military supervision, has achieved what the Italian invasion of Abyssinia has failed to do; it has irritated Roman Catholic opinion in Austria and provoked angry comment from the leading Catholic newspaper, Neuigkeits Weltblatt. According to this newspaper the bishop's palace is guarded day and night by carabinieri, and he may not go out even into his garden. The reason for this measure is a letter from Mgr. Geisler to the clergy of his diocese in which he recommends them to give greater care than ever to the poor, who will suffer first from the application of sanctions, but not to take part in the propaganda campaign for the delivery of metals to the government, as this is the task of the fascist party.

Such action would be seized on by enemies of the church to support the argument that the church is helping to finance the war. This last reference of the bishop is doubtless due to the rumor circulating in Europe that the pope has placed Peter's Pence at the disposal of Mussolini to buy war materials, which is an infamous calumny. The Neuigkeits Weltblass writes that Italy likes to represent her war in Abyssinia as a struggle for civilization and progress in a barbaric land. But the South Tyrol is not a barbaric land.

Race Problem - 1936
Africa

Abyssinia.

ABYSSINIA AT WAR

Italy Welding Her Into a Nation

From our Special Correspondent

HARAR, MARCH.

Out of the fog which surrounds this war one fact appears clear enough. Mussolini was completely deceived by his local advisers about the extent of national feeling in Abyssinia. A consul who makes little secret about being a political agent is likely to be given false impressions. Italy's intentions have been obvious for years. Her "consuls" scattered throughout the country became centres of intrigue. Their offices were little caves of Adullam to which the disaffected would come, and also those cautious souls who keep in touch with a future enemy for the same reason as the old lady who always crossed herself when the devil was mentioned. Undoubtedly the consuls made Mussolini think that the country was still the old "land of chaos" which made the Arabs give it the name of Abyssinia. The Italians never expected to fight for it. They thought it would be enough to advance gradually, leaving any vulgar "scrapping" with the savages to their own black troops and graciously receiving the submission of all those disaffected chiefs about whom the consuls had written so confidently. The commencement of hostilities synchronised with the first submission, that of Ras Gugsa. It has proved to be the last of any importance.

The consuls made the same mistake as the various German agents in India before the war. These expatiated on the extent of anti-British feeling without realising that no one wanted to expel the English in order to bring in the Germans. Similarly there was plenty of opposition to the Emperor in 1934, but no one except Ras Gugsa wanted to replace him by an Italian Government. Ras Gugsa took over with him his domestic servants and hangers-on, but the peasantry from his area are fighting on the Abyssinian side. Every month seems to make it less likely that there will be any serious defection from the Ethiopian side. The Italians have not created a good impression as fighters amongst a people who rate courage as the highest virtue, and the only recent movement for which there is good circumstantial evidence has been the desertion of Eritrean native soldiers, who may, perhaps, be growing a little tired of the forefront of the battle.

The opposition to the Emperor, which may partly revive when the war is over, was more of a "family affair," and certainly weaker than the violent racial feeling which has been aroused by the Italian attack. Hailé Selassié had, for example, many critics amongst the priests and monks, who form a conservative block keenly awake to anything which may threaten their interests. They disliked the Emperor's various innovations, especially his enthusiasm for secular education and his plans for a "literate Abyssinia," but any feelings they might have had on these points are as nothing to their fear of an invasion by a foreign race, of whose religion they know little except that it is certainly not Coptic, and whose army has already destroyed a number of their churches. The struggle between Church and State will have to be fought out some time, but at present the priests are solidly behind the Emperor. In every church there are daily prayers for victory, and the whole religious community has gained much "kudos," because nature, answering their prayers for rain to stop the Italian advance, has sent a series of violent thunderstorms which are completely unprecedented at this time of the year, and have gone on for several weeks.

Similarly, one of the Emperor's most difficult tasks in the past was to deal with the large Moslem community. Perhaps a third, certainly a quarter, of the total population is Mohammedan. In the uplands they are not an important part of the community, being mostly lowlanders who have drifted up there for work, but the whole of the South-east strikes a traveller at once as being predominantly Moslem. Harar, in spite of its bishop and its two churches, is essentially Arab. It has also a close connection with British Somaliland through Jijiga and Hargeisa; many of its people are British subjects, besides the considerable Indian trading community, typified by the famous firm of Mohommed Ally. When Ras Tafari reached the throne he had a delicate task. His deposed predecessor, Lij Yasu, was an attractive if rather weak young man who had shown strong Arab leanings and grossly offended the Amharas by doing so. But he was popular in the Harar area, in which he was kept a prisoner until his death last year. It was on Moslem aid that Ras Hailu depended when he attempted to restore Lij Yasu some three years ago.

The Emperor has certainly done his best to win over this part of his kingdom. He was born in Harar, for his father was the Governor, and built the Diredawa-Harar road, but until the beginning of hostilities the people had remained aloof. It is doubtful whether they appreciated his gesture of making his favourite son, Ras Makonnen, Duke of Harar. Time and the Italians seem, however, to have worked in his favour. Lij Yasu had before he died grown notoriously lazy, fat, and indifferent. His eldest son appears to be in French territory. Harar has not the faintest wish to become Italian, and has caught the war spirit. It has sent an unexpectedly large quota of recruits, and a prominent Cadi whose attitude was not too certain has become a keen supporter of the Red Cross. So far it would seem that the Italians are a hammer welding Abyssinia into a nation, but it is probable that this south-eastern part of the country, if it retains its independence, will have to be given a considerable measure of autonomy.

Much has been written, especially in works of a propagandist tendency, about the tribal divisions and the quarrels between the ruling Amharas and the Gallas. It is extraordinarily difficult to get information on this point. There is no doubt about the tyrannical methods of the old Amharic rases, but it is equally certain that there has been much intermarriage between the leading peoples of the different tribes, and that the process of fusion has been going on rapidly. Rivalries, of course, exist, and may have been partly responsible for the one serious reverse which the Abyssinians have suffered—the defeat of Ras Desta in the south. But another and equally reasonable explanation is the bad generalship which led a large and poorly armed force into the comparatively flat country in front of Dolo, where the Italian "whippets" could operate effectively and use their machine-guns. Probably there is some truth in both accounts, and tribal divisions are apt to become more acute in times of defeat. Certainly tribal and racial divisions will be an important factor in Abyssinia's future, but a successful defence of their country would do much to break down barriers which do not seem to have prevented co-operation between the various tribal levies.

CAPITAL BARS SOLDIERS

Order Issued to Save Foreigners From Being Taken for Italians.

TROOP MORALE STILL GOOD

4-19-36

Observer Describes Orderly Retreat of Crown Prince's Army From Dessye.

WOUNDED ARE ABANDONED

Hospital Staff Forced to Flee Before Overwhelming Force at Negus's Former Base.

By G. L. STEER

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ADDIS ABABA, April 18.—The writer returned yesterday afternoon from Dessye, former field headquarters of Emperor Haile Selassie, in the company of Major Arthur Bentinck, former honorary attaché at the British Legation in Addis Ababa. Major Bentinck had handed over to Crown Prince Asfaou Wassen 1,850 gas masks made by members of the Ethiopian Woman's Association.

The situation on the northern front is extremely grave. The government, like that of Emperor Menelik before the Battle of Adowa forty years ago, is praying for intervention—this time, however, not by Heaven but by the League of Nations.

Nevertheless, sufficient Ethiopian forces remain under command of the Emperor and Crown Prince to menace seriously the communications of the invading Italians through Dessye and Makale or across the Danakil plain. The Italians wil lrun a grave risk in hasty occupation of Addis Ababa, unless they are able to use the Franco-Ethiopian Railway running from Jibuti, French Somaliland, to this city. This the Ethiopians fear the invaders may be able to do, in view of the Franco-Italian agreement of January, 1935, although it would contravene the railway concession terms.

Slipped Out of Town by Night

Major Bentinck and your correspondent slipped out of Dessye Monday night just after the Italian force of occupation reached the hills outside the town. Every night at least one Italian plane flew over the town, without firing or dropping bombs, presumably to terrify the populace into submission or flight or to draw a nervous rifle fire that would satisfy the easily convinced aviators that the town was not undefended.

The Crown Prince had his headquarters in the mountains west of Dessye, surrounded by his personal bodyguard. The rest of his forces were preparing mountain positions in the interior, where Asfaou Wassan now occupies a defensive line. The town itself was virtually abandoned, even by the zabanias, who normally maintain law and order in towns where the Emperor's writ runs. Ours was the last motor vehicle to leave. We slipped through the deserted toll gate unchallenged, both our movements and those of the Ethiopians being obscured from the Italian fliers by clouds and thunderstorms.

Behind the Galla troops that cleared the way for the Italian triumphal entry into the capital of Wollo Province were regulars. A telephone clerk from Gerado, south of Waldia, had arrived in great haste Monday morning just before our arrival to report Italian cavalry was four hours south of Waldia on Sunday afternoon when he cut his telephone line. The cavalry, he stated, was followed by 300 motor lorries with troops and a fleet of tanks.

Before this well coordinated advances of modern military power, the Crown Prince had no course open but to retreat into the mountains, which thus far the Italians had only skirted.

Thus on entering Dessye Monday morning we were startled to see a long line of soldiers crawling antlike over the mountains. After breakfasting, we were sent to join the Crown Prince's forces in the mountains.

The Ethiopian troops showed no

signs of demoralization or starvation. They withdrew in good order at the approach of the Italians. Only the fact of their withdrawal surprised us. Before entering the town, we took to shelter for two hours while nine bombers flew over Dessye, returning from the direction of Addis Ababa.

We found every one in Dessye packing his meager possessions at the Sudan Interior Mission. A Mrs. Nystrom and a Swedish nurse and a Briton named Baird were wondering how to escape safely before the main body of the Italian advance guard burst into the town.

Around the caves where the Crown Prince and his secretary were at work, thousands of natives had gathered, clamoring for passes to flee by the southern road. Captain de Norman, the only survivor of the Belgian military mission, begged us to flee and go into hiding immediately. We insisted on his going with us, as he was too ill to travel by mule.

We sought out the young Crown Prince, who in the evening returned from his mountain cave by mule, surrounded by an escort armed with Mauser rifles. In the confusion, he appeared tired and harassed, but dignified and poised.

He recognized Major Bentinck, who had known him in London. He accepted the gas masks and then urged us to return at once to Addis Ababa if we valued our lives.

As he made his way slowly through the crowds to his palace, the people cheered him again and again. The palace was a blaze of light, as preparations were being made for his departure. Before he could get started, however, the first fusillade from the invaders' rifles rattled over the outskirts of the town.

Forced to Abandon Wounded

Missionaries caring for wounded at the Seventh Day Adventist Hospital were forced to abandon their charges. Snatching up a few spare garments, they piled into our lorry. Members of a Netherland Red Cross unit, who arrived a few minutes after we did, left at once for Addis Ababa, leaving behind all their equipment and a French assistant, as their lorry was already packed to overflowing.

At 11 P. M. the lights in the Crown Prince's palace went out. The firing became more frequent. We loaded our lorry and hurried out of the town, while unseen riflemen blazed away at us from across a valley.

Carrying with us four missionaries and Captain de Norman, we pushed on without a halt until the sun set over the Danakil borderlands the next evening. Passing struggling government lorries along the road, we reached Addis Ababa in four days, setting something of a record for the trip in inclement weather.

Later we learned that the Gallas, guided and shephered by Italian planes, had entered Dessye only seven hours after our departure, followed on Wednesday by Italian regular troops.

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Military Mission Resigns

By The Associated Press.

ADDIS ABABA, April 18.—The members of the Belgian military mission, employed for the last five years by Emperor Haile Selassie to train soldiers and police, were reported reliably today to have resigned again.

The relations between the Belgians and the government have been strained often in the past, and they had tendered their resignations in a body at least once previously since the outbreak of the war.

What relation there may be between the present report and the approach of the northern Italian army to the capital is not specified, but the Belgians are known to have had disciplinary troubles in the past.

It is understood that the government may not permit the Belgians to depart because of a dispute over the fulfillment of contracts. It is known that some of the instructors **are dependent upon the government for transportation.**

As this fresh internal dispute developed, the government took steps for the protection of Americans and other foreigners still here. **There are still 118 United States citizens** in Ethiopia, and fifty-eight of them live in Addis Ababa. To those in the capital has been offered the protection of the bombproof shelters of the British Legation, since the United States Legation is undefended.

Ethiopian officials assigned special guards to watch over the foreign legations and assured the various Ministers that they need not fear for protection.

Cornelius Van H. Engert, United States Minister Resident and Consul General, remained at his legation with his wife and their two children, with only the American flag and a small detachment of native Ethiopians soldiers for protection.

Soldiers Barred From Capital

Ethiopian soldiers, retreating from the north, are prohibited from entering the capital area in an order issued by the Governor of Addis Ababa, which aims especially at protecting the several thousand white residents still living in the area.

No retreating troops have as yet reached the vicinity of Addis Ababa, but the precautionary measure was taken because many of the Emperor's soldiers from the north who come from the remote provinces do not distinguish between Italians and other whites. The blaknet order actually prohibits any one from entering the capital without special permission.

Despite the promises of Premier Benito Mussolini of Italy not to bamb Addis Ababa, providing no troop concentrations are permitted within the capital district, high government officials are convinced the bombardment of the city now is only a question of time. These officials accuse the Italians of seeking an "act of war" as an excuse by continually sending military planes over the capital.

Gas masks have already been distributed to policemen, whose duties have been increased to prevent any one from firing upon the planes. No preparations have as yet been made for the removal of government records from Addis Ababa.

A government spokesman described as "purely imaginary" reports that Crown Prince Asfaou Wassen might become the "puppet Emperor" under Italian domination.

The Ethiopian Women's Association cabled an appeal to London, questioning the prospect of defending Addis Ababa against the Italians.

"Actually," the appeal said, "we still are able and determined to defend our country's cause, but the situation today involves the possibility that we may prove unable to defend our capital."

The appeal accused the Italians of broadcasting confusing rumors "in orde rto give the impression that the Ethiopians are unable to continue fighting."

ETHIOPIA'S CASE

Our Montenegro Action Seen as Precedent

To the Editor of The New York Times:

With the news that the Italian armies are definitely in possession of Addis Ababa, which means Ethiopia, the signal has been given for the opening of a new controversy. The Italians say that Ethiopia no longer exists as a nation, while the English and French and certain of the pro-League nations maintain that, wherever the archives of the Ethiopian Foreign Office are located, there is the government.

If those nations that for years have sustained the League of Nations are guilty of anything, they are guilty of having a short memory and of being totally inconsistent. Ever since December, 1918, those of us who fought to keep Montenegro on the map maintained that country's sovereignty rested with King Nicholas because of the pledges that Great Britain, France, Italy and even the United States made to the effect that: "Montenegro shall be restored."

But at the end of the great war Montenegro was invaded by Serbian troops aided by the French. A "plebiscite" was held to decide whether the people wanted to remain independent under King Nicholas or to join Serbia in the formation of a Serb-Croat-Slovene State. Everybody recognized that the "plebiscite" was a fraud. Even when it was announced that Montenegro wished to join Serbia international lawyers did not take the decision very seriously.

Conquered by "Friends"

The friends of Ethiopia in England and France maintain that Ethiopia still lives. How can Ethiopia still live if Montenegro no longer lives?

Montenegro was conquered by her "friends," who acted in bad faith. Ethiopia was conquered by the Italians, who had just provocation and who waged a real war against Ethiopia. It is true that that war was conducted in defiance of the covenant of the League of Nations and in defiance of the Kellogg pact. But it must not be forgotten that the treatment of Italy by her allies under the Versailles treaty and since the signing of that treaty was the cause of sufficient provocation to warrant Italy's repudiation of her signature on those pacts; at least Italy thought so.

In effect, the League of Nations said that those countries that had gained much territory as an outcome of the war, by military conquest or otherwise, could keep such territories. It also said that countries that had taken territory previous to the foundation of the League of Nations, no matter if such territories were taken by force, could still retain sovereignty over those territories. However, when Japan invaded Manchuria, what nation suggested that Japan should be punished by the imposition of sanctions or by a threat of war?

In the case of Montenegro it has been more or less of a mystery just why the United States went back on President Wilson's pledge that "Montenegro should be restored." In January, 1921, the Consul General and Chargé d'Affaires of Montenegro in the United States, William Frederick Dix, wrote the Department of State that in view of the fact that the United States had recognized the Serb-Croat-Slovene State he wished to be informed as to just what was his status as the representative of Montenegro.

Door Left Open

The Acting Secretary of State, Norman H. Davis, replied that as the United States had recognized the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, the exequatur of the Montenegrin representative in the United States would be revoked "for the present." This signified that although it was quite apparent that Montenegro did not exist "de facto," Mr. Davis was leaving the door open in case a decision of some international tribunal might signify that Montenegro still did exist as a sovereign State.

But the real attitude of the United States was not known to me until some months ago when Senator James I. Pope was making speeches in behalf of Ethiopia against Italy, in favor of the League of Nations and the observance of the Kellogg pact.

I asked Senator Pope why he should be so solicitous of Ethiopia when the United States had violated its pledge with respect to Montenegro. Senator Pope replied that he was not familiar with what happened in Montenegro. I wrote him in explanation and suggested that he get further information from the Department of State. He obtained a memorandum from the Department of State. The most significant part of the memorandum was the statement to this effect: As for a long time Montenegro, as a sovereign State, had in fact been nonexistent, and as there was no government in Montenegro except that of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the American Government felt it could only follow the lead of the other powers which had recognized Montenegro's incorporation in Yugoslavia.

Pacification Planned

Now we come to the Ethiopian situation. Italy is in possession. The Emperor and his court have fled. The native chieftains are transferring their allegiance to Marshal Badoglio and will eventually swear allegiance to Victor Emmanuel of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia. The Italians will pacify the country. The dignitaries of the Coptic Church recognize the conquering of Ethiopia by Italy as an accomplished fact and will advise their faithful to accept the rule of the Italians. Some countries in Europe and elsewhere who reluctantly voted for sanctions against Italy and who later declined to observe their obligations in that connection will probably recognize Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia. England and France will object and there will be a long controversy at the League of Nations in connection with the question. But business interests may decide the question in Italy's favor.

What position will the State Department take? Will the case of Montenegro be considered a precedent on the theory that the territory of the conquered belongs to the conqueror? Or will the United States take an altruistic stand, insisting that Italy should have observed the covenant of the League of Nations, to which the United States does not belong, and the terms of the Kellogg pact, the provisions of which the United States and other signatories did not enforce with respect to Japan as the first important violator?

The question will also come up as to what action the United States could possibly take against Italy because of its violation of the Kellogg pact and with particular reference to recognition by the United States of Italian sovereignty in Ethiopia.

Perhaps there are authorities on international law who may be willing to express their views at this time on a question that is obviously of such great importance to the world, if not in itself, at least because of the consequences that may result in international affairs from whatever action is taken at this time.

LUIGI CRISCUOLO.

New York, May 13, 1936.

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

Abyssinia

Ethiopia—A Warning To Pacifism

By CAPT. WILLIAM T. WARD

The pacifist, like the Bourbon, never learns from history. Like the ostrich he will stick his head in the sands of his imagination and fancy that what he refuses to see cannot be seen by others. The ostrich learns only from bitter experience, but too late. When it is too late for the pacifist it will be too late for the rest of us.

Ethiopia furnishes us with one of the most heroic yet one of the most tragic instances in all history of national collapse brought about through misplaced confidence (in the League of Nations), and unpreparedness. What happened to Korea, Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, and North China happened to Ethiopia.

The collapse of this nation, the only remaining independent native state in all Africa, came so suddenly that the nations of Europe were caught by surprise.

How did this catastrophe occur? How did this nation which for 1,400 years maintained its independence against all invaders, white and black, fail? The answer is the key to the destruction of small and perhaps big nations in the future, and perhaps the not distant future.

So long as the Italian armies fought as did our armies in the War Between the States, and the British during the Boer war—with flashing sabers, bayonet-sticking, desultory artillery bombardments—the Ethiopians were as often the victors as the Italians. Italy soon discovered that this method of warfare could not reduce the Ethiopians before the "big rains" set in. Something had to be done and done immediately. The case was desperate.

The first step in the new program was to put Gen. Badoglio in charge of all the Italian forces in Africa. This gave a unified command, an essential to success. As soon as Badoglio took charge he began his preparation to make war as nearly like hell as humanly possible. In this program he followed Grant, Sherman, Hindenburg, and Ludendorf.

It was after all arrangements had been made to make war a real hell that the new Italian advances were begun. From this time on we heard of nothing but Ethiopian defeats. What brought about this sudden change in the issues of battles? Let us see.

The collapses of the Ethiopian armies began south of Makale, then at Lake Ashangi, and again at Quoram. The Ethiopian armies completely disappeared thereafter. In the south, however, the Italians did not use the same means of attack and so were not successful.

What means did the Italians use against the Ethiopians in the north? (1) flame throwers, (2) phosgene gas, (3) mustard gas, (4) phosphorous bombs. Against these modern devices of death the Ethiopians presented weapons such as our Minute Men used at Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill.

In the World War the pick of white troops were unable to withstand an attack by flame throwers. Infantry attacking flame throwers is as successful as fighting an erupting volcano with clubs. The turning loose upon the superstitious Ethiopians of these flames of hell overwhelmed them.

Ethiopia had no gas masks and when the Italians threw great quantities of phosgene gas upon them, they perished as did the Canadians when the Germans began the first gas attack in the Great War. Without masks there is no defense against this deadly gas.

Those who in the World War were unfortunate enough to be caught by a mustard gas attack, know how helpless the unprotected soldier or the careless one is at such a time. It was as though a thousand ants were biting at one's flesh, and a handful of powdered red pepper thrown into one's eyes. He could think of nothing but run—blindly—and scratch. What could the half clad Ethiopian soldier do when the war planes of Italy sprayed mustard gas until it fell like gentle mists upon him, but run and scratch. He scratched and ran, threw away his weapons, and scratched with both hands, and ran.

In the early weeks of the war an English reporter stated he had been told by an Italian officer that they had devised a new weapon of destruction. The Italian arms would spray a chemical on the roads of approach and retreat which would burn up the Ethiopian feet. This statement was literally fulfilled, for the Italians threw phosphorous bombs upon the retreating Ethiopians and consumed them. The Ethiopian armies vanished overnight and were not seen again. From this time on it was one steady march for the Italians to Addis Bbaba. What a glorious way for a highly civilized nation to conquor a semi-civilized nation!

Italy signed a convention not to use poisonous gas, in war. Realizing that she was no match for the Ethiopians in regular combat, she broke her plighted word and used poisonous gas against which the Ethiopian had no defense.

What will the heathen world, the Mohommedan world, China, and the black nations of Africa think of this wanton aggression on the part of Italy, and its annexation of the last independent state in Africa? What will they think of Italian civilization which is spread by rape, plunder and wholesale murder by chemical warfare?

What is the lesson we learn from Ethiopia? This: No pledge, covenant or treaty signed by the nations of Europe and Japan can be regarded as sacred or binding—they are scraps of paper. If America does not prepare for defense we too like Korea, Manchuria, Inner Mongolia and Ethiopia will pass under the yoke of bondage and be enslaved.

Is the pacifist honest when he says we are in no danger of being attacked? Suppose we are attacked and are defenseless, as he wishes us to be, what can save us? Does the pious hypocrite say prayer will? God helps those only who help themselves. If liberty is not worth fighting for let the pacifist hosts pass into servitude, but every red-blooded American will defend his home fires and native land.

America must choose: Billions for defense or billions for tribute.

League Is Handed Another Big Shock

GENEVA, May 15.—(AP)—League of Nations circles, distressed by Guatemala's resignation and fear of a "small nations stampede" away from membership, received a further shock tonight with disclosure the International Red Cross had refused to send gas masks to Ethiopia during the Italian invasion.

An official communication to the League said the Red Cross could not respond to an appeal from its Ethiopian branch because the request failed to specify the purpose for which the masks would be used.

Secretary-General Joseph A. C. Avenol earlier received notice of resignation from Guatemala, one of the original signatories of the League covenant.

The republic's withdrawal, which cannot be effective for two years, led League circles to wonder if the action was the start of a "stampede" engineered by Premier Mussolini or merely an isolated incident.

Fear was expressed the Italian dictator might be herding out the smaller members before jeopardizing the security framework by withdrawing his nation from the roster.

The Red Cross revelation, which created a sensation in Geneva, said the international organization could only furnish gas masks through its affiliated societies, for medical personnel or patients.

Its attitude, the committee emphasized, "must not be interpreted as passive acceptance of a method of warfare which it has never ceased to condemn."

World's Window

BY PIERRE VAN PAASSEN.

Nassibou Resists.

Some day when an impartial history is written of this Italo-Abyssinian struggle, the fight put up by Ras Nassibou and General Welchib Pasha, on the Ogaden front, will rank with the defense of Thermopylae by the Greeks. With all his tanks and assault cars, his mustard gas and his bombing planes, General Rodolpho Graziani was again thrown back by a bunch of virtually naked men, men armed with sticks and lances and old-fashioned rifles, which women loaded for them. Colonel Bentley Rodgers, who commands the British troops in southern Sudan, said to me: "I take my hat off to the Ethiopians. They are soldiers."

They are more than soldiers. They are heroes. Think of men fighting on in clouds of yperite poison gas. Astonishing! I saw the first gas attack in the World War, at St. Julien, near Ypres (where that gas the Italians now use got its name from). Then, one morning, the army of Morocco, getting the first whiff of gas, that sneaking smell of pineapple, broke in panic and left a gap six miles wide and ten miles deep in the allied line. As far as the eye could reach, along parallel roads, through meadows and fields and the villages streamed the beaten army of French colonials, panic stricken, demoralized, coughing, abandoning everything to the on-coming Prussians. It was that day that the Canadian corps was thrown into the breach, the forty-eighth Highlanders of Toronto leading off, with the seventy-fifth infantry in support. There were no gas masks and the gas was creeping over the fields of Flanders in creamy yellow clouds. It was a question of passing through those clouds. But behind that cloud was the artillery barrage.

* * * *

The Skirling of the Pibrroch.

Suddenly the Highlanders sat down, pulled off their socks or took a sock out of their packs and soaked them in water. Everybody followed suit and the corps marched silently into the death clouds. Once through the thickest of it, the Scots pulled out their bagpipes and we heard the tune, "The standards on the braes o' Mar air up an' streamin' merrily. And hielan' men fra hill an' glen are comin' late an' aerly." It might have lasted 10 minutes, that music, and then we fixed bayonets. I dare say the Prussian guard was a little surprised to see us come through the clouds of poison. Machine guns began to rattle. Men began to fall. "Foghorn" MacDonald, so called because of his stentorian voice, who was our colonel, bellowed nothing else but "Rip 'em open. The . . . poisoners!"

I saw some strange things that day. And the strangest of all, perhaps, a German flying through the air as he was pitched with a bayonet like a sack of straw with a pitchfork. Awful day. Thirty-three thousand casualties in less than six hours. We reformed at sunset under some poplar trees in a little village square and I could see the blinds of a big house open very gingerly and then recognized the thunderstruck face of Cyriel van de Woesteyne, curate of the place.

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No Coward

Haile Selassie, Lion of Judah, King of Kings, Emperor of Ethiopia, had distinguished precedent when he fled in the face of a victorious foe. Alive he could serve his people, because if ever they were to get the freedom again through the help of the nations, a spokesman must present their case. Dead, he could do them no good.

Newspapers are not fair which intimate that Selassie fled through cowardice. Only a short while ago these same papers were describing the gallant defense the Ethiopians were making against aircraft attack, the king himself helping his men in the loading and firing of anti-aircraft guns. Kaiser Wilhelm sent other men to battle. This little brown leader went with his. He did not flinch from either threat or attack. He earned world respect before the conflict by the way he insisted that his country's integrity should be respected. He has not lost it by making virtue of necessity now that the result has been against him.

BRITISH POLICY ON SANCTIONS Mr. Eden's Complete Silence

The Labour Opposition's attempt in the House of Commons on Wednesday to get from the Government a statement of the policy to be pursued in view of Italy's triumph over Abyssinia and Mussolini's declaration that "Abyssinia is now Italian" was not successful.

Mr. Eden, the Foreign Secretary, contented himself with declaring that any future action must be collective and must be decided by the League Council, which meets on Monday, and that there must be a stocktaking.

There was, as our London Correspondent says, nothing in the speech about sanctions, not a hint whether the British Government favours the abandonment, the maintenance, or the extension of sanctions against Italy.

Mr. Eden said that "we have got to admit the failure of the League in this

case, and we have got to admit our disappointment," but he denied stoutly that any blame attached to the British Government. From the very first, he said, the British Government was active, almost alone, in trying to bring about a settlement, and had always been ready to go as far as the other Powers could be induced to go.

The League, said Mr. Eden, must go on.

In the modern world it (the League) is absolutely indispensable for the organisation of international affairs.

There must also be a stocktaking, and that stocktaking must be undertaken by the League thoroughly, not hurriedly. Each member of the League must carefully consider for itself the conclusion to be drawn from the last seven months and must make known its view to the League, and that body as a whole must decide on its future course of action.

The Government proposed at once to engage in the consideration of the problems involved, and for that purpose would enter into consultations with the Dominions.

The questions to be faced were steeped in difficulties, but the Government would approach them in a spirit of realism and of constructive statesmanship.

The Labour View

Before Mr. Eden had spoken, Mr. Dalton, for the Labour party, had presented a strong indictment of the Government and had demanded the intensification of sanctions against Italy. A dictated peace by the aggressor could not, he said, be allowed.

Sir A. Sinclair (Leader of the Liberal Opposition), who spoke after Mr. Eden, reinforced this demand. The issue between Italy and the League was not settled, he said. Abyssinia, though defeated, had not lost her rights as a member of the League.

The Government's duty, he urged, was to insist that sanctions should be maintained and intensified until the Italian Government would agree to terms imposed by the League, terms to show clearly that the rule of law was a reality and that aggression was a crime which would not be allowed to pass.

A clear policy was needed more than ever. If the Government chose the course of oblivion for the past and of friendship for Italy and assisted in the restoration of her recovery, instead of a peace dictated by the League, it would be tenaciously opposed and would be an outrage on the conscience of the country.

Sir Austen Chamberlain

Sir Austen Chamberlain declared that "to propose at this moment to continue sanctions against Italy was a policy of equal danger and futility." This statement was received with loud cheering by the Government's supporters.

Mr. Amery also declared that further sanctions were useless. "As long as sanctions remain," he said, "the danger of some trouble in Europe not only remains but will grow from month to month. Believe me, sanctions are dead."

Lord Cranborne, Under Foreign Secretary, in winding up the debate, said it was far too soon yet to make any definite proposals for the reform of the League, but the future of the League was receiving the most careful consideration by the Government. "There has got to be a stocktaking, not a post-mortem examination, because the League is a live thing," he added. "The stocktaking must be exhaustive and relentless, and the British Government are willing to take their part to try to make the League a more effective instrument."

Mr. Churchill and Mr. Baldwin

The debate closed with an attack on the Premier by Mr. Churchill, who said the occasion was a mournful one.

To what end had our boasted leadership led, Mr. Churchill asked. He considered the Prime Minister ought to have spoken in the debate. After all he was the man who had the power and he could not have power without having responsibility. He had changed the Foreign Secretary as he chose. Sometimes he had two at once. He had taken every decision and when he received a deputation from the League of Nations Union he said he felt bitterly humiliated. Others felt bitterly humiliated too.

The idea of one man taking all the power to himself and not facing the realities of public discussion in debate in the House of Commons was one which had already produced grave injury to our affairs, and if continued must produce continued humiliation.

MR. EDEN'S SEALED LIPS

Our London correspondent writes: Mr. Eden fulfilled all expectations. He said nothing. At least he said nothing that sheds any light upon the Government's policy either for the immediate Italo-Abyssinian issue or for the future. He claimed (it has become a habit of Foreign Secretaries) an entirely free hand for the Council meeting next Monday. There was not a syllable about sanctions, not a hint whether the British Government favours the abandonment, the maintenance, or the extension of sanctions against Italy.

It would be nice to think that it was only diplomatic reserve that kept Mr. Eden from saying in advance of the Council meeting what the Government has made up its mind to propose at Geneva. But the event, most Opposition members think, will prove that the British Government's policy on sanctions will be any policy the Council likes, and there is too much reason to fear that what the Council will like in the new circumstances, and in the presence of a passive British Foreign Secretary, will be a decision to drop sanctions altogether.

Ethiopians Resume Offensive; Guerilla Warfare Spreads

(Defender Foreign News Service)

DJIBOUTI, French Somaliland, May 29—While mass execution of captured Ethiopian fighters by the fascist army of occupation are taking place daily, an army of 175,000 natives under the command of Kenyasmatch Malion, grandson of the famous Emperor Theodore, and governor of Dagan Bur in converging toward Garamulata near Harrar.

Kenyasmatch Malion who has been named Ras by his men, distinguished himself on the Ogaden front where the Southern Italian army was effectively held up until after the collapse of the Northern Ethiopian army.

Newspaper correspondents arriving here from Addis Ababa tell of continued widespread resistance to the fascist armies. Several Italian expeditions into the interior have been wiped out by Shifta bands during the past fortnight.

As a result of these setbacks to the fascist armies, General Graziani, who is now in supreme command of the Italian armies in East Africa since the removal of Marshal Pietro Badoglio, has been forced to greatly increase the size of the expeditions he is sending out to put down Ethiopian resistance.

Last week several thousand Askaris (native Eritrean soldiers) moved out to Addis Alem, about 25 miles west of Addis Ababa, as 5,000 shiftas were reported in the vinicity of the capital.

Reign of Terror

In the capital itself the fascists have unleashed a savage reign of terror, designed to crush all resistance. More than 3,000 persons have been arrested on various pretexts since the occupation of the capital by the Italians.

Most of those arrested have been summarily shot after the most farcical trials before the fascist military tribunals.

The fascists have decreed as a capital crime the possession of arms by the Ethiopians. The day after the Italian entry, the high command demanded the surrender of all arms within three days. A search of districts began May 9, despite the fact that the majority of the populace was unaware of the existence of the decree. The punishment for disobedience of the decree, which is aimed at depriving the Ethiopians of the slightest defense against the fascist policy of brutal exploitation and enslavement, is death, and is applied without mercy.

Vengeance On Patriots

Deliberate acts of vengeance have been carried out against Ethiopian patriots. Ato Aderra, a lawyer and noted patriot, who opposed certain fascist representatives in a special court before the beginning of the war, was murdered in his home by fascist soldiers on May 7.

Drum Major Balahu, one of Emperor Haile Selassie's favorite bodyguards, was also murdered by the fascist command. He was dubbed a "bandit" and condemned by the fascist tribunals.

To Segregate Natives

Plans announced by the Italian military authorities for the control of Ethiopia include the complete disarming of the Ethiopian people, establishment of the rule of "white supremacy" and segregation of the Ethiopians into "native towns" and reservations on the orders of the Anglo-Boer example in British South Africa, and the settlement of Italian colonists in the most fertile agricultural districts.

Strict orders for the separation of the races and the banning of intermarriage have been issued by Mussolini.

A network of strategic roads is to be built by forced Ethiopian labor to permit the swift movement of motorized bodies of fascist troops to a zone of danger. In this connection, a force of 200 bombing planes is to be distributed throughout the country, with the flyers isolated from the native population.

In line with the fascist policy of humiliating the Ethiopian people, Ato Teswai Tegan, Ethiopian director of foreign affairs, and Belatin Kidam Mariam, director of public instruction and the leader of the Young Ethiopian Movement, were forced to appear in Marshall Badoglio's victory parade and instructed to perform the fascist salute as each detachment passed in review.

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Africa.

Abyssinia

J. A. Rogers Gets Exclusive Interview With Col. Robinson, Ethiopia's 'Brown Condor'

Beloved American Who Now Leads Ethiopian Air Forces Plans to Fly Back to States After the War Is Over—Has Won Praise For His Courage and Ability.

By J. A. ROGERS

ADDIS ABABA, Nov. 29—(By Mail)—Negro America's contribution to Ethiopia in her struggle for independence against Italy is the most warmly-admired foreigner in the country, Col. John C. Robinson, the former Chicago aviator, now known as the "Brown Condor" of Ethiopia.

This modest, courageous graduate of Tuskegee Institute, has reconstructed the esteem for American Negroes which it was the ill fortune of Hubert Julian to destroy.

Colonel Robinson was one of the first persons I met on my arrival here. He seemed suffused with happiness to meet a man of his own color from his native land. I learned before I had been here a day that Colonel Robinson is beloved by everyone, including the Emperor. Ridiculous dispatches have been broadcasted throughout the world by white correspondents about Julian, but they hold Robinson in the highest respect and have a great fondness for him.

Sends Message to Friends

Of course, one of the first requests I made to Colonel Robinson was that he should send, through The Pittsburgh Courier, a message to his friends in the United States.

"Today has brought me one of the happiest moments I have experienced since my arrival in Ethiopia," Col. Robinson stated. "First because I have been able to meet the only newspaperman of my race to come here to cover the war, and, second, because he has assured me that I am not fighting alone and that although I am the only American, black or white fighting for Ethiopia, that all the people of my race in America, are behind us 100 per cent in our struggle.

"I am glad also to know that they realize that Ethiopia is fighting not only for herself, but also for black men in every part of the world and that Americans, especially black Americans, are willing to do anything to help us to carry on and to win. I am more than proud that The Pittsburgh Courier, which has been the leader in so many things for the advancement of our race, has again had the foresight to take the lead in coming to Ethiopia also.

"Finally, I want to express my deep appreciation for the very kind and considerate manner in which I have been treated by His Majesty, as well as by the leading Ethiopians."

Wears Golden Epaulets

Col. Robinson is a handsome well-built figure in his uniform on the shoulder straps of which is the crown of Ethiopia in gold. He is just the opposite of our unfortunate friend, Julian . . . unfortunate in that while nature endowed him with many admirable qualities, she omitted two essentials, balance and judgment. I shall not repeat what I have been hearing of him here as that story has already reached America. I can but say that I have every cause to believe it is true. It takes a lot to make a man like Haile Selassie turn against anyone.

When I was coming here in 1930, Julian was going down in disgrace. This time I was looking forward to saying something good about him. Imagine my sorrow and surprise when I learned from reporters at Dire Dowa that history had repeated itself and that only a few days before, Julian had left the country again.

Col. Robinson is beloved by everyone from the Emperor down. He is one of whom every Afra-merican can be proud.

It was not easy for Robinson to obtain his appointment. It seems that when the first representations in his behalf were made to His Majesty, the latter, remembering past experiences, received the application to serve very coldly. But Robinson was able to produce such excellent references from many sources which, upon investigation, were found to be true, that the emperor wired the aviator to come to Ethiopia at once.

Robinson left almost immediately although his arm had been broken in four places only a few days before. When he departed from Chicago, he was carrying his arm in a cast.

After the war, Colonel Robinson is planning to fly back to the United States. I asured him that when he arrives in New York, he will find the largest gathering of his people ever assembled to greet one of their heroes.

He has been in the thick of the fighting on all fronts, carrying important dispatches to army leaders from the emperor.

ETHIOPIA REGAINS TEMBIEN PROVINCE

Italians Are Reported to Have Burned Churches in Flight—Planes Drop Appeals.

EMPEROR ORDERS TACTICS

Ruler Forbids Mass Encounter in Message to His Chiefs—Stresses Guerrilla Warfare.

By G. L. STEER.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ADDIS ABABA, Jan. 8.—A communiqué issued from Emperor Haile Selassie's headquarters at Dessye this morning stated that the forces of Ras Seyoum completed yesterday their occupation of the whole Province of Tembien from the Takkaze River to Abaro Pass on the Adowa Road and northwestward to Makale.

In the last encounter, the communiqué states, the Italian soldiers fled, leaving a tank and a truck and burning churches as they retreated.

[Dispatches last Friday reported that the Italians were consolidating their lines along the Adigrat-Makale road and withdrawing exposed detachments in the Gheralta area just northeast of Tembien. The occupation of Tembien by Ras Seyoum would indicate that strong pressure has forced the retirement of the Italians and that the position of the invaders at Makale may be imperiled. Abaro Pass is northwest of Makale on the direct road from Adowa to Makale.]

Red Cross Supplies Arrive.

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You see how all Ethiopians are prepared to shed their blood for independence and unity when an unjust enemy had come to trample under his feet our country, to impair our independence and to defile our faith. All this makes us very proud.

Since the creation of the world and since the years began to be counted Ethiopia has never fallen into the hands of foreigners. We have full confidence that the Gods of our fathers will give us victory and preserve us from this unrighteous foreigner.

Ethiopians! The present war can we won only by patience and science. Half of our weapons whereby we may attain victory consists in using various strategems patiently and without haste, harrassing by sudden attacks in difficult places and in lengthening the time. It will mean destruction for our warriors if we should attempt to attack in a body the enemy who has been preparing arms for forty years. We shall consider the only whereby we can harm our enemy without injuring themselves.

In order that hunger may not strike and disband our troops who have gone forthinto this war, all Ethiopians and owners of property shall help in the supply of food in the following manner:

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Race Problem - 1936
Africa.

Abyssinia

J. A. Rogers Gets Exclusive Interview With Col. Robinson, Ethiopia's 'Brown Condor'

Beloved American Who Now Leads Ethiopian Air Forces Plans to Fly Back to States After the War Is Over—Has Won Praise For His Courage and Ability.

By J. A. ROGERS

ADDIS ABABA, Nov. 29—(By Mail)—Negro America's contribution to Ethiopia in her struggle for independence against Italy is the most warmly-admired foreigner in the country, Col. John C. Robinson, the former Chicago aviator, now known as the "Brown Condor" of Ethiopia.

This modest, courageous graduate of Tuskegee Institute, has reconstructed the esteem for American Negroes which it was the ill fortune of Hubert Julian to destroy.

Colonel Robinson was one of the first persons I met on my arrival here. He seemed suffused with happiness to meet a man of his own color from his native land. I learned before I had been here a day that Colonel Robinson is beloved by everyone, including the Emperor. Ridiculous dispatches have been broadcasted throughout the world by white correspondents about Julian, but they hold Robinson in the highest respect and have a great fondness for him.

Sends Message to Friends

Of course, one of the first requests I made to Colonel Robinson was that he should send, through The Pittsburgh Courier, a message to his friends in the United States.

"Today has brought me one of the happiest moments I have experienced since my arrival in Ethiopia," Col. Robinson stated. "First because I have been able to meet the only newspaperman of my race to come here to cover the war, and, second, because he has assured me that I am not fighting alone and that although I am the only American, black or white, fighting for Ethiopia, that all the people of my race in America, are behind us 100 per cent in our struggle.

"I am glad also to know that they realize that Ethiopia is fighting not only for herself, but also for black men in every part of the world and that Americans especially black Americans, are willing to do anything to help us to carry on and to win. I am more than proud that The Pittsburgh Courier, which has been the leader in so many things for the advancement of our race, has again had the foresight to take the lead in coming to Ethiopia also.

"Finally, I want to express my deep appreciation for the very kind and considerate manner in which I have been treated by His Majesty, as well as by the leading Ethiopians."

Wears Golden Epaulets

Col. Robinson is a handsome well-built figure in his uniform on the shoulder straps of which is the crown of Ethiopia in gold. He is just the opposite of our unfortunate friend, Julian . . . unfortunate in that while nature endowed him with many admirable qualities, she omitted two essentials, balance and judgment. I shall not repeat what I have been hearing of him here as that story has already reached America. I can but say that I have every cause to believe it is true. It takes a lot to make a man like Haile Selassie turn against anyone.

When I was coming here in 1930, Julian was going down in disgrace. This time I was looking forward to saying something good about him. Imagine my sorrow and surprise when I learned from reports at Dire Dowa that history had repeated itself and that only a few days before, Julian had left the country again.

Col. Robinson is beloved by everyone from the Emperor down. He is one of whom every American can be proud.

It was not easy for Robinson to obtain his appointment. It seems that when the first representations in his behalf were made to His Majesty, the latter, remembering past experiences, received the application to serve very coldly. But Robinson was able to produce such excellent references from many sources which, upon investigation, were found to be true, that the emperor wired the aviator to come to Ethiopia at once.

Robinson left almost immediately although his arm had been broken in four places only a few days before. When he departed from Chicago, he was carrying his arm in a cast.

After the war, Colonel Robinson is planning to fly back to the United States. I asured him that when he arrives in New York, he will find the largest gathering of his people ever assembled to greet one of their heroes.

He has been in the thick of the fighting on all fronts, carrying important dispatches to army leaders from the emperor.

ETHIOPIA REGAINS TEMBIEN PROVINCE

Italians Are Reported to Have Burned Churches in Flight—Planes Drop Appeals.

EMPEROR ORDERS TACTICS

Ruler Forbids Mass Encounter in Message to His Chiefs—Stresses Guerrilla Warfare.

By G. L. STEER.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ADDIS ABABA, Jan. 8.—A communiqué issued from Emperor Haile Selassie's headquarters at Dessye this morning stated that the forces of Ras Seyoum completed yesterday their occupation of the whole Province of Tembien from the Takkaze River to Abaro Pass on the Adowa Road and northwestward to Makale.

In the last encounter, the communiqué states, the Italian soldiers fled, leaving a tank and a truck and burning churches as they retreated.

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soldiers who have gone forth into the war.

"2. The regions beyond the Wayat and the Blue Nile shall pay taxes in accordance with the previous system. If, however, these taxes canont be paid in time to meet the present needs, the amount of grain fixed in Article I shall be collected after consultation with the local elders, who will decide as to the best means of bringing this about.

"3. You shall carry the grain you are supplying the army a distance of four days from your place and shall turn it over to the next Provinces. You shall immediately return to your own home after delivering the grain.

"4. All wealthy persons who have grain and money are asked to lend me grain and money according to capacity and wish. There is no emergency more important than this one. Should you be stingy in lending us and should the enemy occupy the country by force it is certain that he will use the grain for the destruction of your bretheren, who are fighting for your independence. You will repent irreparably.

"5. Should there be persons who desire to send food to their sons, brothers or relatives who have gone to war and have not the means to send it, we have established a special office known as the supply bureau which will receive such food against receipt and see that it reaches its destination. It is necessary to indicate in such cases the soldier's name, the place of warfare and the name of direct chief and commander-in-chief."

The covering letter from Abuna said:

"I have excommunicated all those who violate the above mentioned commands and who fail to carry out the orders of the Emperor."

Five thousand troops have arrived in Gojjam, charged with putting down rebellious followers of the nephew of Ras Hailu, former Provincial Governor who was deposed in 1933 on charges of intriguing with the Italians, and numerous clashes have been reported.

Italy Accuses Ethiopia.

ROME, Jan. 8 (AP).—An official Italian communique charged today that Ethiopian warriors had sought red cross protection from Italian airplanes on the African battle front.

"In the region of Alamata, south of Lake Ashangi," the communique said, "the Ethiopian warriors, as soon as they saw our airplanes spread on the ground three great red crosses and gathered around them."

The Italian planes executed bombardment near the lake, the communique added.

South of Makale, the announcement also stated, "our artillery defeated armed concentrations on Amba Adaram."

"In patrol encounters mentioned in Monday's communique, the enemy left twenty-two dead on the field," it concluded.

Italy Lists Ill Workmen.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ROME, Jan. 8.—Full figures of the number of workmen brought home from East Africa because of ill health were made public today. Of 11,338 repatriated 11,182 came from Eritrea and only 1,269 were ill. Seventy-six of 156 from Somaliland were ill. Sixty-one thousand were sent to the colonies during the year.

The government confirmed today reports that the Swedish Minister saw Fuloio Suvich, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs in connection with the bombing of the Swedish Red Cross unit. Mr. Suvich rejetced the Swedish thesis that the bombardment was deliberately directed against the Red Cross ambulance, pointing out that such accidents were inevitable unless proper precautions were taken to keep all Red Cross units at a safe distance from legitimate military objectives.

It was agreed that the two sides would collect and submit to each other all data likely to establish exactly what happened in the bombing so as to apportion the responsibility. This will be difficult for Italy because the place where the attack occurred is in enemy territory.

Brooklyn, N. Y. Eagle

JAN 5 1936

Duce's Friends And Selassie's Active in City

Italian Sections Strong for Rallies and Talks—Harlem Sends Supplies

The Fascisti salute and the sonorous cry of "Duce! Duce! Duce!" have been frequent occurrances in ballrooms, meeting halls and clubhouses in Italian sections of New York the last three months. Nearly every night Italian-Americans in massed groups ranging from 500 to 2,500 strong, thunder the military strains of the Italian national anthem as a prelude to their fiery opposition to sanctions against Mussolini.

Up in Harlem, from 110th St. as far north as 155th St., pro-Ethiopian meetings have been the order of the day, devoid, however, of the color and physical enthusiasm which 13 years of the Dictator's studied mass psychology has produced among the Italians.

But the sincere devotion to a cause—whether physically expressed or not—is a characteristic common to both sides. For, here in New York, Italians on one hand, Negroes on the other, are taking sides in the war in Northern Africa which American diplomats are seriously trying to forget despite the deluge of petitions and resolutions flowing into Washington to oppose their actions of last October.

Both Sides Active

The Italians feel that President Roosevelt's order forbidding the sale of war materials to either of the belligerents, and his warnings against trade with either Italy or Ethiopia, and especially against shipping in Italian bottoms, are working an unnecessary hardship against the Duce's cause. The furore of their protests makes news.

On the other side of the fence, New York's Negro population is less vociferous, but not less active. With little complaint to voice against Washington, they confine themselves to tasks aimed materially to improve the condition of the African troops which, they feel, are fighting for a just cause. The peaceful, orderly character of their meetings have escaped public notice.

To Italian protest meetings come old folks whose sons gave battle—many of their lives—for Italy in the World War. They bring gold medals bestowed by Victor Emmanuel for bravery under fire; broad-band wedding rings with plenty of gold, and a varied assortment of gold pins, brooches, discarded spectacle rims, and broken dental bridges, all to be melted down, the precious metal used to establish Italian credits here or to be sent to Rome for Mussolini to add to similar collections pouring in to the capital from every corner of the Italian boot.

Make Surgical Packs

In Harlem the scene is different. Colored women spend their days turning out bandages and surgical packs under the supervision of Red Cross nurses and local doctors. At night the men hold their meetings—usually in the huge Savoy Hall at Lenox Ave. and 142d St.—make their donations in American currency (healthy donations, according to reports from club treasurers) and listen to pep-talks which have been responsible for other donations solicited on the outside for Haile Selassie's troops.

Dozens of protest meetings have been sponsored by Italian political clubs throughout the city the last 12 weeks. There is no central body to keep track of them, but half a dozen organizations are at their disposal with staffs of trained speakers to demand for Italy the right to expand, to challenge Henry Ford's cancellation of an Italian order for 500 tractors, and to attack Great Britain's bankers as the cause of the League's determined action to do something about Italy's campaign when Japan was tacitly permitted to lop off a choice bit of China not so long ago.

Leading the list of these Italian groups is the Ordine Figlia D'Italia (Order of the Sons of Italy in America), of which Frank Catinella is grand master for New York State. A dozen members of the executive staff supplement a special speaking unit set up especially to address mass meetings.

250 Units Active

Second on the Italian fraternal list is the Sons of Italy Lodge, which has 250 sub-lodges in the State, 100 of which are in Greater New York. This second organization (not to be confused with the Ordine Figli d'Italia) maintains no official speaking staff and makes no outward statement of policy. But neither does it discourage protest meetings by its subordinate lodges. It stands ready to co-operate if called upon.

With these two main sources of backing, the Italian meetings are well supplied and have successfully conducted their protests in various assembly districts, using eloquent Italian professors, factual Italian journalists, earnest Italian political bosses and cautious legislative representatives to fill out their programs.

How much money has gone from America to Italy is a matter of speculation. Estimates range from $10,000 to $75,000. But how much pressure has been brought to bear on official Washington will be revealed when Congress buckles down this week to face the Italian petitions against American neutrality.

60,000 Sign Petitions

There have been two types of protests adopted at Italian mass meetings.

Albert P. Cornella, Manhattan attorney and a leading figure at the Basile Democratic Club, at 724 Bedford Ave., has sponsored more than a score of Italian protest meetings throughout Brooklyn the last three weeks. In addition to telegraphed protests of American trade bans addressed to Secretaries Ickes and Hull, President Roosevelt, and Congressmen from the borough, more than 60,000 of the following petitions were signed and forwarded to Congress:

(No. 1) "Permit me to register my protest against the sanctions adopted by the United States on the basis that they are more drastic than those of the League of Nations."

(No. 2) "I protest that by placing equal bans against Italy and Ethiopia, an unfair and unjustified hardship is worked aginst Italy, a nation which has been friendly with the United States in the past and one of its most active figures in international trade."

The Order of the Sons of Italy in their objections to the U. S. bans, score them as an unnecessary entanglement in a foreign dispute, violating "the spirit and the letter of the wise counsel dictated by our first President, George Washington, and the theory later crystallized in the Monroe Doctrine."

Centralizing Activities

The pro-Ethiopians are now centralizing their work, according to latest reports from the Harlem frontier, and to eliminate the duplication which existed up to last week.

Major forces are now concentrated in two main camps. The first is the United Committee for the Defense of Ethiopia, which has just been formed. Approved incorporation papers are expected soon. In the new federation are the following units: Friends of Ethiopia in America, headed by Dr. Willis Huggins, Brooklyn teacher; National Committee for the Defense of Ethiopia, Leon Desportes, leader; Provisional Committee for the Defense of Ethiopia, headed by Alfred King; the Ethiopian Pacific Movement, a newcomer in the field, and the Medical Committee for the Defense of Ethiopia, of which Dr. Philip M. H. Savory, 131st St. physician, is treasurer, and Dr. K. A. Jones, president.

The second committee co-operating in the Negro defense campaign is known as the American Aid for Ethiopia, headed by William J. Schieffelin and including on its executive board such prominent figures as Maj. Gen. John F. O'Ryan former police commissioner of New York; Rabbi Sidney Goldstein, associate of the Free Synagogue; George E. Haynes and Emory Ross, both of the Federal Council of Churches; Thomas Jesse Jones, educational director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund; Sol. H. Houston, special counsel to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Jerome Kidder and Dr. Huggins.

Through these combined agencies, nearly six tons of surgical instruments, medical supplies, clinic tents, bandages, and even a field ambulance and emergency hospital unit have been shipped to Addis Ababa. A fund in excess of $5,000 has been collected since early last week, when the latest shipment went forward, for the purchases of additional supplies.

While the Italian protestants are rounding up a committee of 1,000 to face Congress, and the Harlem forces continue their campaign of mercy, both sides gain equal courage from the contradictory reports on which army is winning the war in the Abyssinian hills.

Race Problem - 1936

Liberia

Africa

MIGRATING TO LIBERIA

AN ASSOCIATED PRESS dispatch from Richmond, Va. stating that some 400,000 Negroes are seeking funds from the state and federal governments with which to migrate to Liberia, West Africa, brings to mind other "back to Africa" movements and the reasons for their failure.

Marcus Garvey and other leaders who have sponsored such movements usually went ahead without proper authorization from the country to which the migrants sought to enter. To our way of thinking this authorization should be gotten before any attempt is made to gain recruits to the movement.

We were recently informed that only those skilled in agriculture or trained as chemists, engineers or possssing capital with which to establish a commercial business were wanted as migrants to Liberia.

The late Cecil Rhodes, empire builder and colonizer of South Africa for the English, established in his will a fund for scholarships to American students at Oxford and other European colleges. His idea was to create a better understanding between the United States and the peoples of the British Empire. Something of this nature might be undertaken by some organization or individuals in this country—an exchange of students of African descent in this country and Liberia, so that Liberians might come here for graduate study or special technical courses, and interested American students might go there. The adoption of such a plan would, to our way of thinking, be of infintely greater value than any wholesale migration.

At any rate, we would advise those who are thinking of going to Liberia, to get in touch with either William H. Walker, Liberian consul at New York, or the Rev. Ernest Lyons, Liberian consul at Baltimore, before compleitng their plans.

Liberia Ready To Start Three Year Program

Foreign Experts To Assist Are All Appointed

Journal and Guide

Special to Journal and Guide

MONROVIA, Liberia—With the naming of Maxwell Saben as administrative specialist; Prof. Remington L. Embree as educational specialist; and Capt. William D. Nabors as military specialist, President Edwin Barclay has completed the Liberian government's personnel of foreign experts to aid him in initiating his three-year program designed to establish needy reforms and put the Negro republic's finances in order.

The three appointees are Americans.

The post of administrative specialist will deal with hinterland affairs under the supervision of the Department of Interior. Mr. Saben has had large experience in tropical and Latin-American countries.

ONE A NEGRO

Prof Embree is president of the College of West Africa, Monrovia and Captain Nabors, a Negro, is in the New Jersey national board. He served with distinction as officer of the Liberian Frontier Force in a previous administration.

The other Americans who are Liberian officials are Charles I. McCaskey, finacial adviser, the ranking officer; John A. Dunaway, supervisor of revenues, and Charles T. Pilot, auditor, T. J. Bridzinski is the economic adviser and Dr. Ludwig Anigstein, medical specialist.

All members of President Barclay's former cabinet have been renamed. His three year plan has the moral support of the American government, whose first diplomatic representative to officiate as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Monrovia is Lester A. Walton of New York.

RECENT HISTORY

The number of Liberians of American Negro descent is about 20,000.

Following the report of the international commission headed by Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University in 1930, baring conditions of virtual slavery in many instances, the League of Nations was officially informed that all slaves had been declared free and forced labor recruiting had ended.

President Charles D. B. King resigned, together with other high officials. The then vice-president, Mr. Barclay, succeeded him as acting president and in May, 1931, was elected for a four year term. He was re-elected last year.

Social and administrative reforms were to be made by a League "supervisory" committee subsequently appointed and included a specially invited American member, Samuel Reber, Jr., U. S. charge d'affaires at Monrovia.

ASSISTANCE REFUSED

In 1922 the United States urged the League at its May Council meetings to name an executive with wide power and authority to carry out the decisions of the advisory commission. Liberia accepted and in September the approval of the special committee of the League's Council was given.

Later this approval was withdrawn, when it was found that Liberia had rejected this "Plan of assistance" as smacking too much of a foreign dictatorship over its affairs.

Since 1912 the control of customs has been in the hands of the general receiver and financial adviser designated by the United States.

Liberia negotiated a loan of $5,000,000 in New York in 1927. Its 1912 bonds were paid off and its floating debt also. In 1930 a $2,500,000 loan was floated.

Its trade in 1934 with the United States was: imports, $232,289, exports $39,088.

RUBBER INDUSTRY

The largest single industry now is rasing rubber, which went "big business" after October 14, 1925, when Harvey Firestone of Akron, Ohio, announced that the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, of which he is president, had leased from the Liberian government one million acres for rubber plantations with 250,000 tons a year the goal.

A subsidiary of the Firestone company loaned Liberia $2,250,000 in 1926, but in 1932 service on this was suspended.

In 1935 there were 10,000,000 rubber plants on 55,000 acres. Six thousand acres were to be tapped, and the first shipment of rubber was being made ready.

On the payroll of the Firstone company, according to latest statistics available, there are 10,000 Liberians under a white staff of 90. Eight modern plantations have been built up and connected by motor roads.

BURLINGTON, IA.
HAWK EYE

MAR 12 1936

BACK TO LIBERIA.

New interest is aroused in Liberia, the black republic on the Ivory Coast of western Africa, by a resolution offered in the Virginia legislature to permit colonization by residents of Africa descent.

A state senator talks of a petition signed by 400,000 American Negroes asking the United States government to provide means for such emigration.

There seems to be no definite information about such a movement. Very likely many Negroes in this country, during the worst of the depression, felt like going to Africa or almost anywhere else. But when there are jobs again, they may feel otherwise.

Liberia is said to be a fertile place, with rich resources, and could doubtless support more than its present population of about three persons to the square mile. The climate is supposed to be congenial to colored people. It was established, too, as a haven for American Negroes. But in almost a century of existence it has attracted few.

Affairs in Liberia

West Africa

THE past few days have brought news that, we trust, means that Liberia is once more on the path to financial stability, which is the necessary preliminary to all the other progress that critics of the Republic would like to see introduced. She has started repayment of her debts, and the full interest of $93,850 (£18,770) has been paid for 1935 on funded indebtedness of $1,887,000 (about £377,000), with an amortisation payment of $18,000 (£3,600), and provision for similar amounts in the new year's budget. The interest, about 5 per cent., on the loan seems reasonable, but one would like to hear what the total represents in terms of cash or value actually received

by the Republic, for that is the direction in which Liberia has suffered in the past.

Some light has also been thrown on the rubber plantations by Mr. Harvey Firestone, jun., who has just returned from the Coast. There is now no talk of immediate development of the million acres of the Firestone concessions or of producing any serious change in the price of rubber, but 55,000 acres are under active cultivation and further areas are being brought into line. He says nothing, apparently, of the labour question, which is, to our mind, the limiting factor of the scheme, but one may take it that the fact that the vigorous, if grandiose, scheme of 1925 has resulted in a decade in the production of only 55,000 acres of plantation, part of which, if one remembers rightly, had already been planted up when the concession was made, speaks clearly of a shortage in the labour supply.

Another matter not without interest is the recent issue of a report of a medical survey by the official investigator, Dr. L. Anigstein, who gives the results of a tour that took him to the borders of French Guinea. On the whole the picture is one for which the report of the Harvard Expedition of 1926-7, and of experience of any bush area of West Africa, might have prepared one.

Malaria, as judged by the spleen rate, was thrice as heavy as that shown by the Harvard Expedition's observations. This suggests to our mind partly that the report is an attempt to paint present conditions in true colours, but also that the use of different standards of calculation, besides variability in space and time in the disease itself, may partly account for the difference noticed.

Yaws was found to be common everywhere, and leprosy showed its customary variation according to locality. Smallpox, too, was common at times, but here, of course, vaccination would soon effect an improvement. As things were, people were afraid to take advantage of the preventive service offered owing to the poor technique of the sanitary official, who not only made unnecessarily deep wounds liable to other infection, but also was using out-of-date vaccine. Infantile mortality rates were anything from 400 per mille upwards and showed the immense need that there is for the elementary education that would facilitate the spread of the ordinary principles of hygiene and infant welfare. All these things, however, demand money, and in the interests of the Republic one may hope to see President Barclay give close attention to them as soon as he has got public finances into some sort of order.

That an honest start been made is evident, and there is no reason why it should not continue, for Liberia will undoubtedly share in the more promising commercial period that seems to be unfolding before the whole of West Africa. That she cannot share fully in any trade improvement is, of course, the usual misfortune of the small capitalist emerging from a period of depression.

American Negro Politicians Not Wanted In Liberia

MONROVIA, Liberia, May 21.—(ANP) — Skilled artisans, trained agriculturists, business men with capital and young physicians possessing the missionary spirit to go into the hinterland and improve health conditions among the Aborigines, are types of Negroes wanted to settle in Liberia, President Edwin Barclay has informed Lester A. Walton, the American minister. Opportunists and political agitators are not welcome.

"Since the Virginia Legislature memorialized Congress to permit the colonization of Negroes in Liberia, many inquiries have been received relative to the Government's attitude toward the plan. An organization on south side Chicago, whose aim is "to return people of African descent to their motherland, Africa" of which Mrs. M. M. L. Gordon is president and Miss Ethel Waddell is secretary has asked President Barclay if the published reports are true that he is opposed to the wholesale influx of Negroes.

"President Barclay has directed his Aide de Camp, Col. T. Elwood Davis of the Liebrian army, to make a reply that Liberia favors the repatriation of Negroes from the United States; that the Republic's established principle is to make it an asylum for those of African descent. However, as Liberia is autonomous, it has been compelled to take a definite position regarding the coming of organized groups, having as their object the making of the country the base of international antagonisms.

"All prospective migrants are advised to get in touch with the Liberian government and make the necessary arrangements before sailing."

DENVER, COLO.
Rocky Mountain News
JUN 16 1936

No Exodus

LIBERIA favors the repatriation of Negroes. President Edwin Barclay, of the African republic, in a public statement, has reaffirmed the principle that Liberia shall always be an asylum for those of African descent.

There is a chance that an adventurous few may emigrate from the United States in response to such an invitation, but there will be no considerable exodus. Most American Negroes do not wish to leave this country, and most of them couldn't if they would.

Difficult economic conditions, an agricultural system that makes near-serfs of an army of sharecroppers, many of whom are Negroes, and the racial prejudice that is responsible for much injustice and occasional violent death are not enough to convince most Negroes that they would fare better in Africa. Nor is it likely that they would. Certainly Liberia cannot offer anything approaching economic security for strangers in a strange land.

This friendly gesture from the African republic does no more than call attention to a racial problem that affects so much of this country. For that there is no sudden panacea. Deep-seated prejudices that amount to a heritage are not conquered suddenly nor is an economic system that works to the hardship of hundreds of thousands of Negroes to be changed at once.

But something is accomplished when more people come to recognize prejudice for the evil it is. Also, the horror of lynching will occur less frequently when general law enforcement is improved. In attempting the solution of the race problem in America, the effort is comparable to plans for ending poverty, and the hope is in the slow strides men make toward a better social system.

Race Problem - 1936

Africa.

Liberia

LIBERIA RECOVERS UNDER NEW REGIME

Three-Year Plan Inaugurated by President Barclay Points to Increase of Prosperity.

VIEWS BY OUR MINISTER

By HENRY LEE MOON

Recent improvements in the economic and social conditions of the Negro Republic of Liberia were credited by Lester A. Walton, United States Minister, who returned home last week, to the initial success of the program of rehabilitation instituted by Edwin Barclay, President of the West African country. Revision of the tariff schedule, increase in the volume of foreign trade, and more systematic collection of internal revenue under President Barclay's plan contributed to the sharp increase in the government's revenue, the American envoy said.

During the first six months of this year the country's income showed an increase of 31.8 per cent over that of the same period in 1935. The total revenue for the period, $344,360.77—although insignificant when compared with that of larger countries—was sufficient to enable the Liberian Government to pay in full the interest, $46,475, on its outstanding bonds as of July 1. In 1932 the government declared a moratorium, suspending payments on its loan. These payments were not resumed until last year.

Financial Outlook Improved

"It is expected," Mr. Walton quoted President Barclay as having declared in a public statement, "that as in 1935 the interest on the government's outstanding bonds will be paid in full and that a substantial sum will be available for payment toward amortization of the bonds outstanding as well as toward the liquidation of the principal of the government's floating debt."

Mr. Walton pointed out, however, that this increase in revenue does not mean that the country is enjoying an excess of prosperity. "But it does seem to indicate," he said, "that more attention is being paid to the efficient administration and development of the country. More than ever before the younger men of the country are interested in going into business and agriculture for the development of the country's resources. Formerly almost all of them looked forward to politics as a career.

"Once the Liberian farmers go into scientific agriculture on a large scale and standardize their coffee, pineapple and other tropical produce, they will be able to find a market in Europe and America. It is the aim of President Barclay to develop agriculture on such a scale. It is hoped that the expansion of the facilities of the Booker T. Washington Institute at Kakatown will provide this training for Liberian youth."

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The Barclay three-year plan, according to the American Minister, provides for a balanced budget, reorganization of internal administration, stimulation of agriculture, expansion of educational facilities, road building and improvement of public health conditions.

President Barclay's program was adopted after Liberia had rejected the League of Nations plan of assistance in May, 1934. While the League plan was accepted "in principle," the government insisted upon reservations so far as the powers and personnel of the administration were concerned. The League refused to accede to these reservations. Many of the provisions of the League plan, however, are included in the present program.

Assisting the President in the administration of his plan is a staff of seven foreign experts, five of whom are Americans. Heading this group of advisers is Maxwell Sabin, an administrative expert; Charles I. McCaskey is financial adviser and Captain William Nabrit is military aide. All three are Americans. The staff includes also an economic adviser, a superviser of revenue, an auditor and a public health administrator.

Background of League Plan

The League plan was proposed after an international commission of inquiry in 1930 substantiated charges of forced labor made against the government. A scandal uncovered by the inquiry involved high government officials and finally forced the resignation of President Charles D. B. King. The United States and Great Britain at that time withdrew recognition from the African republic.

Not until last year were diplomatic relations resumed between Liberia and America. The British are still unrepresented at Monrovia. According to Mr. Walton, the conditions which led to the breaking off of relations have been stamped out by the present régime.

Following the resumption of diplomatic relations and in accordance with a supplementary agreement between the Firestone Rubber Company and the Liberian Government, the company has opened new plantations on its 1,000,000-acre concession. Already the company employs between 5,000 and 6,000 men in the cultivation of rubber.

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LAST week we published an account of an interview with Mr. Harold Fredericks, a former Coast trader who now fills one of the five local governorships which President Barclay has placed next to himself in the administration of Liberia. There was nothing sensational in what Mr. Fredericks had to say, but, especially in its references to the absence of yellow fever during several years past, to the payment of loan interest and official salaries, and to the putting into force of a scheme to attempt revival of the one-time reputation of Liberian coffee, it amounted to a tale of modest progress, during "slump" conditions, in the reform scheme to which the President has pledged his reputation.

This week, from a quarter of which Mr. Fredericks knows nothing, we publish a statement which though it deals with quite another matter supplies much corroboration of what Mr. Fredericks said. It is a moderate, extremely telling criticism, by an Englishman who has known Liberia for more years than the authors concerned have known it days, of a series of articles by a Mr. Greenwall and a Mr. Wild, which have been appearing in one of the London Sunday papers and which the authors have followed with a book on the same subject (or at least, if not a book, a multiplication of their loud-speaking voices). It is not necessary to follow "Coaster" in his almost obliterating attacks. What is important is to know, as we have means of knowing, that his exposure represents the indignation and anger of the American and European residents at Monrovia as a whole, no whit less than the bitterness of the Liberians. As to the last named, it is to be regretted that comparatively so few of them know, or can have made clear to them, the relative positions and influence of the London Sunday papers.

A country apparently has no remedy but contemptuous silence in face of this kind of thing. From a public point of view, however, it is good to know that Liberia contains independent observers of the calibre of "Coaster." In these days when so many wild adventures are undertaken as the result of propaganda it is possible that some European Government might take up articles and a book of the character of those concerned here, and use them seriously, possibly to the danger of peace in West Africa, in a movement against the weakest nationality there. It restores some of one's beliefs to know of the attitude which the European and American residents at Monrovia, to their great credit, have taken up in this matter.

TRIES TO HALT SLANDER THAT HURTS LIBERIA

Interdenom News

Group Petitions U. S. to Investigate Its Sources

11-14-36

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The committee was prompted to pass a resolution because of articles appearing recently in magazines and papers published in the United States and Europe. These articles, the committee claims, are gross misrepresentations of economic, social and governmental conditions in Liberia.

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Ethiopia and Liberia

Sept. 1936

Liberia and Europe

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6. Founded by Negroes from America, Liberia is not without sentimental, commercial and financial interest to Europe.

But foreign suggestions to that effect were given wide publicity and over the radio concerning the The September issue of the Australasian Quarterly, no responsible quarterly, for instance, under the title "It's Liberia's Turn Now," reprint-ed an article from a South African journal discussing the situation in Liberia and concluding with the words:

"It looks as though a decision of this kind would be reached as to the future of Liberia—perhaps in the direction of making it a German colony. Up to early October-publications, even before Hitler came to power. Up to early October-mandate." Mr. Wild's existence of this last independent African republic through the newspapers. So many articles have appeared in magazines, newspapers and over the radio concerning the little publicity, the Australasian resources of the Uni-ed States, but politically is an independent state. It is to be regretted that the world would know little of Germany's former African colonies were returned to Germany in the future of Liberia—perhaps in the distant future.

opportunity to forge that:

1. With Ethiopia in Italian hands, little Liberia is the only African state not yet attached to a European Power.

2. Although it looks small on the big map of Africa, Liberia actually is much bigger than Austria.

3. Liberia is rich in rubber, coffee, palm oil, cocoa and possesses mineral resources which have been scarcely touched, including coal, iron, gold, diamonds, platinum and mercury.

4. With all these, little progress is being made in production. Communications are wretched; there are virtually no roads. Exploitation of natives by the ruling class caused such commotion in League of nations circles that Liberia almost was expelled from membership.

Hint Liberia Put On Spot By England

May Sacrifice Tiny Nation To Nazis As Peace Offering

11-14-36

Special Correspondence

LONDON, England—Does land-hungry Germany, with the silent sanction of Great Britain, intent to grab off tiny Liberia in the same savage fashion that Mussolini used to rape unfortunate Ethiopia?

That's the question that is looming ever more prominent on the international political horizon. A subtle campaign of harmful propaganda tended to show up the Liberians as "heathens" and the Liberian government as incapable of controlling the internal affairs of the country has been going on for months.

That Great Britain is silently sanctioning the sacrifice of Africa's last remaining free black-controlled country, in an effort to appease Hitler's appetite for colonies is the general belief prevalent here.

This move on the part of England, it is said, is being taken with the idea of silencing the Nazis demand for the return of African colonies seized from Germany following the World War.

PROPAGANDA

An example of the type of propaganda that certain Britons are spreading against the small republic is shown in the statement con-

GIVES WARNING

Dr. Malaki Bayen, native Ethiopian Red Cross leader, who voiced his belief Liberia will be invaded, as was Ethiopia, unless America intervenes.

cerning the so-called Civil War in Liberia made before the House of Lords by Lord Frederick Dealty Lugard, former British High Commissioner to the Northern Nigeria and now a British member of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League.

Said he concerning the capture of King Nimley, chief source of the disturbance in the little country:

"In July, 1932, several Kru tribes had risen against the Government; but intertribal quarrels involving eighteen or twenty tribes had broken out and four tribes, comprising some 12,000 men, women and children, had been driven into the bush and were in a state of advanced starvation. The whole Kru Coast had become engaged in intertribal fighting instigated by the Liberian politicians. . . Unrest had spread to the large settlements of men in the British Colonies on the Gold Coast, who were to smuggle arms and ammunition to their fellow tribesmen and were themselves anxious to join them."

FALSE STATEMENT

Continuing, in a statement, which was later branded as untrue by Liberian officials, Lord Lugard said: "In August it appeared that the Liberian Government having got the upper hand, next began a systematic abuse of the tribes—access to the sea, on which this seafaring, fishing tribe depends, was closed. President Barclay on his way to the interior sent troops in advance to prepare for him, and they fired on villages and committed various outrages."

Many look upon such plainly exaggerated statements as these, as a deliberate attempt on the part of some Britons to picture the tiny country as wild, savage, and devoid of all civilization in an effort to justify a later attack by Germany.

GERMANS REMINDED

Meanwhile in Berlin, Germans are being appraised daily of the

U. S. Urged To Intervene For Liberians

11-14-36

Would Stem Tide Of Subtle Propaganda Against Republic

Journal and Guide Bureau

NEW YORK CITY — Viewing with alarm the current campaign of subtle propaganda against Liberia, lst rmaining independent black republic, the Advisory Committee on Education in Liberia last week passed a resolution urging the United States Department of State to immediately explore the sources of the propaganda.

The meeting of the committee was held in the offices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 101 Park Avenue.

The organizations represented were the American Colonization Society, the New York State Colonization Society, the Foreign Mission Boards of the Episcopal, Methodist, African Methodist Episcopal, African Methodist Episcopal Zion, National Baptist and the Lott Carey Baptist Churches.

The Committee was prompted to pass this resolution because of articles appearing recently in magazines and papers published in the United States and Europe. These articles, the Committee claims, are a gross misrepresentation of economic, social and governmental conditions in Liberia.

THE RESOLUTION READ:

"RESOLVED: That the Advisory Committee on Education in Liberia respectfully requests the U. S. State Department to explore the sources of the very unfavorable and misleading European propaganda appearing in the newspapers and magazines of the United States. We respectfully remind the Department of State that the American people, especially the twelve million citizens of African descent, have a vital and immediate interest in the welfare of Liberia and Liberians.

"We appreciate the wise and sympathetic services of the American Government in Liberian affairs and we have every confidence that the Department of State will continue to give the Liberian Government its moral support in its efforts to establish needy reforms and to bring about the betterment of economic and social conditions throughout the Republic."

Dr. Malaki Bayen, official representative of the Emperor Haile Selassie in the United States, was present and appealed to America not to be indifferent to Liberia's interests. He predicted that unless the people of the United States manifested great concern in Liberia's future, the Republic would suffer the fate of Ethiopia through invasion by a foreign power.

Dr. Bayen declared that Ethiopia had been crucified but not conquered and that his people believe in Divine Justice.

The meeting was held to hear the report of conditions in Liberia by the Hon. Lester A. Walton, American Minister to Liberia, who spoke on the educational, social and economic development of the country under President Barclay's Three Year Plan.

Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, chairman of the Committee and Educational Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, presided.

Others present were: Dr. William Jay Schieffelin; Henry L. West, president of the American Colonization Society; Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute; A. B. Parson, secretary of the Episcopal Board; Dr. Arthur D. Wright, president of the Jeanes and Slater Funds; Bishop J. W. Brown, of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; Dr. L. L. Berry, secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Dr. H. D. Medford, secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, Rev. J. H. Randolph, secretary of the Lott Carey Baptist Foreign Mission Convention; Rev. J. H. Jackson, secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention: Walter F. Walker, Liberian Consul at New York; O. W. Barrett, formerly Agriculaural Advisor to Liberia.

Race Problem - 1936

Africa

Liberia

Additional Recognition Given To Liberians Bv Great Britain

The Advisory Committee on Education In Liberia, 101 Park avenue, has received the following release from the United States Department of State, made public Thursday:

"The Department has been informed by the American Legation in Monrovia that on December 16 the British Charge d'Affaires ad interim at that capital presented his letters of credence to the Liberian Secretary of State, thus affectng a resumption of normal relations between Great Britain and Liberia.

"The United States Government has, as is well known, maintained a keen interest in the welfare of Liberia and the Liberian people, and is glad to note, therefore, this additional recognition to the noteworthy improvements taking place in the West African republic an interesting report has just been received from our legation at Monrovia. This report shows that the increase in trade is notable; imports into Liberia increased by 43 percent and exports by 60 percent. Imports for the entire year 1934 were $856,686.00 and exports $546,168.00. The United States share in this increase: while figures for 1936 are not complete, it is interesting to note that in 1936 imports from the United States increased by 98.47 percent over 1934, and exports by 500.03 percent in the same period. An item of interest in the trade statistics is the increase in production of gold. During the first eight months of 1935, gold was exported to the value of $9,573.00. For the first eight months of 1936 the export value of gold was $41,794.00, an increase of over 436 percent.

Good Financial Situation

"The Liberian Governments financial situation presents a most creditable picture. The total public debt is $2,311,178.43 — seemingly a small amount for a progresive country with rich resources. Interest charges are being met, and commendable progress is being made in the amortization of outstanding bonds and the liquidation of the floating debt. $168,263.16 has been transmitted to the Fiscal Agent for application against the external funded debt.

"Postal revenues have increased by nearly 80 percent; world-wide radio connections have been established; and Monrovia has been made a stop on the air-mail line between Dakar and the Congo.

"President Edwin Barclay has instituted improvements in the interior administration of the country and has, in the past few months, effected a final peaceful settlement of long outstanding problems involving the relations between the government and the Kru tribe. The members of the tribe who were in rebellion are being resettled upon their tribal lands with government assistance.

"Steady progress has been made in sanitation and public health. No yellow fever has been reported during the year. 30,000 persons have been vaccinated against smallpox. A new leper station has been established and supplies of chaulimogia imported and distributed. A child welfare and maternity clinic has been opened. An increase of 81 percent in the appropriation for schools over that for 1935 has resulted in an increase of 38 percent in the number of schools and 52 percent in enrollment. The administration of justice is being revised and a model prison is being constructed in Monrovia.

"Agriculture is being assisted through the organization of machinery for the creation of cooperatives. Road construction has continued, notably on the main road to Saniquelli, on the boundary line between the Hinterland of Liberia and the adjacent French colonies. $23,412.16 was spent on roads and bridges and other public improvement during the first nine months of 1936. This was exclusive of sums spent by municipalities and townships which were required to apply not less than 25 percent of their revenues to public improvements. There are now some 140 miles of motor roads in the country."

PETIT NEGRO REPUBLIC CAUSES U. S. CONCERN

Land of Former Slaves May Be "Colony" Victim

12-21-36

LIBERIA LAST STRONGHOLD

African Country Defenseless Against European Armies—Holds Ace With English—United States Recognition

BY ROBERT G. NIXON

International News Service Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20.—The United States is casting a worried eye these days across the Atlantic at the far-off little African republic of Liberia.

The reason for this uneasiness lies, not on the dark continent, but in Europe.

Liberia, since Italy's mechanized army gobbled up Ethiopia, is the last stronghold of independence in Africa. A primitive land, it is defenseless against encroachment by an armed power.

With "hungry" European dictatorships poring over world maps for possible new colonies and sources of raw materials, it is feared here Liberia might be the next victim of European rapacity.

Protege of U. S.

After a fashion, Liberia is a protege of the United States, and it was for this reason that acting Secretary of State R. Walton Moore said Great Britain's action in extending recognition finally to the negro republic "pleases the United States very much."

It is felt here that, with three such great powers as the United States, Britain and France throwing their moral support behind the little republic in maintenance of its autonomy, any other power would think twice before stepping in.

Another fact that might deter a conquest is that Liberia is surrounded by British and French possessions, Sierra Leone, British protectorate, is to the north and west, French Guinea to the north, and the French Ivory Coast lies to the east.

Has Story Book History

The black republic's sympathies are closely linked with the United States. It has had a story book history.

It was first settled in the early part of the 19th century by a shipload of freed American negro slaves, financed and sent back to their native land by philanthropic Americans.

Many American slaves were being freed by owners in gratitude for their services, but they could not gain American citizenship. Their plight interested President Washington. Later, President James Monroe, after whom the Liberian colonists named their capital, Monrovia, saw in the colony a possible settlement of the slave question which a half century later involved the United States in Civil War.

Still Speak English

Through more than a century Liberians have clung to the English tongue as they learned it in the United States. It is the official language. Their cities are named for American presidents and prominent statesmen. One of their counties is called Virginia, another Maryland. There is a town named New York, another named White Plains. Their constitution and form of government is modeled after those of the United States.

The country is still highly primitive, but rich in undeveloped resources, including gold, iron and coal. There are no railroads, virtually no highways. There are no automobiles, wagons, horses or carriages. Travel and transportation is entirely by foot.

The Firestone Company is heavily interested in the country, having planted 65,000 acres in rubber, its only source independent of the British and Dutch monopoly of the East Indies.

Took Own Slaves

Freed from slavery themselves, the Liberians took their own slaves from the wild bush tribes.

An active slave trade supplying labor to the Spanish for their plantations on the Island of Fernando Poo, caused the Liberians to clash with the League of Nations seven years ago.

This was when both Britain and the United States severed relations with the republic. The United States resumed relations two years ago after the slave racket was wiped out following an international investigation which forced the resignation of President Charles Dunbar Burgess King, but Britain withheld recognition, contending the Liberian government was oppressing a tribe of seafaring folk.

Race Problem - 1936
Africa.

Liberia.

LIBERIA INVITES
NEGRO IMMIGRANTS

Crusader News Agency
7-13-36

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MONROVIA, Liberia, July-- (CNA)- President Edwin Barclay announced that Liberia definitely favors the immigration of Negroes from the United States. He said that the right of asylum for those of African descent is an established principle of the republic.

29 West 130th St., New York.

The announcement came as the result of inquiries here after the Virginia State Legislature had petitioned the United States Congress to permit the colonization of 400,000 American Negroes who had requested President Roosevelt for government aid in transportation.

Mr. Barclay said that a large Negro organization on Chicago's South Side had also made inquiry.

The interest expressed by many Negro-Americans in establishing a home in Liberia is a logical result of the increasing oppression of the Negro in the United States and is a desire for a way out. The Liberian Government is, however, controlled by the Firestone interests which is notorious for its use of forced labor.

Intelligent Negroes are not looking for a Utopia abroad but are determined to stay in this country, the land of their fathers, and fight for the inalionable rights of the Negro people together with sympathetic white workers and organizations.

Joseph Walker Civil Engineer For Liberia

Firestone Announces Selection of Man for Important Post

NEW YORK—Setting a precedent the Firestone Plantations Company of Akron, Ohio, has appointed a colored civil engineer as a member of its technical staff in Liberia when Joseph F. Walker, son of the Honorable Walter F. Walker, Liberian consul here, and grandson of the Hon. Ernest Lyon, Liberian Consul-General in Baltimore, sailed for Liberia on Tuesday last on the S. S. New Brunswick under contract to Firestone.

Mr. Walker will engage in the construction of a stretch of roads and bridges connecting Monrovia with the main plantations of the company at Dusidei, a distance of about 45 miles.

Boston Graduate

Mr. Walker is well known in the city of Boston, Massachusetts, where he resided for several years. He graduated summa cum laude from Tufts School of Engineering in 1933 and finished his work for his Master's degree in Civil Engineering at Mass. Institute of Technology. Mr. Walker is also noted for his skill as a pianist, and his prowess on the tennis courts.

PETERSBURG, VA.
PROGRESS INDEX

JUL 21 1936

Liberia And Roberts

PRESIDENT EDWIN BARCLAY of Liberia has denied reports that he opposes sending more Negroes from America to Liberia as colonists. "This republic," he explained, "is and will always be an asylum for those of African descent, provided they are not opportunists or agitators."

Very few Negroes have shown any disposition of late to emigrate to the African republic, for the inducements to do so have been very small for many years. This is largely the responsibility of the United States, which left the idealistic enterprise to shift for itself. It soon became the prey of European powers, and so far did it drift from its mission that the descendants of emancipated slaves were actually engaged in slave traffic whereby they condemned individuals to the servitude from which they had escaped. Liberia was long a distressing problem and is still, in spite of recent improvements.

Liberia's most fortunate days were those when it was governed by President Joseph Jenkins Roberts, a Negro, who went from Petersburg more than a century ago. As the American Colonization Society's last governor and as the first president of the independent republic, he ably administered its affairs and even after retiring to private life was called to duty when the situation required his attention. He possessed a real talent for diplomacy and succeeded in establishing desirable relations with European powers; on one occasion the British court was so favorably impressed by him that when he announced his intention to return to Liberia a special vessel was provided for his comfort.

Truly the colored boatman on the Appomattox River proved himself a statesman. If Liberia had been privileged to have leadership of this character throughout its history, unquestionably its story would have been a different one.

FREE LIBERIA: African Black Republic Participates in Recovery as Herzog Denies It's Hitler's Prey

Two little black States
Free in all of Africa,
Black Shirts gobbled one
Then there was—Liberia.

Founded by Henry Clay (great compromiser); Francis Scott Key ("Star-Spangled Banner" composer); Elisha Caldwell (Clerk of the United States Supreme Court), and other members of an American philanthropic society. Exactly 100 years ago, they sent Thomas Buchanan, cousin to the later President, out to Africa to help organize the bewildered blacks America had dumped penniless among hostile tribesmen.

"Liberia," rumbled big-shouldered President Edwin Barclay, looking out last month from the Parliament Building balcony at part of his militia of 4,000 and his Frontier Force of 400, "will maintain her status as a Negro State in this age of imperialistic conquest."

Celebrating with outward confidence his country's independence day on July 27, President Barclay's mind flashed back to the last of the many threats against Liberia's sovereignty. A year ago last May, rumor had sped over the world that peppery old Premier J. B. M. Herzog of South Africa had proposed throwing Liberia to Hitler to quiet the dictator's howls for colonies.

Premier Herzog's shocked denial that he even had thought of such a thing never quite caught up with the original quotation which, those who knew him felt, was too much in character to be unfounded. Memory of it causes Liberians to shudder.

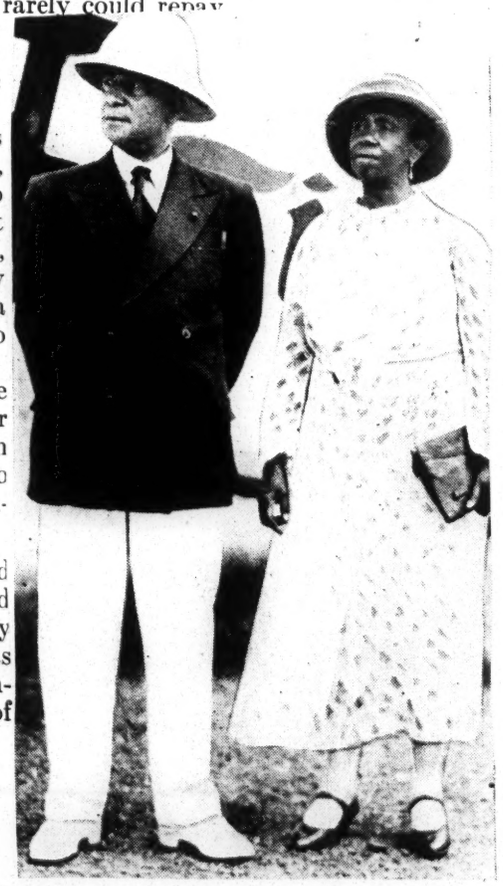
Recovery Road—Right now, the century-old dream of a free republic for freed slaves and their descendants is a reality more nearly completed than ever before. With her debts reduced, adjusted and refunded into manageable proportions, a treasury surplus of $130,000 (first in eight years), and a new deal all 'round in sanitation, road-building, revenue collections, military administration and education, Liberia moves out of the depression.

That she was a capitalist State with no capital was, until 1926, the greatest of the black republic's many griefs; and even when Akron's Harvey Firestone, to break a price-kiting British rubber monopoly, took an option to lease 1,000,000 acres of jungle (actually clearing 55,000); and planted 7,500,000 rubber-trees, collapse of the rubber market, and world-wide depression threatened to tangle her finances in as complete a break-down as that of Wall Street in 1929.

Over the financial earthquake broke a scandal, cruelly ironical for a State of Liberia's origin, involving relatives of several government officials, including those of President C. D. B. King, in what United States Acting Secretary of State William ("Bill") Castle called "hardly distinguishable from organized slave trade."

Influential Liberians, a League of Nations Committee discovered, had contracted with Spanish cocoa-planters of Fernando Po (prior to 1898, Devil's Island of Spain for recalcitrant Cubans), to deliver at $45 a head, black bush-boys in lots of 3,000, with $5,000 bonuses for additional lots of 1,500.

Tho theoretically the recruits went voluntarily to the steamy volcanic island to harvest the big, cucumber-shaped cocoa-fruit, and screen its seeds from vats of the bubbling fermented pulp, the League found that the armed Frontier Force, formed to police the back country, actually was used to "catch" boys. On occasion the Frontier Force flogged publicly—before their assembled tribes—native chiefs who hindered the process. Prevalent, also, was a practise of "pawning" children into servitude for sums which their parents or guardians rarely could repay.



Wide World

President Edwin Barclay of Liberia, with his wife: "Liberia will maintain her status . . ."

League Shocks—Geneva, very Holier than thou in 1934, rocked with indignation; and an unknown (then), Bond Street tailor's personification of perfection named Robert Anthony Eden stated in righteous Christ Church, Oxford, mush-mouthed and with utmost earnestness, that "Liberia has so grossly failed . . . that the League would be quite entitled to consider her expulsion under Paragraph 4, Article 16," of the Covenant. He offered simultaneously the good offices of His Majesty's Government to pass the problem on to the United States.

Pleas that conditions "hardly distinguishable from organized slave trade" were older than Liberia, and prevailed widely over parts of Africa governed by other League members and that anyway all but $5 out of the $45 a head went for expenses, were coldly received. Liberia had been founded for the sole purpose of assuring liberty to slaves. Her coat of arms was lettered "Love of Liberty Brought Us Here"; and section 4 of her constitutional bill of rights read:

"There shall be no slavery within this Republic."

President King resigned. The League washed its hands of the affair. Liberia was left for a time to stew in a brew of debt, disgrace and humiliation, from all of which she now is happily, and without League help, emerging.

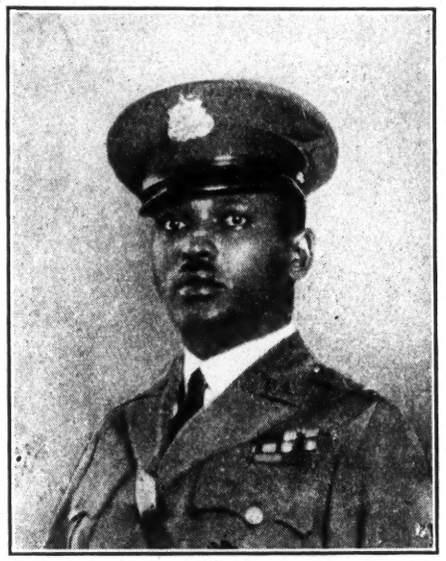
The little group of English-speaking "Americo-Liberians" on the coast never has numbered more than ten or twelve thousand. Behind them, in a territory as large as Ohio, and as impassable as the jungles of the Amazon, are scattered 1,500,000 aborigines divided in some thirty-three tribes with differing languages, religions and customs ranging all the way from witchcraft to cannibalism.

White Schemes—Had the American freedmen been completely absorbed, wiped out or eaten by the wild blacks back in the bush, it would not have been surprizing.

It was inevitable that, without capital or industry, and without experience in obtaining either, their Republic should lurch along from one financial crisis to another somewhat in the manner of *Amos* and *Andy's* taxicab enterprise.

Certainly it could not have been anticipated intelligently that, in 1936, Liberia still should be a sovereign State with a two-party republican government, (People's Party and True Whigs), and the same kind of suffrage their ancestors remembered from America—(votes for real-estate-owning males over twenty-one), and actually should be participating in recovery.

The President of Liberia has appointed his senior A.D.C., Colonel T. Elwood Davis, to be Superintendent of the Cape Mount District, one of the healthiest and richest agricultural areas in the Republic. Colonel Davis, who is a native of Indianapolis, U.S.A., and has gained a high reputation as a soldier and administrator, visited England and the Continent some years ago as A.D.C. and Chief of Staff to ex-President King.



COL. T. ELWOOD DAVIS.

* * *

The following appointments to commissions on the European Reserve of Officers, Nigeria Regiment, are notified in a recent Government Gazette: Mr. R. M. Williams to be Major and Officer Commanding Lagos Defence Force; Mr. E. W. Nesham to be Major and Second-in-Command, Lagos Defence Force; Mr. F. L. Avery to be Captain Commanding No. 1 Company; Mr. N. Schmolder to be Lieutenant and Assistant Adjutant; and Mr. A. F. Farnfield to be Lieutenant.

* * *

The Rev. E. T. Pakenham, vicar of All Hallows, Leeds, has been appointed Commissary for the Bishop of Lagos, in place of the late Bishop Tugwell.

Race Problem - 1936

Book Reviews.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS

by George S. Schuyler

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editor.)

If you wish to become acquainted with the realities of Southern rural life, the problems of the Negro farmer and some of the pioneer work that has been and is being done by Tuskegee Institute to train him in enlightened agriculture, buy a copy of "The Movable School Goes to the Negro Farmer," by Thomas C. Campbell. It is 170 pages of commonsense and inspiration well worth the $2 it costs. Copies may be secured from the Tuskegee Institute Press, Tuskegee Institute, Ala. The book incidentally was produced by students in printing and bookbinding, and it is an excellent job, not excelled in typography and proofreading by most books produced by commercial companies.

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One evidence of the miseducation of the Negro has been his tendency to ridicule farming and to aspire to so-called "higher" things. It is only in recent years that a minority of literate Negroes has considered agricultural education on a par with body-snatching, pulpit pounding, degree collecting and pill vending. Every farmer was popularly considered a sap, an saf, a greenhorn and a simpleton, and the open advocacy of agriculture as an excellent means of making a living was greeted with loud guffaws or incredulous smirks from Negroes engaged in waiting table, shining shoes, burning food, running elevators, lugging leather and busting slats for a livelihood. Perhaps because of the tradition of slavery on the plantations, most colored folk have been prejudiced against farming, even when engaged in it. Note the desire of so many farm Negroes to have their children trained for "something better."

* * *

The cold, hard fact is that there is nothing better, nothing more basic and fundamental than agriculture. Whenever I have mentioned this fact to an audience of young Negroes, the statement has been greeted with shrugs, smirks, snickers and groans, thereby proving the miseducation of these young people. In the first place, all civilization rests upon farming, and it always has. There can be no permanent settlement without agriculture, and without permanent settlement industry is unthinkable. It need therefore occasion no surprise that almost all the ancient religions (from which the present ones stem) were agricultural in their origin. I refer the reader to "The Golden Bough" by Frazer and "Pagan and Christian Creeds" by Carpenter. Nor is it any wonder that this great annual drama that is agriculture, which demonstrates the oneness of all things from the rays which pour from the all-giving sun with their argosy of health and nutrition to the earth from which man, bird and beast alike obtain their sustenance, should inspire philosophical thoughts from which all religions are formulated.

I often suspect that the attitude of so many young Negroes toward farming is due to similar but a more concealed attitude on the part of their teachers, many of whom talk agriculture but really have no love for it. To stir pupils a teacher must have a real love and enthusiasm for the subjects being taught.

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The first 76 pages of Mr. Campbell's little book are given to the story of his life and career, and very stirring reading it is. Born on a tenant farm in the backwoods of Eastern Georgia in the "Tobacco Road" section, where ignorance, superstitution and shiftlessness reigned supreme with no apparent future except illiteracy, poverty, filth and disease, he ran away from home, worked his way to Tuskegee Institute and entered with only fifteen cents to his name. During his whole time there as a student he made his way and paid his tuition by hard work. Nothing ever came from home except $5 and one bundle of clothing. Yet, he became the first Negro extension agent and a great leader in the practical education of the Negro farmer. It is altogether fitting that this stirring story of his early hardships should preface the absorbing account of the establishment and history of the movable school an idea that grew out of the fertile brain of Booker T. Washington. There are, incidentally, some excellent sidelights in this book on Dr. Washington's life.

* * *

When this movable school was started in 1906, with a display truck that traveled to communities in Macon county, Alabama, most of the Negro farmers were illiterate; there were few schools and they were far apart; roads were scarce and bad. In such a situation the obvious way to raise the farming, living and educational standards of the Negro farmers in isolated settlements was to take the school to them instead of establishing a school somewhere and then urging them to attend it. Preparations were made ahead of the school's arrival so that a centrally located farm cabin had already been selected, materials assembled and the men, women and children in the vicinity notified. When the truck arrived all of the people in the locality were there, including the various ministers. Accompanying the truck with its up-to-date equipment were three or four men and women teachers, who did not come armed with books or with mere lectures about what the farmer ought to do, but who demonstrated, with the eager assistance of those present, just what ought and ought not be done.

Demonstrations were made in "the proper care of field and garden crops; effective terracing of the land and intelligent cultivation of the soil; pruning and spraying of fruit trees; construction of and repairing simple articles of clothing and bed linen; making and using a fireless cooker; selecting eggs for hatching, and care of chicks; building outside steps; locating and constructing a sanitary toilet; recreational methods; and proper health practices."

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In closing the author takes a hearty wallop at the tenant system in the South, which, he says, "has made fearful inroads on his (the Negro's) farm and home life, his health, his school advantages and his church interests."

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All of which brings other thoughts to my mind. One is the tragic fact that only one-half of one per cent of the Negro college graduates since 1912 have gone into agriculture and even a smaller number into technical pursuits, although more Negroes make their living from farming than anything else, and yet agriculture contributes more to the national wealth yearly than any other pursuit. The Negro farmer has thus been almost without trained leadership. Most of these Negro graduate agriculturists are teaching farming. Very few are setting an example by operating up-to-date farms. The failure of farmers to make a living, whether they be white or colored, is due primarily to ignorance. Hundreds of farms have been lost to Negroes because children were not sent to agricultural college, but to medical or dental college. There was no one with a knowledge of farming to carry on after the old father died.

Worst of all has been the failure of Negroes who have gone to the North, East and West, where social conditions are superior to those in the South, to take up farming. The only restriction in those sections has been the Negro's own ignorance and blindness to fundamentals. The same is true of too many Southern Negroes.

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The author writes with modesty and good sense and there is much in the book to make Negroes everywhere pause and think about farming in general and Southern agriculture in particular.

"This system of teaching," he says, "is a boon to the rural folk and serves not only as a medium of agricultural instruction, but also as a social stimulant in the backward communities. The workers get into the lives of the farmers, and their families, first of all, by gaining their own language about their problems, real and imaginary; they encourage parents to send their children to school; they often spend nights around the fireside with them and listen to interesting stories pertaining to the local history of their communities; they break down superstitution; they help make greater the sympathy of the two races for each other, and they do untold good toward developing more intelligent, peaceful and contented citizens . . . When once inspired, the farmers show such eagerness to learn, that it gives a hopeful outlook to the farming situation; for as extension work develops, I see in it a solution to many problems of rural life . . . It is encouraging to note the changes which may occur in these communities after several visits of the School on Wheels. Shacks, filth and shiftlessness gradually disappear as a result of the teachings of this emissary of better sand-

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Critic Describes Two Schools Of Writers of Southern Fiction

Readers Are Cautioned to Differentiate Between Plain Fiction and Social History of the South.

Editor's Note: Donald Davidson, of Vanderbilt University, poet, critic and contributor to many national magazines and several books, including the famous "I'll Take My Stand," is one of the original southern agrarians, and is a leading spokesman for the group. In this article he outlines the widely varying interpretations of southern life that are being presented by current southern novelists. The views expressed in the following article are those of the writer and are not necessarily those of The Constitution.

By DONALD DAVIDSON.

Imagination is at a discount nowadays. People do not want stories, onein poetry. They want something hard and scientific and real. Don't let the children get hold of Cinderella, say their progressive educators, for that incredible old thing will do something bad to their psychological complexes.

Life would certainly be more peaceful for southerners if this were true. One would then know what to say to northerners who insist on asking whether Erskine Caldwell's spectacular stories of southern life are "really true." One could answer them by saying, "Mr. Caldwell is a story-teller. If you believe Cinderella, then believe Mr. Caldwell."

But nowadays one gets nowhere with such an answer. Our northern friends and foes (as well as some southerners) may often be skeptics in religion, but they are downright fundamentalists when they read fiction. They want to treat fiction as fact, and then, vice versa, to treat fact as fiction. They take the southern novel of our day as social history. And they view authentic history, no matter how laboriously buttressed with documents, as a dubious myth. The novel as social history then becomes, as "Uncle Tom's Cabin" did once, the starting point of social action, and the "real" history gets waved back into some region of fancy or inaction—the library or the classroom. This is one of the penalties of being civilized, in 1936.

What, then, is a southerner to say when the accusing finger lifted from between the pages of "Tobacco Road" and "God's Little Acres," wags with the charge: "So this is your boasted southern civilization! Lester Jeeter and his hare-lipped daughter, starving and depraved! Ty Ty and his clan, digging aimlessly for gold, their only pleasure an abandoned, animal-like sexual indulgence! Innocent negroes foully abused! Harmless old men eaten by hogs!" For so runs Mr. Caldwell's tale. And he is a native southerner, not a Harriet Beecher Stowe.

Type in Minority.

There are two possible answers, one matter-of-fact and one literary. The matter-of-fact answer is simple. The south has always had its quota of Jeeters and Tys Tys—unlucky and mishegotten souls. But a southerner would swear that they are a small minority—a minority of about the same proportions as the Simon Legrees over whom the north raged in the 1850's.

If Jeeters and Ty Tys have increased betwene 1850 and 1936, as is possible, the responsibility is by no means entirely southern. The same forces that built the towers of New York imposed upon the south a system favorable to the multiplication of Jeeters and Ty Tys. Whenever the towers of New York are content to give up a part of what makes them so splendid, then the south can. . . .

But this argument will get nowhere with a really determined Caldwellite. He will simply insist that the south continue to support the towers of New York and at the same time clean up old man Jeeter—take out his tonsils, equip him with sanitary plumbing and electric refrigeration, and put the hare-lipped daughter under the care of the county health service and the consolidated school. But I think old man Jeeter and the towers of New York in good repair. I do not believe the south can really afford both. If reform is in order, I am for doing whatever can be done for old man Jeeter (he is a southerner, after all), and for letting the towers of New York get along without southern support.

Varied Social Strata.

The literary answer to the question of the reader of Caldwell requires some attention to the way in which literary issues have shaped up since the beginning of the great revival of southern letters, say about 1920. Mr. Caldwell does not represent all of modern southern fiction, but only one wing of it, which may possibly be a left wing. So far as southern novelists are social historians, they divide into two groups, or schools, which often contradict each other in interpreting identical facts. For example, among recent novels Robert Rylee's "Deep Dark River" shows up negroes suffering from white oppression and neglect, and is an argument for social justice; but Reuben Davis' "Butcher Bird," which deals with negroes of exactly the same place, sort and condition, shows us no suffering at all. His negroes are lusty primitives, rich in everything but money, and a great deal better off, it would seem, than the modern white folks, if happiness is a treasure of well-being.

Likewise, T. S. Stribling and Elizabeth Madox Roberts deal with the same social strata among the white folks. But Mr. Stribling reports his white folks as bigots and rowdies, while Miss Roberts finds them gallant and picturesque. Thomas Wolfe's vast epical report of southern life is gloomy and Byronic, and Caroline Miller's Georgians lead a very hard life. But over against these we may put the strong affirmative interpretation of Caroline Gordon, Maristan Chapman and Stark Young. William Faulkner seems to stand between the two parties, in a class by himself.

Why are the two lines of interpretation different? Mainly, I think, because they represent two different, perhaps two contending philosophies of southern life. The Stribling-Caldwell school apparently follow the "progressive" or "liberal" school of southern politicians and economists in assuming that Appomattax finished the historic old south and that, accordingly, the sooner the south adopts the patterns of life favored in metropolitan New York, the better. If these novelists have a social purpose in their work, it looks in that direction.

May Help Sales.

Of course, this view is exactly the opinion held by the "advanced" north concerning a region that has somehow contrarily refused to be "northernized," and southerners have not been slow to remark how this little coincidence may have helped along the sales of books. But that might be an uncharitable conclusion. With more propriety one might say that the Stribling-Caldwell school are like the Anglo-Irish writers of a generation ago in Ireland, who refused to believe, with Yeats and Russell, that Ireland might still be Ireland and were all for becoming more English than the English. At any rate the performance of the Stribling-Caldwell group, while powerful at its best depends upon a very narrow selection of material and a definitely biased treatment of it. The result may be good fiction (the New York critics say so), but it is in many respects, poor social history.

The great concurrent popularity of Stark Young's fiction suggests the merit of the other view, which I might call the southern, or inside, point of view. Miss Roberts, Miss Gordon, Mr. Young look at their material with the eyes of southerners fully conscious of the whole tradition, present and past, the entire social milieu in all its related parts. Even when they specialize in a limited locale or theme, they deal with what is central and fundamental in southern experience rather than what lies on the fringe. Mr. Young, of course does not directly present any Jeeters, or Miss Roberts any plantation houses; but these are not excluded to improve the argument; they do not happen to belong to the story that is being told; the social context of the novels implies their presence and does not ignore them. Mr. Caldwell ignores all the social context.

The novels of this second school may be, as is often charged, "romantic," but they certainly do not meet their characters on southern terms and do not indulge in special pleading. They neglect neither the lights nor the shadows. They are works of art, based upon social history. Their great advantage, as well as perhaps, their force and hope of permanence, lies in the fact that their authors have beliefs where Mr. Caldwell has only disbeliefs.

Although nobody can predict the future, the harried southerner, torn this way and that, may well consider that works of protest merely, which fit a passing temper and borrow energy from that source alone, must run the risk of becoming unintelligible or grotesque within a decade or two. Who now remembers the Anglo-Irish writers that laughed at Yeats? The Irish Free State is a reality. There are few who would deny that Yeats is the greatest living poet of the English-speaking world. Novelists who build as Yeats built will be remembered long with the affection that humanity gives to those who, in one way or another, speak for our nobler selves.

THE NEGRO FARMER

The Story of Tuskegee's Movable School—By T. M. Campbell (Reveiewed by WM. E. CLARK)

Thomas Monroe Campbell, field agent, Extension on Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, has written a brief history of Tuskegee's most famous agricultural project, "The Movable School," together a biography of himself that is deserving serious attention of all who are interested in the future of the Negro in agriculture.

Just as Booker T. Washington was the outstanding product of Hampton and General Armstrong's ideas of education, so Mr. Campbell has come to be looked upon as Dr. Washington's chief disciple and Tuskegee's most outstanding graduate.

His struggle to acquire an education, how he ran away from home to enter Tuskegee and his arrival in the midst of a smallpox epidemic, all go to make up a most interesting section of the book. Some of the conditions among Negro farmers at the time he came to Tuskegee read like scenes from an Erskine Caldwell play of conditions in Georgia today.

After spending seven years at Tuskegee, Mr. Campbell had so impressed Dr. Washington and the faculty of Tuskegee with his earnestness that they decided to employ him to aid the nearby farmers of Macon county. Dr. George W. Carver (the noted agricultural chemist) had come to Tuskegee a few years before and he had been going around demonstrating to farmers some of the ways to improve their crops. He traveled in what was known as the "Jessup Wagon." When Campbell took over this work, a two-mule team and a larger wagon was provided.

Then in 1923 the Negro farmers of Alabama provided a fund of $5,000 for the purchase of a large motor truck and necessary equipment for the work of the Movable School of the South. The truck was dedicated to the memory of the late Dr. Washington, whose vision made this type of agricultural extension work possible. Where formerly Mr. Campbell worked aone, he now travels with a staff of assistants to demonstrate labor-saving devices and machinery, also a trained nurse and a home demonstration agent. The idea was put over largely through taking a run-down farm in some community and showing the nearby neighbors just how it could be improved. At the same time the nurse and the home demonstration agent were showing female members of the family how to improve the home, while Mr. Campbell and his male assistants were giving demonstrations of inexpensive improvements that could be made to make the farm more productive. In this way many Negro farmers have been helped and the influence of Tuskegee has been widened. Adult education, as we know it today, is, in reality ,an outgrowth of this movement.

All this time, Mr. Campbell has been himself a "dirt" farmer and today operates one of the most successful farms in the state.

The book contains 170 pages and 13 illustrations and is an excellent advertisements for the Tuskegee Press, as all the work in its production was done by students of the Printing Division of that institution

Race Problem - 1936

Book Reviews.

Reviewed by BEN B. JOHNSTON •

On the theory that "the songs are an index of the life and the spirit of the people who sang them," Mr. Hudson has included with this collection of folksongs gathered from white people of Mississippi, a somewhat elaborate background of history and sociological commentary. This lifts the volume out of the purely academic field and gives it interest to the general reader. It also mitigates, to some extent, the inevitable dullness of such a compilation. For this is not a songbook in the sense that it is intended to enable one to use it for singing purposes; it is research and record. Only in rare instances, and then only seemingly by inadvertance, does Mr. Hudson indicate what sort of tune goes with the words he and his corps of collaborators have so carefully dredged up out of the memories of widely scattered persons with retentive memories and antiquarian interest.

10-2-36

For the purposes of his work, he sets forth this definition of folksong—rather, these tests for inclusion in his collection:

"(1) Existence independent of print; oral transmission from person to person; (2) Retention of vitality through a fair period of time; (3) Loss by the singers of all sense of authorship and ultimate provenience." Some deviations from these tests can be noted among the songs, but it can readily be seen that this is almost unavoidable.

Macon, Ga.

The songs themselves he divided into three classes: Imported Folksongs, principally those of English and Scottish origin; Folksongs Chiefly of American Origin, in which are included ballads of the West, songs of outlaws, criminals and vagrants and songs of the Civil War; Folk Fancies from Far and Near, which embrace jocose, dialogue and nursery songs, and songs used in singing games.

Of all these, the ones which seem to me to have the most vitality—indeed, the only ones which retain in this scholarly setting any gusto and feeling—are those of the Civil War. These, it will be remembered, are not the written songs of the period, the product of what Mr. Hudson calls the "armchair poets." They are the songs that the soldiers sang and those that the women at home sang. A specimen verse and the chorus from I'm a Good Old Rebel will give you an idea:

I hate the Constitution, the Great Republic, too;
I hate the mighty eagle and the uniform of blue;
I hate the Glorious Banner and all their flags and fuss;
Them lyin', thievin' Yankees, I hate 'em wuss and wuss.

(CHORUS)

For I'm a good old rebel, that's what I am,
And for this Land o' Freedom, I don't care a damn.
I'm glad I fought against her; I only wish we'd won,
And I don't ask no pardons for anything I've done.

That may be, in the light of history, a deplorable sentiment, but it's a song worthy of preservation—which is more than can be wholeheartedly said of a great many others which have lingered in the folk-memory from inane European "love tragedies."

The chapter on Songs Used in Singing Games comes closer to giving an index to the folkways of rustic Mississippians in an era now closed than does any other part of the book.

The book is supplied with plentiful footnotes, cross-references and an index to the songs.

TODAY'S BOOK

THE WIND STILL GOES

To celebrate issuance of the one millionth copy of Gone With the Wind, an occasion announced for today, The Telegraph prints a tribute to the book written by Kate F. Edwards, well known portrait painter of Atlanta, and student of the Old South:

Telegraph

When the tumult and the shouting dies, a revelation of Gone With the Wind can be made. Its imitations will doubtless be a help. Such an individual book seems likely to set a fashion in writing. We shall have a host of long chronicles, following this one in everything except its richness and power.

12-15-36

It will be a hard book to copy. Its very faults are savory. They taste of zest. Moralizing and melodrama are mere exuberance in Gone With the Wind. And if Melanie, that slender bright sword, seems dimly portrayed when compared with Ellen, it is only because Ellen is so alive. She is remote, she is withdrawn into the high realms of her compassion, yet she prevades the book to its close, not to be quelled by the incident of death.

Macon, Ga.

In Gone With the Wind, matters move swiftly upon a current of gusty vitality. Faults are froth upon a tide of thought beneath them. That tide is the book.

Imitators will be encouraged by the book's style. They too, can write simple statements, they will believe, without implications that must be rounded out by the imagination. But in Gone With the Wind these simple statements are significantly chosen. They are like clock-tickings through a long, happy, heart-breaking day of civilization. They strike the hour.

The style is so direct, so downright, that its dramatic elements catch you unaware. You are unarmed against the approach to the battle of Gettysburg, those paragraphs telling of the hope, the triumph, of the South, at the entrance of General Lee's troops into Pennsylvania. They are a torturing thing to read.

A matter-of-fact phrase some chapters farther along is another illustration! "No one denied now the Yankees were good fighters, and, at last, they had good generals . . . And, then, there was a man named Sherman . . ." A man named Sherman; these are quiet words, mild words, to make one put the book down, overwhelmed with pain.

That strange accumulation, the public mind, has been stirred by this book. It will be a long time before we know how much. Gone With the Wind may send women into basques again, and to unbuttoning the two top buttons, for coolness, when alone. Here is one development already: its readers are discussing right and wrong. Since when has a book been considered on any basis except its power, its art, its beauty, its thrill, its truth, the satisfaction or stimulus it gives to a reader? But readers of Gone With the Wind are arguing upon moral issues. One overhears a new cry in literary discussion: "But it wasn't RIGHT—he did WRONG."

• • •

The realization of futility came into its logical place in our era, its recurring position in the cycle, after thet World War. Those who are a little younger than this century faced this realization at a very impressionable age. Many of them have been unable to surmount it. This has been a tragic thing for our civilization. But here is something tonic, a book that shows the endurance of some of their forebears in an era when the threat of futility was more concrete than we can easily grasp; when effort and sacrifice and success were at the mercy of an alien goveriment; when survival of civilization meant holding to what can be done today, and trying again tomorrow, forgetting what may come after. Will Benteen spoke at the graveside to a larger audience than he knew.

Those who have never known Negroes well will learn from Gone With the Wind as vividly as any book has ever taught, of their loyalty, discernment, unselfishness. But those who have known Negroes since the first breath, will learn more. It will be long before we can measure the usefulness of this new knowledge. For in reading Gone With the Wind we come to a new relization of the strange path our Negroes traveled in their first years of freedom. We are given a new grasp of the upheaval that Reconstruction was to them, of the completeness of their bewilderment. Such as Pork and Peter and Mammy were in some measure protected by their routine of faithfulness. Freedom brought them added responsibilities to "their families," made life difficult and painful, but in their first period of transition they were safe from the counsel of carpet-baggers; their fine old standards were not shaken. The South was filled with the others, who, like the foreman Sam, missed a voice that had told them what to do and what not to do, and heard instead urgings to insolence and violence.

• • •

In any revaluation of the book its people must be recokoned with, as individuals. They seem to have come to stay, the matchless Archie; Gerald, who bade his glorious farewell to dark and confusing days; Peter, and thee incident involving him that illustrates civilization and its lack; he was helpless under the comments of the uncouth, whose natures did not inform them when their blunders were cruel; Peter, long to be remembered in his sage words, "Miss Scarlet, it ain' gwine do you no good ter stan' high wid de Yankees an' de w'ite trash, ef yo' own folks doan 'prove of you." Mammy, almost the lead of the story; Mammy, asserting her freedom and the right it gave her not to leave; Mammy, frustrated, humiliated, by her "mules in hawse harness;" Mammy, seeing so unfailingly into the deep things that the simple and loving see. And the two who end the story, and who show the contradictions and confusions of this our life: Rhett, whose penetration, wit and poignance blur at first our recognition of his failure; Scarlett, the conqueror, who surrendered nearly everything essential.

Their story is borne upon a tide of thought, of understanding deeper than thought, of affection. Many a day hence the modern South will be seen with discernment because of Gone With the Wind.

Margaret Mitchell comes of a long patriotic line. Her book is valiant service to her country.

"GONE WITH THE WIND"

EVERY TIME IT BEGINS to look like sectionalism is dying out in this country something occurs to revive the old controversies and rekindle the flame of hatred between northerners and southerners. Sometimes it's a motion picture like the "Birth of a Nation," while at other times it's a book, such as the current best seller, "Gone With the Wind," by Margaret Mitchell.

Atlanta, Ga.

12-19-36

Miss Mitchell in her monumental work attempts to rewrite the history of the Civil War from the southern point of view. And like all propaganda this book is a mixture of truth and fiction with the qualities of courage and heroism on the part of the southerners exalted, and minimized in the Yankees.

New York, N.Y.

The locale of the story is in Georgia and a graphic account of the founding and early history of the City of Atlanta, is given, as well as Sherman's historic march to the sea. The most unfair part of the book is that section which tells of conditions immediately following the close of the war. All the forces of reconstruction were pictured in the worst possible light. The rebels were beaten but unconquered and remained unconquerable while the Yankees and Negroes were all villains. Even justification for the Ku Klux Klan was offered.

Most of the southern planters were described as coming from the aristocracy of England, when as a matter of fact most of the original settlers of Georgia and many of the other southern states came from the poor-

er classes, many of them were little more than adventurers who grew wealthy off the labor of their slaves, while a great many were exiled criminals. They had little or no culture and their type of civilization was hardly more than parasitical. It seems to us that the author should have rejoiced instead of lamented the passing of the pre-war style of life in the South.

Because of its wide circulation, "Gone With the Wind" will undoubtedly revive painful controversy as to the merits and demerits of the "lost cause." Many southerners will be made to feel anew that they still have a grievance against both the Negro and the northern whites, with the results that the spirit of rebellion which has actuated the Georgia "crackers," will flame anew, and innocent Negroes will find intolerance and segregation growing instead of lessening, as they have every right to expect.

It is no wonder that the South has produced none of the outstanding figures in the literary world since the Civil War. All their men of letters have been taught to cherish and nourish this grievance—the destroying of their "civilization" by the Yankees, who added insult to injury by trying to make the Negro their equal before the law. These writers are all so full of indignation they are unable to create anything else but tragic stories like "Gone With the Wind" which serve as propaganda to keep alive that spark of hatred that flourished in 1865.

Somebody should tell them that the war is over.

"BLACK LAWS OF VIRGINIA"

Planet

June Purcell Guild has rendered a conspicuous service to all Virginians by reason of the painstaking research on her part which resulted in the publication of her latest work "Black Laws of Virginia."

1-2-3

Richmond

The book depressed the reader because it reveals in vivid and striking outline "Man's inhumanity to Man" in the name of the Lord and the Law. If the text treated the dead past alone, the picture would not be so dismal, but the same forces which were responsible for these atrocious laws still operate in Virginia.

Va.

These sinister forces, are of course more subtle and have chosen the methods of Uriah Heep rather than those of Simon Legree in attaining their objective but they operate, nonetheless, with telling effect.

The inhuman Jim Crow laws, customs and practices which ostracize, disadvantage and humiliate Negroes in Virginia and which are championed and condoned by church and state are "Black Laws" with a vengeance.

The author truly states:

"Law always reflects the social condition and thinking of the people who make it. This summary of the major enactments of the Virginia Assembly, therefore, not only clarifies the legal position of the Negro but reveals something of the official attitude of the people with whom his fate was—and is—cast."

And then in the concluding paragraph of a remarkable introduction, Mrs. Guild makes out a puncture-proof case:

"It is the custom in Virginia, as everywhere in the South to blame Negroes for the extent of social problems; high crime rates, high illegitimacy rates, high illiteracy rates, high tuberculosis rates, high venereal disease rates, high unemployment and relief rates; all the prevalent serious social inadequacies of the South are cooly laid at the door of the Negro. But much of the Negro's heredity and all of his social environment are the result of white aggression and white discrimination. In spite of ancient but evermore drastic penalties for interbreeding, miscegenation continues in Virgina. In spite of early efforts to prohibit the importation of slaves and discourage the residence of free Negroes the Black Virginian, like a Black Albatross, is hung around the neck of the Old Dominion. What holy man shall shrieve her soul?

The book should be read and kept as a ready reference by every Virginian who wants to take the state out of the classification as a backward state.

Race Problem - 1936
Book Reviews.

New York World Telegram
FEB 17 1936

The First Reader

By HARRY HANSEN

James Street's "Look Away!" Tells Entertaining and Cruel Story of Life in Mississippi. He Loves the Picturesque.

WHEN Carl Carmer wrote "Stars Fell on Alabama" he told a lot of things about the shady doings of the illiterates of that State which did not sit so well with the Alabamans. Then somebody made a sentimental ballad out of the title—presumably without reading the book—and amid clouds of honeysuckle perfume Alabama became as well known as the sweetheart of Sigma Chi.

But no fancy ballads are going to be written around the amazing book that James H. Street, late of Laurel, Miss., has made out of the goings-on in Jones County, Miss. For one reason, he has already named it after "Dixie." He calls it "Look Away!" There is nothing I'd rather do, but I can't. After one reading his book grips me like the memory of a nightmare in which I went right over the cliff and awoke in a cold sweat.

Maybe you'll think "Look Away!" is one of the most entertaining stories that has come out of the South. That will be because it is written like a string of anecdotes. I'll admit that one side of it is funny. So is "Tobacco Road." But if you think about it you must admit that here is the American tragedy—stark, cruel, almost hopeless.

* * *

Jimmie Sees His First Lynching.

JIMMIE STREET was 14 when he saw his first lynching. He had been telephoning news items to the New Orleans Times-Picayune and when he told the editor that a man-hunt was on in Jones County, the latter replied:—

"Great stuff, boy, keep us protected."

But Jimmie's father told him to go to bed. Jimmie went to his room, put on his hunting boots, dropped four feet out of a window and joined the posse. "There was an ominous stillness about the town." It seems that John Hartfield had attacked a telephone girl who had suddenly become a heroine. The posse, using bloodhounds, who were reluctant to hunt human beings, picked up the trail at Sandersville and caught the Negro at Hot Coffee. When Jimmie phoned the State editor he exclaimed:—

"Are you sure of the name? By God, that's a funny one! That'll look swell in headlines:—'Mississippi Mob Nabs Negro in Hot Coffee.' . . . Follow that mob until it lynches the Negro. Then write us a Sunday feature on Hot Coffee. Can't you picture the date-line like this:—Hot Coffee, Miss.?"

The Negro had been wounded and the Deputies took him to a doctor's office. "While the doctor was examining him the mob flocked to the house of the white telephone operator. She came to her porch and waved at the crowd. It seemed to me the woman should have been in confusion. I can't say she enjoyed the excitement. Her face looked drawn, but there she was leaning on a banister and talking with her avengers."

* * *

Catching Hogs with Bare Hands.

AUNT MATTIE, the old Negress who came to work for the Street family when she was 60, was certain that this was voodoo land. She had no use for it. And Street's father said "only white trash lynch Negroes." Jimmie Street has another version—many of the people who take part in lynchings are offshoots of Northerners who came into the South after the war.

Mississippi has four kingdoms, says Street—the Delta, called "de Delta lan'," where whites live in feudal array and Negroes sometimes share-crop; the prairie country, called "de rich folks' lan'"; the piney woods ridges and the swamp country, called "the voodoo lan'." Once Street traced a "haunt" into the swamps and discovered a man and a woman living nude in a cabin.

The man had lost his memory; he was a scientist. The woman was half-witted. She had wandered from home and fallen into a bear trap, which caught her left breast. The wild man found her and released her and did the best he could for her. He caught fish with his hands. "A lot of folks still fish that way in Dixie. One time he killed a wild hog for her. He literally ran the beast to earth and killed it with a stick. It takes courage to hunt wild hogs with a gun, but to kill one bare-handed is remarkable. He would steal chickens and corn meal for their larder and hunt possums with a hickory pole."

Street tells the story of Angelo Herndon—he was the Associated Press man on that job—and the Scottsboro case, but the most medieval tale in the book is the story of how Mississippi runs its convicts at Parchman. Mississippi whips its convicts, and most of them get twenty lashes the night they come so that they will work harder next day. Women are allowed to visit the convicts on the fifth Sunday of every month that has five Sundays in it, and the train that brings them is called the "Midnight Special." When it arrives the convicts are shrieking and praying—the women rush to the men and a wild orgy starts in the prison yard. The guard merely paces his beat and ignores it. "In all this world there is no other sight quite like it," says Street. I hope not.

Sometimes Street takes in too much territory. He has his own version of how Dixie came to be called Dixie and how the Bowie knife was made, &c., and he states it pointblank. He tries to be objective; he loves the picturesque, even when it is horrible. He calls his work "a Dixie notebook." His notes make "Tobacco Road" and kindred writings more understandable. (Viking Press, $2.50.)

EDMONDS SUGGESTS CAREER FOR JIM CHILDERS

Dr. Henry M. Edmonds, great Birmingham clergyman, recently reviewed James Saxon Childers's new novel, "In the Deep South", for The Birmingham News.

Dr. Edmonds, who pleas for a "new chivalry in race relations", concludes his review of the novel with an appropriate suggestion to Mr. Childers. This suggestion is an example of good thinking as well as good writing on the part of Dr. Edmonds. Because of its lofty appeal, The Advertiser herewith quotes it:

> I nominate Mr. Childers to write for us the great book about the Negro in the Old and the New South. It may consist of a number of volumes. He has begun and begun bravely. Let him continue. He is a scholar and an author already. He knows the cost of great writing in labor, in long thought and in the shedding of blood. He is a traveler and has already in his consciousness the feel of racial tragedy all over the world.
>
> Let him specialize now in the Negro. Let him wander over Africa and plow through such records as remain until the Negro's whole background is a part not only of brain but of nervous system. Let him be present at their capture and sale and debarkation. Let him come on the rotting slave ships with them. Then let him live through the whole story on these shores. Let him drain from it all the romance there is, all the picturesqueness, all the tenderness, all the greed and cruelty, all the cry of hurt bodies and the dumb anguish of hurt souls, the separations, the renunciations, and the reared-up sky-visions of religious apocalyptic solace.
>
> Let him learn Virginia and all the family of her Southern daughters, in all the old mansions that still stand, in all the old journals and laws and political discussions, in all the old dreams of empire and fleeting fears of decadence and midnight terror of insurrection and beginning realization of the black monster of slavery. Let him live in the slaves' quarters and the master's house.
>
> Let him dare and starve and freeze and die and love and weep and fear and remain faithful with the men and the boys and the women and the slaves in the War Between the States.
>
> Let him pass with the white and black South through the Reconstruction, when the real war was fought—the war against darkness and the pit.
>
> Let him live through the days of our feudalism and know our farming system, ruining land, tenant and owner. Let him sense the fear clutching at every white woman's throat, that her men might contribute to, and perish by, the degradation that has always yawned for the manhood of the dominant and the womanhood of the subservient race, when the two have lived side by side. Let him watch in sick horror the festering of the black wrath in the Negro's heart at the despite done his women and the primitive striking back in kind as at a racial taboo.
>
> Let him with jubilant, though bleeding, feet walk with the Negro through the stages of his beginning education, the dawning of his real freedom and of his ambition and desire for his children—some white men hating and fearing, others not caring and still others anxious to help, yet finding it so difficult, with the clinging memories and attitudes of slavery, the badge of color, the prejudices of race and that native human instinct of trampling down others that we may seem higher.
>
> I nominate Mr. Childers to do this work. There is no job of writing now in the world that has more possibilities of poignancy, power and service.
>
> And he can do it.

If Mr. Childers's plans do not contemplate the high mission for which he is nominated, let him make the counter proposal that Dr. Edmonds take the same grand theme and write an epic prose poem. He can do it.

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> I nominate Mr. Childers to write for us the great book about the Negro in the Old and the New South. It may consist of a number of volumes. He has begun and begun bravely. Let him continue. He is a scholar and an author already. He knows the cost of great writing in labor, in long thought and in the shedding of blood. He is a traveler and has already in his consciousness the feel of racial tragedy all over the world.
>
> Let him specialize now in the Negro. Let him wander over Africa and plow through such records as remain until the Negro's whole background is a part not only of brain but of nervous system. Let him be present at their capture and sale and debarkation. Let him come on the rotting slave ships with them. Then let him live through the whole story on these shores. Let him drain from it all the romance there is, all the picturesqueness, all the tenderness, all the greed and cruelty, all the cry of hurt bodies and the dumb anguish of hurt souls, the separations, the renunciations, and the reared-up sky-visions

Former Alabama Negro Scores In Latest Book

Post 4-13-36

'Black Thunder' Tells Historical Tale Of Virginia Revolt In 1800; Reviewer Praises Author's Mastery Of Prose; Used To Live In Huntsville

Birmingham Ala

By W. Stanley Hoole
Birmingham-Southern College

Folks in Huntsville may remember Arna Bontemps. He used to live there. Now he has moved away, and has become a leading Negro novelist. "God Sends Sunday" was his first book of fiction; 'Black Thunder" is his second.

"Black Thunder" is an excellent novel. Using the Negro slave uprising in Richmond, Va., in 1800 as his background, Bontemps has told the story of Gabriel, an idealistic young black man who molded, muttered and whispered 1100 slaves into a mass revolt against the whites. The novel is historically true. To the facts Bontemps adheres rigidly. His imaginary scenes and incidents are faithfully done. Over the whole the author has thrown the softening mantle of quiet restraint.

Revolt Failed

"Gabriel's Insurrection" took place in Henrico County, near Richmond, on the plantation of Thomas Prosser, who owned Gabriel. Armed with knives, cutlasses, pikes and a peck of bullets, the Negroes set out to seize the arsenal in Richmond, and capture the town of six or seven thousand. But an unprecedented rainstorm and the betrayal of two Negroes who loved their master thwarted the plan. The revolt was unsuccessful.

Within the pages of "Black Thunder" are compressed the feelings of a Toussaint L'Ouverture, made famous by Wordsworth a hundred years ago. Here too is found an idea akin to the "noble savage" of Dryden and Rousseau. And Gabriel, if he were white, would be blood brother to "God's Angry Man," John Brown glorified by Leonard Ehrlich.

True History

Jeffersonian democracy, "Liberty Equality, Fraternity," and the French Revolution were too close at hand in 1800 to be ignored by a man of Gabriel's caliber. And if one is looking for a prose poem of the black man's dream for freedom, one will find it here. There is dignity in every line, simplicity in every paragraph. It is history told truer than most historians could write.

Alabamians, in checking over their list of native authors, would do well to include Arna Bontemps. He is a fictionist who knows his business, writes masterfully, is quite adept in dialect, and who tells a story with ease. This reviewer, who lives in the Deep South, welcomes the opportunity to pay tribute to a clever novelist of the Negro race. Bontemps has scored. And he will score again. "Black Thunder" has told us that.

"Black Thunder" is published by the Macmillan Co., New York. $2.50

Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser
April 14, 1936

EDMUNDS SUGGESTS CAREER FOR JIM CHILDERS

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Dr. Edmonds, who pleas for a "new chivalry in race relations", concludes his review of the novel with an appropriate suggestion to Mr. Childers. This suggestion is an example of good thinking as well as good writing on the part of Dr. Edmonds. Because of its lofty appeal, The Advertiser herewith quotes it:

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Let him learn Virginia and all the family of her Southern daughters, in all the old mansions that still stand, in all the old journals and laws and political discussions, in all the old dreams of empire and fleeting fears of decadence and midnight terror of insurrection and beginning realization of the black monster of slavery. Let him live in the slaves' quarters and the master's house.

Let him dare and starve and freeze and die and love and weep and fear and remain faithful with the men and the boys and the women and the slaves in the War Between the States.

Let him pass with the white and black South through the Reconstruction, when the real war was fought—the war against darkness and the pit.

Let him live through the days of our feudalism and know our farming system, ruining land, tenant and owner. Let him sense the fear clutching at every white woman's throat, that her men might contribute to, and perish by, the degradation that has always yawned for the manhood of the dominant and the womanhood of the subservient race, when the two have lived side by side. Let him watch in sick horror the festering of the black wrath in the Negro's heart at the despite done his women and the primitive striking back in kind as at a racial taboo.

Let him with jubilant, though bleeding, feet walk with the Negro through the stages of his beginning education, the dawning of his real freedom and of his ambition and desire for his children—some white men hating and fearing, others not caring and still others anxious to help, yet finding it so difficult, with the clinging memories and attitudes of slavery, the badge of color, the prejudices of race and that native human instinct of trampling down others that we may seem higher.

I nominate Mr. Childers to do this work. There is no job of writing now in the world that has more possibilities of poignancy, power and service.

And he can do it.

If Mr. Childers's plans do not contemplate the high mission for which he is nominated, let him make the counter proposal that Dr. Edmonds take the same grand theme and write an epic prose poem. He can do it.

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RACE PROBLEM

NEW YORK—"White Man and Black Man" is the title of a new book on the race problem in the deep South by James Saxon Childers, published by Farrar and Rinehart.

Carl Carmer, author of "Stars Fell On Alabama," says in a review in the New York Herald Tribune: "Now James Saxon Childers has written honestly the tragedy that grew out of the friendship of a Southern white man and a Southern black man, both educated, sensitive, congenial fellows, in the city of Birmingham. In this story he has given more detailed analysis of the inconsistencies and cruelly irrational practices which characterize the bigoted Southern whites' attitude toward the Negro than has any other writer."

4-12-36

Race Problem - 1936
Book Review.

About Books

Looking Backwards

EASILY the most significant event in the field of Aframerican letters during the year 1935 was the return of W. E. B. DuBois to the literary front with the publication of "Black Reconstruction" (Harcourt Brace and Company). Publication of this noteworthy volume on the role of the Negro in the Reconstruction governments followed a long period, during which Dr. DuBois had confined his writings to journalistic efforts. Everywhere "Black Reconstruction" was hailed as a valuable contribution. And even those who, like this reviewer, believe that Dr. DuBois' interpretation of the events of that period is not warranted by the facts which he himself presented, acclaim the thorough scholarship of his research and the brilliancy of his style.

It is not equally easy to select a second to the DuBois work; but surely in the running is Zora Neale Hurston's "Mules and Men" (Lippincott). The value of this highly readable volume of Negro folklore and superstitions in the deep South is greatly enhanced by Miss Hurston's inimitable style and her appreciation of folk values. Miss Hurston presents these tales with a zest equal to that of the country folk of her native Florida, who told them to her under a tropical moon, or fishing at midday on the banks of a sleepy stream. She makes no attempt to analyze these stories scientifically. She merely presents them for what they are: highly entertaining tales of an unsophisticated people.

* * *

Cullen's Contributions

AFTER a silence unbroken since 1932, when his novel, "One Way to Heaven," was published, Countee Cullen wrote "The Medea and Some Poems" (Harper and Brothers). This new version of the ancient Greek tragedy was written originally for performance with Rose McClendon in the title role. The production, however, has never reached the stage. The poems include some subjective sonnets and lyrics, together with some translations from the French. They reveal Mr. Cullen still master of that craftsmanship which early won him a distinguished place among American poets. The concluding poem, entitled "Scottsboro, Too, Is Worth Its Song," is a challenge "to American poets" who in verse, assail "disease and death and all things fell and war," to sing now of this "epic wrong." But, Mr. Cullen observes, "they have raised no cry. I wonder why!"

"Early Negro American Writers" (University of North Carolina Press) is an anthology of the literary efforts of Negro in this country from colonial times until the end of Reconstruction in 1880. These writings reveal the mind of the Negro during that period and, as such constitute a valuable source book. The volume is edited by Benjamin Brawley of Howard University.

* * *

Promising Newcomers

TWO promising new writers were published during the year. One a novelist and the other a poet. With the publication of "Ollie Miss" (Frederick A. Stokes Company) George Henderson made his debut as a novelist. This is a story of the simple life on a Dixie plantation. Mr. Henderson writes with power and color. This first effort, however, follows too closely the pattern set by Southern white writers on plantation life.

"Black Man's Verse" (The Black Cat Press) is the first published volume of the poems of Frank Marshall Davis. This young poet writes with force, as well as with beauty. He has a talent for recreating the tempo of life as he observes it. He writes with a feeling of America as we Negroes know America.

* * *

Looking Forward

WHAT 1936 will bring no one can now tell. But certain announcements have already been made. Dr. DuBois is preparing a small volume on the Negro in the social reorganization. Meanwhile, he is continuing his work on the Negro in the World War.

Abram Harris' study of the Negro in business, entitled "Black Capitalism," is scheduled for early publication. In "The Black Worker," which he wrote in collaboration with Sterling Spero, Dr. Harris has already made a noteworthy contribution to the study of the economic problems confronting the race.

"Black Thunder," an historical novel by Arna Bontemps, has been accepted for publication by Macmillans. R. N. Davis is completing his study of the Negro press, which will be submitted to the University of Chicago Press. Horace Caton is working on a survey of the Negro in the steel and the meat-packing industries.

—HENRY LEE MOON.

MORE SOUTHERN FOLKLORE

James H. Street, who began his career as a newspaper reporter in Laurel, Miss., at the age of 14, has tapped the apparently inexhaustible material that makes this South of ours the interesting land that it is.

In a volume entitled "Look Away!" he has collected the news stories that he has seen first hand as a newsman on a score or more Southern papers and the tales that others have told him. Some of the tables are ugly, but none-the-less true, stories of lynchings, of the method of administering prison discipline at Parchman prison farm in Mississippi. Others are among the most beautiful chronicles of the South's history. As, for instance, the story of Alf and Bob Taylor, the Tennessee brothers who ran against each other for governor as candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties respectively.

Many of the stories are known to almost all Southerners. But Mr. Street's re-telling does not make the familiar ones any less interesting. Rather does it give new life to them.

There are incidents and stories in "Look Away!" that would make every Southerner love the South more if he knew them. Few Southerners know the history of the Independent State of Jones which was composed of two Mississippi counties that refused to take part in the War Between the States. Also few know very much about the "shanty-boat folks" who live on the mud flats along the Mississippi between Vicksburg and Memphis.

As soon as "Look Away!" is read by a few more Southerners, The Advertiser confidently expects that there will be some who will rise up in wrathful indignation as a number did on reading, or more often hearing about, "Stars Fell On Alabama." Becoming indignant against Mr. Street, however, will not do much good. He is a natural reporter, trained in the Associated Press school, and aside from a few lapses into unfortunate interludes of statement of opinion, he has written only what he has seen or heard.

New Book, Showing Cause of Lynching, Stirs N. Y.

Impossible for Black Man and White Man to Be Friends in South, Author Sets Forth and Shows Why in Novel.

NEW YORK—A new novel, expounding the theory that it is impossible for the races to exist on friendly terms in Dixie, published by Farrar and Rhinehart, is creating quite a stir among both the literati and the colored leaders in Harlem.

The book, written by James Saxon Childers, white, entitled "A White Man and a Black Man in the Deep South," rings with a sympathetic note on the part of the author, but drives definitely toward the conclusion that, in spite of themselves, true friendship between men of opposite races is an impossibility.

Met in North

The story deals with two young men, one colored, the other white, who became good friends in a Northern university, and after several years are reunited in Alabama, where the white man is a newspaper writer and the colored man is an instructor at a local college.

Although each has more in common, from a mental and artistic sense, than either has with his racial contemporaries, social customs forbid them from enjoying each other's companionship on the fine and easy basis they formerly knew.

Because the colored friend, hard at work on an opera, dared to accept the invitation of his white friend, interested also in creative art, and visited his home, a lynching party was formed to castrate him because the white friend had a liberal sister.

Fiance Enraged

The fiance of the sister, a young white doctor, became enraged because she dared to walk through the parlor while the colored visitor was playing one of his compositions on the piano.

A leading politician, aspiring to the governorship, organized a group of vigilants to give the young woman a horse-whipping if she permitted the composer to call again.

Sharecroppers Unite and Fight

By ELIZABETH LAWSON

REVOLT AMONG THE SHARE-Croppers, by Howard Kester. New York, Covici-Friede. 50 cents.

By ELIZABETH LAWSON

Daily Worker

I THINK Tommy Gray was the first share-cropper I ever met. That was in 1933. I had known about him before that, of course. He was Ralph Gray's brother, and every labor organizer in the Black Belt has heard of Ralph Gray. Ralph was the first to give his life for the Share-croppers Union. After the landlords had attacked the union meeting at Camp Hill, Alabama, in July, 1931, they waylaid Ralph Gray, alone on the public highway at night, and shot him. They followed him to his home and put a pistol in his mouth as he lay in bed, and they carried his dead body away and threw it down before the gates of the jail-house, as they would have thrown down game they had bagged in the day's hunt.

Ralph Gray became a legend in the Black Belt. The croppers have a verse about him which they sing—but very quietly:

"Give me that old Communist spirit,
Give me that old Communist spirit,
It was good enough for Ralph Gray
And it's good enough for me."

Two years after Ralph Gray's death, I was on my way to a meeting in Birmingham, and as I got in the street car I noticed Dan, one of the local organizers, sitting in the Jim-Crow section, just behind the big brown varnished sign-board with the word "Colored" painted on it in white capitals four inches high. There was a man with him I'd never seen before. Dan's face was a blank, of course, and I hoped that mine was too.

After we'd gotten inside the poor little "front parlor" that was to be our meeting place, and while we were sitting about on creaking rockers and backless stools waiting for the meeting to begin, I went over to Dan's companion. He put out his hand and said quietly:

"I'm Tommy Gray. I am the brother of Ralph, who went down."

He said it just that way. Not dramatically, not boastfully, but simply and casually, as if it were entirely right and fitting and natural that the brother of Ralph Gray, whom the landlords hunted down like a wolf, should be sitting in this hot, comfortless room, carrying on the same work, and risking the same fate.

* * *

THE share-croppers are like that. Fighting the most desperate struggle of labor in the United States, they are, as human beings, simple and casual. They are quiet folks whose fighting deeds are told and re-told all over the world. They are gentle and friendly people, who, to build their unions, have stood against the hurricane of terror that the landlords have loosed over the cotton fields of the South. When you meet them you think at once of the song they have made about their unions: "Just like a tree standing by the water, we shall not be moved!" They are like that—like trees. They have the same quiet, deeply-rooted strength.

The great deeds of the Share-croppers Union first gave notice to the world that a forgotten people was rising. Within a few years the word spread throughout the South, and in Arkansas another union of share-croppers, tenants and farm-laborers was born—the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. Together, the two ur' s of the cotton fields are shaking the power of the Southern landlords to its foundations.

Howard Kest-, in his 96-page booklet, "Revolt Among the Share-croppers," tells the story of the birth and growth of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. He tells that story well. Reading the pages of this little book, we bend with the croppers over the rows of brown cotton-stalks with their fluffy white bolls; suffer the body-wrecking and spirit-crushing poverty of the lowest standard of living this country knows; experience the heartbreak of the yearly accounting, down by the landlords with a "crooked pencil." We watch the cheating and the mass evictions that accompany the A.A.A. program, which the croppers have called the "great steal." And we tremble at the specter of new thousands who will be thrown out to wander over the South when the mechanical cotton-picker moves up and down the cotton rows in this year's harvest.

Mr. Kester has made a dramatic and moving story of the development of the Union and the terror by which the landlords have tried in vain to crush it. "The union fought for its life," he says, "as few dreamed that it could. At the end it counted its dead, its injured, its wrecked and blighted lives by the scores, but it emerged from the struggle a powerful, well-organized and fighting union."

* * *

MR. KESTER'S book tells a significent tale. It also has significant omissions.

Why is it that from the first page of the booklet to the last, there is no mention of the Share-croppers Union, which has organized the croppers of Alabama and other states? In the body of the text, the words "Share-croppers Union" do not appear once! To avoid all mention of the Share-croppers Union in such a booklet as this is really a remarkable feat of omission. It is true that in the preface Mr. Kester has a single paragrph in which he says that "the fact that the Share-croppers Union of Alabama is not specifically referred to in this volume is not to be construed as lack of appreciation by the author." What comes first to mind in reading this paragraph, is the old French saying that "He who excuses himself accuses himself."

I have no quarrel with Mr. Kester because he has chosen to tell the story of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, with which he has worked, rather than the story of the Share Croppers Union, with which he has had little contact, if any. The story of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union should be told. But is that account of the Tenant Farmers Union complete, which omits, not only all reference to its older brother, the Share Croppers Union, but even all mention of the united front agreements between the two unions? There have been two such agreements.

Surely these agreements, which brought two great fighting bodies into a united front against the landlords, are an integral part of the story of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. Would the membership of the Tenant Farmers Union want the story of their organization written in this way? Remembering the enthusiasm with which they hailed the united front agreements, and the joyous welcome they gave Tom Burke, assistant secretary of the Share Croppers Union, when he appeared before the convention of the Tenant Farmers Union in January, I know that they would not.

* * *

MR. KESTER'S booklet also contains some grave historical errors. I will mention only one of them here. He explains the origin of the share-cropping system as follows:

"Appomatox left the South prostrate and demoralized. The landlord-planter had his vast acres of land but no 'hands,' and the 'emancipated' Negroes had hands but no land. Those who had and those who had not struck a bargain. If the landlord planter would furnish the land, a house to live in, tools and mules for the worker, the worker would in turn cultivate his crop and at the end of the season they would share the crop between them. At that time it looked like a just and workable scheme that would benefit everyone. . . . The Negroes and eventually the poor whites began share-cropping as a means of deliverance."

This is an absolutely incorrect statement of how the system of share-cropping began. Immediately after the Civil War came the two-year period of Presidential, or reactionary reconstruction, during which the petty-bourgeoisie of the North made alliance with the defeated Southern Bourbons. To carry the Civil War to its completion, the plantations should have been confiscated and divided among the freedmen and the poor whites. The national and state governments not only failed to do this, but actually wrested the land by armed force, by law and by terror from the Negroes who had seized it.

The new state governments of the South, composed almost wholly of former slave-owners and leaders of the Confederacy, passed "black codes" whose deliberate intent was the re-enslavement of the Negro people. Vagrancy laws imposed fines on Negroes caught away from "their" plantations, and permitted any landowner in need of labor to pay the fine and force the Negro to "work it out." The planters, whose aim it was to assure themselves of cheap year-round labor, formed county associations in which it was agreed to pay no money wages, but only a share of the crop.

All these laws and practices, for the most part held in abeyance during the period of radical reconstruction from 1867 to 1876, came into force again when the big bourgeoisie of the North struck an alliance with the Southern landowners and turned its back on the Negro people and the "poor whites" of the South. But, far from beginning "share-cropping as a means of deliverance," the Negroes fought against this new slavery every step of the way

Race Problem - 1936.
Canada.

Canadian Youth Congress Hears of Race Problem

Montreal Girl Says Unfortunate Situation Is Same Everywhere.

MIXED GROUP PICKS HER TO MAP PLANS

Separate Movement Is Outgrowth of Session.

OTTAWA, Canada — Colored citizens of Canada find themselves in the same unfortunate situation as do such citizens of other countries, Miss Juanita C. DeShield of Montreal told the recent Youth of Canada Congress here.

Miss DeShield, representing the Montreal colored community center, was one of fifteen members of her race present.

Barriers Discouraging

An outgrowth of the congress was the formation of the first national colored youth movement, headed by B. J. S. Pitt, Toronto attorney, who accompanied a number of delegates to the meeting.

A total of 480 delegates, from youth organizations throughout the country, attended the congress, called to draw up a "rights of youth bill" for presentation to Parliament. Each delegate was allowed five minutes to speak.

Miss DeShield, who received her B.A. from McGill University, said the racial barriers preventing integration into the country's economic life made the colored youth question the wisdom of spending time and money in fitting themselves for places they cannot attain.

Fascism Assailed

She asked the congress to take steps, through an educational process, toward the elimination of racial discrimination. She was later elected to the continuations committee, receiving 248 votes out of 346 cast to take first place on the list.

Another speaker was Allan Moyston, representing the Organization of the Unemployed of Toronto, a mixed group. He discussed his race's antiwar stand, citing fascism, as evidenced in Italy's invasion of Ethiopia, and nazism as the major enemies of peace.

Race Problem - 1936
Europe

STALIN SAYS SOVIET NOW HAS SOCIALISM

Offers New Constitution as the Only Democratic One in the World Today.

HOLDS IT IS ANTI-FASCIST

11-26-36

He Defends Extension of the Right to Vote to Priests in Speech to Congress.

By HAROLD DENNY

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Nov. 25. — Joseph Stalin, general secretary of the Communist party, presented the new Constitution for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at the Congress of Soviets tonight in a calm and deliberate two-hour speech. The address was at once a professorial essay in political economy by the leader of the world's first Socialist State, a proud declaration of the Soviet Union's accomplishments, an indictment of fascism and a challenge to democracies.

The speech was as prosaic and unemotional in its delivery as it was meaty in content. It bristled with high spots, but the highest probably were these:

Socialism has no wbeen completely achieved in the Soviet Union and the foundation for ultimate communism now at last has been built.

A proletariat, in the sense of an exploited class of workers do not possess the means of production, no longer exists in Soviet Russia, and in its place are a new type of working class and a new type of peasantry, who include in their own ranks their own new type of intelligentsia.

There are no longer antagonistic classes in Russia, and the "class war" here is, therefore, over.

The new Soviet Constitution not only is the most democratic in the world—it is the only truly democratic one in the world.

The new Constitution will give moral support to all people everywhere who are struggling against the encroachments of fascism and will serve as a model to capitalist countries.

Stalin took up frankly the criticism that even under the new Constitution a dictatorship would still exist by means of the Communist party. He said:

"Yes, the dictatorship of the working class will remain and the Communist party will retain its leading position. If critics see these as defects from the standpoint of the Constitution, that is just too bad, because we Bolsheviki see advantages in them.

"No Soil for Several Parties"

"As regards political parties, several parties can exist when there are antagonistic classes. In the U. S. S. R. we have not had antagonistic classss for a long time. In the U. S. S. R. there is no soil for several parties. There is soil for only one party, which can only be the Communist party."

Stalin's remarks on the value of the new Constitution as a check to fascism is highly important. There are many who believe one of the objects of projecting the new and more liberal Constitution was to convince the outside world that this State is progressing toward human liberty, while fascism is constantly tending backward.

"The international meaning of this Constitution cannot be exaggerated," declares the Soviet leader. "When the foul flood of fascism is overwhelming the struggling working classes, when it is destroying tthe democratic hopes of the best peoples in the world, the new Constitution will serve as an indictment of fascism, proclaiming that socialism democracy is invincible.

"The new Constitution is a document showing that what millions of people are dreaming of in capitalistic countries has been accomplished in the U. S. S. R. What has been accomplished in the U. S. S. R. can be accomplished in other countries. But the new Constitution is of still greater significance to the people of the U. S. S. R.

"If for the people of capitalist countries it will be a program of action for us, it will be a summary of our struggles and victories. Our knowledge that the blood that has been shed in the past has not been shed in vain will give inspiration to the working class, who will be mobilized for a new struggle and new victories for communism."

New Commissariat Planned

Stalin briefly reviewed numerous amendments proposed for the new Constitution. The only important one that he approved was a suggestion to create a new Commissariat for Munitions Industries, splitting off arms plants from the Commissariat for Heavy Industry, in which they are now included.

The present special Congress is expected to continue for five days, during which the oCnstitution will be discussed by many speakers and finally adopted without important changes.

Stalin was wildly and almost idolatrously cheered at frequent intervals from the moment he entered the Hall of Soviets, which once was the Czar's throne-room, on the stroke of 5 this afternoon until he concluded his epochal address.

There was nothing of the spellbinder in his manner. His demeanor, despite his enormous power, was almost self-effacing. He is an indifferent speaker with no platform tricks, and his words are, perhaps, all the more impressive for that. His voice is rather flat and monotonous. He spoke in a thick Georgian accent.

His immediate audience of more than 2,000 leading persons from all parts of this enormous land was alert and enthusiastic. Most of the delegates wore European type clothing and were decently dressed. They were conspicuously better dressed than at the seventh Congress of Soviets nearly two years ago.

Among the delegataes in this gleaming white hall, in which a statue of Lenin stands in place of the Czar's throne, were gay blotches of color in the gaudy costumes of Central Asia. The most striking of all lthe delegates were the Cossack divisions in billowing blue coats with scarlet neck cloths, cartridges on their breasts and daggers at their belts.

Spanish Fighters Here

In the balcony sat twoscore delegates of Popular Front fighters from Spain. Most of them gave the revolutionary clenched-fist salute—which Russian Communists, incidentally, never give—as they stood to sing the "Internationale." Outside the hall was an audience of many millions of Soviet citizens listening at the radio for the usual event of Stalin speaking to the public.

Stalin contrasted the Soviet situation now, in which capitalism has been liquidated, industry completely socialized and agriclture almost entirely collectivized, with the situation in 1924, when industry was sick, speculators were rampant, and agriculture was medieval.

"Today there is no more exploitation of man by man," said Stalin. "Socialism has conclusively conquered. There is no more unemployment."

Stalin emphasized that the new Constitution registered what had already been accomplished in the Soviet Union and did not deal with the future.

"This document is an advance but it represents only existing conditions," he said.

Developing his thesis that this was the only democratic Constitution, he said that there were two types of constitutions in capitalist States.

Cites Right to Work and Rest

"One," he aserted, "openly or indirectly denies democratic liberties and rights. The other professes to allow them but under liatimtions that destroy them. Here, on the contrary, our Constitution not only says men are equal but gives guarantees of their equality. It not only grants the rights to work and rest, but it guarantees those rights.

"What is democracy? In capitalistic countries it is for property owners. Here it is for all. Thus it is incorrect to say our constitutional project violates democratic principles. In fact, our Constitution is the only Constitution that is democratic to the limit" (meaning from the context of the address, that the Soviet Constitution embraces economics as well as politics).

Stalin rejected suggestions to withhold suffrage from former Kulaks, White Guards, priests and other remnants of the "people of the past" and to forbid religious services.

"The Soviet Government deprived these people of voting rights only temporarily, when they were actively hostile to the Soviet," Stalin explained. "Since then all exploiting classes have been abolished. The time has come to repeal limitations. There is no danger now.

"Not all the former members of those classes are antagonistic now. If they should be elected in some places it will merely show that our agitation has been ineffective and that we should be ashamed. If our agition has been effective nothing will happen."

See Misunderstanding in U. S.

By The Associated Press.

MOSCOW, Nov. 25.—Joseph Stalin in his speech to the Congress of Soviets today deplored what he said was a lack of understanding of the new Constitution by some sections of the Polish and American press.

"Some American and Polish newspapers," he said, "don't understand that the dictatorship is being changed by the Constitution into a more elastic form. They continue to say this is a renunciation of the dictatorship.

"Do they really know what dictatorship means? Do they understand what we are doing, or are their conceptions mixed up?"

Racial Superiority Debated By Soviets

advertiser

MOSCOW, Dec. 26.—(AP)—A political-scientific controversy between proponents and opponents of the theory that some races are superior to others—which orthodox Marxist doctrine rejects—attracted wide attention in Moscow today.

It centered in the all-Union congress of psychiatrists and followed suppression of a report to the congress dealing with this theory. 12-27-36

It was charged that G. N. Kaminsky, commissar of public health, had influenced congress officials to destroy the report to prevent circulation of an attack on Prof. Solomon G. Levit, Montgomery Ala. who was recently expelled from the Communist party and denounced as a "false scientist" by the official press because he defended the doctrine of racial superiority.

Levit, head of the famous Medico-Genetic Institute, and well known in American scientific circles, recently stirred up a controversy in scientific circles by his acceptance of what orthodox communists call the "fascist theory of race superiority." He was attacked because his views on biological determination among races, the role of hereditary traits and biological explanations for crime were contrary to Marxist doctrine.

Prof. M. B. Krol in a contribution to the suppressed report denounced Levit and called for a "merciless fight against such false science." One thousand copies of the report were seized at the printer's and destroyed.

Scientists meeting in the psychiatrists' congress warned against acceptance and admiration for "such fascist racial nonsense." Pravda, organ of the Communist party, severely criticized Kaminsky for defending Levit.

Race Problem - 1936
Europe

Defender's Moscow Correspondent Gets Interview With Pushkin's Descendant

Defender's Ace Moscow Correspondent Interviews Descendant Of Pushkin

Great-Great Granddaughter of Poet Tells Of Her Ambitions

By CHATWOOD HALL
(Defender Foreign Staff Writer)

MOSCOW, U.S.S.R., May 1—(By Mail)—Last week this writer entered a courtyard in the center of the Red Capital. Apartment buildings were on all four sides. Approaching a caretaker busy at his tasks, I inquired: "Does Citizen Pushkin live here?"

"Yes, yes, citizen, she does," he courteously answered, and pointed out a large red building on the east side of the courtyard.

In answer to my ringing the bell at apartment No. 8, on the door of which appeared the name E. A. Pushkin, a woman opened the door and graciously asked me to enter.

"Please, are you the great-granddaughter of Pushkin?" I asked, explaining the purpose of my visit.

"Yes, I am Pushkin's great-granddaughter; please come in and be seated," she replied.

Ekatarine Alexandrovna Pushkin seated herself beside me on the divan and asked in what language we should talk, as she has a knowledge of English and French. During the ensuing two hours we found ourselves at times interspersing Russian, English and French words.

Born 27 Years Ago

This young descendant of the great Race poet was born in Moscow 27 years ago. Her hair is brown and wavy, and she has soft brown eyes. She is about five feet, four inches in height, and has a skin which is velvety and neither altogether very dark nor fully white. She is unmarried, lives with her mother, and has a bearing and feminine graciousness for which Soviet women are well-known. Her Pushkin blood comes from the side of her father, who was Pushkin's grandson.

"Citizen Pushkin, have you ever been interviewed by a foreign journalist?"

"No, I have not; and this is the first time I have had the pleasure of talking with a Negro," she replied.

"If your great ancestor, Pushkin, were alive today, would he be for Soviet power and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat?" was my next question.

"Of course he would be wholeheartedly in favour of the Soviets," replied Ekatarine Pushkin. **"When Pushkin lived he had close relations with organizations which were opposed to the Czarist autocracy. He was a full supporter of the Decembrists, and the only reason which prevented his participation in the Decembrist uprising in Petersburg was that he was away in the village at the time."**

(Note: In 1825, the first revolutionary attempt of the intellectuals, the Decembrists uprising, so-called, broke out in Petersburg. It was quickly crushed. Pushkin was a full-fledged supporter of the Decembrists.—Ed.)

Citizen Ekatarine Pushkin pointed out that Pushkin's life was very hard under Czarism. The great poet was continually persecuted by the Czarist autocracy and bureaucracy, was kept in financial difficulties, and was several times exiled to out-of-the-way places. But this never dampened the ardour of the poet nor stilled his pen from producing stinging epigrams against the Czars, the corrupt court, and government mis-rule and brutality.

Has Literary Ambition

"And you, Citizen Pushkin; have you any literary ambitions?" was the next and appropriate question.

"Yes, I have ambitions and desires to write, but unfortunately I did not inherit the talent; it seems to have waned with Alexander Sergeivich (Pushkin)," she answered wistfully.

Every day finds Ekaterine Alexandrovna Pushkin busy at her secretarial work in the Soviet factory, "Spartak," which manufactures various kinds of sports equipment and clothes for her fellow Soviet workers. In the evening she usually satisfies her literary "ambitions and desires" by reading the works of her celebrated ancestor. Her favorite sports are skating and skiing, with a fondness for tennis.

Knew English

Pushkin knew English and French, said his young relative. He was of sort stature and had decided Negro characteristics, both physically and temperamentally. His hair was curly and brown, his complexion was decidedly dark, and his eyes were brown. He was of an agreeable personality and although his life was beset with Czarist persecutions, he did not become moody and morose but enjoyed the company and companionship of his large circle of friends.

"As you perhaps know, Citizen Hall, Pushkin had two sons and two daughters," remarked Citizen Ekatarine Pushkin. "Some of their descendants, besides myself, live in Moscow, and when it is convenient for you, it will be a pleasure to me if you will come of an evening and we will go together to visit them."

Thus ended an exclusive interview with a direct descendant of the great Russian national poet who, though he was not the victor in the fatal duel outside Petersburg, lives in immortality in the hearts of more than 150 Soviet nationalities.

Defender 5-2-36 Chicago

—Defender Foreign Photos

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English Black Peoples Hold Big Congress; Problems To Be Sifted

[Chicago Defender Press Service]

LONDON, England, May 8—African, American, West Indian and other black and colonial peoples living in England have organized a congress on race problems to take place at Hoddesdon, Hertshire, England, under the auspices of the League of Coloured Peoples whose president is Dr. Harold Moody, a physician, native of Jamaica.

Aims of Congress

The aim of the Congress is to face realistically the complex problems which have resulted from the impact of Europe upon tropical society. These problems fall naturally into three broad groups—consideration of economic organization, the clash of cultures, and political issues.

From the nature of the subjects, Africa and the West Indies will be the principal areas under discussion. However, the issues to be learned from other countries will necessarily be considered.

Program and Speakers

The Congress, which is scheduled to convene this week, will open with an address of welcome by Dr. Moody, follwed by a report by Samuel R. Wood, of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society of the Gold Coast.

C. L. R. Jones, a West Indian journalist and author will speak on economic organization in the Tropics; C. F. Strickland, C.I.E., will speak on "New Ideals and the Co-operative Movement;" George Browne, M.A. LL.B., lecturer in history at Wilberforce university, U.S.A., who has recently returned to London from Liberia, will address the Congress on the "Clash of Colours;" Leonard Barner, author and ex-colonial official will speak on "Building a New Society;" Dr. H. D. Hooper of the Church Missionary Society will speak on the subject, "What the Missionaries Have to Offer;" O. L. Davies, a Nigerian student at London university, will speak on "Political Problems from the Native Point of View," while a white colonial official will discuss the same subject from the European point of view.

5-9-36

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Defender 5-9-36

GROUP OF 12 NEGROES TOUR SOVIET UNION

Adolph Hodge, Tour-Leader, Gets Invitation to Visit Moscow

By Chatwood Hall

LENINGRAD, U. S. S. R. — (By Mail)—Under the leadership of Adolph Hodge, well known tour leader, a group of 12 colored Americans reached Leningrad today from Helsingfors, Finland. The group, which is the first organized Negro tourist group to visit the Soviet Union consists of eight women, three men, including E. P. Davis, dean of Howard university, and a 4-year-old lad.

Although their program does not call for a visit to Moscow, the State Tourist Agency (intourist) has given the colored visitors a special invitation to extend their visit to the Red Capitol. The visitors expressed unanimous satisfaction over this special courtesy extended them by a Soviet state organizaion. After seeing the principal points of interest in Leningrad, such as Pushkin's home, the Winter Palace, the Hermitage, fortress of Peter and Paul, etc., the visitors will leave for Moscow.

Stay At Fine Hotel

A canvass made by this correspondent at the Hotel Astoria, Leningrad's finest hotel, where the visitors are staying, disclosed that the principal interests of the tourists are the new Soviet constitution, especially those sections dealing with education in general and free education in the higher schools in particular, and full equality of women and all races and nations in all walks of life in the Workers' republic.

Many of the visitors expressed themselves as being surprised at the excellent conditions they found existing in the Soviet Union. Having read and heard of forced labor, hunger, terror, etc., in the anti-Soviet press and from Red baiters, they had found conditions just the opposite, with free and voluntary labor with work guaranteed for everybody, stores jammed with food and clothing, and terror, they had learned, was ready to be use only against enemies of the Soviet state.

According to their program, the group left New York on the Ile de France on July 3, and has visited London, Stockholm and Helsingfors. On the return trip visits will be made to North Cape (top of the world), Denmark, Holland, Belgium and Paris, with arrival in New York on August 27.

League Powers Hostile To Italy

Smaller Nations Opposing Plan To Woo Mussolini At Expense Of Selassie

GENEVA, Sept. 19.—(AP)—Small powers of the League of Nations, informed sources said tonight, will resist any plan to induce Italian participation in the forthcoming assembly if that plan embraces barring representatives of Haile Selassie.

At the first meeting of the League Council today, preliminary to the convocation of the League Assembly Monday, statesmen anxious to bring Italy back into Locarno Pact collaboration listened uneasily to rumbles of revolt from smaller nations.

The lesser powers indicated at the closed council session, that they were unalterably opposed to any diplomatic formula directed at the unseating of the Ethiopian Negus's representatives.

There were unofficial reports that the larger powers tentatively had advanced a plan to bar the Ethiopians on the ground that they do not now represent an effective government.

Small Powers Balk

By this move, it was reported, the powers hoped to persuade Italian delegates to attend and at the same time avoid official repudiation of Ethiopia as a League member.

The smaller powers, however, were represented as feeling that such a procedure would be tantamount to League recognition of Italian annexation of Ethiopia, still officially a member of the League of Nations.

Italian delegates did not attend today's meeting, adhering to Mussolini's stated policy that Italy would not sit in the League sessions unless assured that the Ethiopians would not be present to embarrass her.

In this frame of mind the Council adjourned after agreeing to pass on to the Assembly replies to invitations for League reform.

League officials tonight expected the Council to adjourn Saturday until about next Thursday by which time the Assembly may effectively have rejected Ethiopian credentials, thus permtiting Italian representation at the council table.

Spanish War Felt

The Spanish civil war made itself felt in the League circles when Julio Alvarez del Vayo, representative of the Madrid Government, complained to Yvon Delbos, French foreign minister, that Portugal was aiding the Spanish insurgents.

Portugal, he said, was doing this by refusing to participate in the non-intervention committee.

(This committee, sponsored by France and Great Britain, met once in London with all invited powers except Portugal attending. Portuguese officials had told the British Government that their country could sit on the body only after its purposes and scope had been defined.)

Delbos tonight promised Del Vayo that he would take up the question of Portugal with Anthony Eden, Britain's foreign secretary and League delegate, and then make a reply.

LES VIOLENTES ATTAQUES DE LA PRESSE ALLEMANDE CONTRE LA FRANCE

Marseille-Matin

PARIS, 8 septembre. — Le ministère des Colonies communique : — De nombreux organes de la presse allemande ont reproduit récemment un article du *Schwartze Korps*, journal de la Garde du Chancelier Hitler, qui constitue un dénigrement systématique de la vie française. Ledit article est accompagné de photographies obtenues au moyen de montages et que l'on présente comme des documents pris sur le vif. Cette campagne qui s'inspire de théories racistes, vise également les populations indigènes de nos colonies de l'Afrique noire et nous reproche de les faire participer trop largement à notre existence nationale dans un esprit d'assimilation exagéré. Afin de montrer sous son véritable jour le caractère de cette propangande antifrançaise, M. Marius Moutet, ministre des Colonies, a donné des instructions aux chefs de nos pays africains pour que la plus large diffusion soit assurée à l'article du *Schwartze Korps*, en soulignant les violentes attaques dont notre politique coloniale est l'objet en raison de la fraternelle compréhension dont elle fait preuve envers les Noirs.

M. CANDACE, RAPPORTEUR DU BUDGET DE LA MARINE A QUITTE TOULON

Marseille-Matin

TOULON, 15 septembre. (*De notre correspondant particulier*). — M. Gratien Candace, député, ancien sous-secrétaire d'Etat, rapporteur du budget de la Marine, dont nous avons annoncé l'arrivée à Toulon, vient de commencer ses voyages d'études par notre port.

Pendant son séjour, il a pris contact avec le préfet maritime, le contre-amiral major général, et les différents chefs des directions de l'Arsenal et de la IIIe région. Au cours de ses visites, M. Candace s'est documenté sur le fonctionnement et les besoins des services. Après un déjeuner intime à la préfecture maritime, M. le rapporteur a quitté Toulon dans la soirée pour poursuivre son voyage d'études.

M. Candace emporte de son séjour à Toulon une impression très satisfaisante pour l'état de préparation de notre grand port de guerre.

M. CANDACE, RAPPORTEUR DU BUDGET DE LA MARINE, ETAIT HIER DE PASSAGE A TOULON

Marseille-Matin

Toulon, 14 septembre (De notre correspondant particulier). — M. Candace, député de la Guadeloupe, rapporteur du budget de la Marine, ancien sous-secrétaire d'Etat, est arrivé ce matin à 10 heures en gare de Toulon.

M. Candace était accompagné de M. le contrôleur général de première classe Mouraire.

Dès son arrivée, il s'est rendu à la préfecture maritime où il a eu un court entretien avec le vice-amiral Juge, commandant en chef la IIIe région, préfet maritime.

M. Candace accomplit actuellement un voyage d'études.

INJURIES FATAL TO SPANISH PRETENDER

Death Means Extinction Of Old Carlist Line

By United Press.

VIENNA, Sept. 29.—Alfonso Carlos of Bourbon, Carlist pretender to the non-existent Spanish throne, died today at his home in Theresiana Palace.

The 85-year-old prince, the sixth Carlist pretender since 1883, was struck by an Austrian Army automobile yesterday afternoon.

He was a grandson of the original pretender, Carlos Maria Isidoro, who was a brother of King Fernando VII. Since the Carlist do not admit women into their line of succession, his death without issue means the extinction of the direct line of the original pretender.

Don Alfonso considered himself the legitimate Alfonso VII of Spain, his family never having recognized the other line of descent from Fernando VII, that included the monarchs, Isabel II, Alfonso VII and Alfonso XIII.

Don Carlos' 84-year-old wife, his adopted Negro daughter, and his sister, the Archduchess Blanka, prayed at his bedside while he was dying.

Race Problem — 1936

Europe.

Hitler Tells 300,000 Cheering Nazis He Won't Face League as Accused

"We Are Not a Negro Tribe," He Shouts; Offers To Sign Security Pact With Big Three Acknowledging Geneva's Right To Designate Aggressor.

Text of Speech in Page 12-A

MUNICH, Bavaria, March 14.—Fuehrer Adolf Hitler, addressing 300,000 frantically cheering Germans in the birthplace of the nazi party, intimated tonight that Germany will decline to face the League council in London on Monday in the role of an accused nation.

"The German nation does not tolerate being continuously dragged before international tribunals, especially when right and law unmistakably are on our side," he declared.

Other references, including a refusal to be "dictated to" even by neutral organizations, and scathing allusions to request for him to make a "gesture" were widely interpreted as foreshadowing rejection of the League council's invitation to appear on Monday.

His speech also was interpreted as a flat refusal to make any concessions which would neutralize the March 4 re-occupation of the Rhineland.

In a voice of passionate intensity, Hitler reiterated Germany's refusal to make any sacrifices of her sovereign rights. He renewed his threat to isolate Germans from other European nations unless she is treated as a full equal.

"I declare before the world," he said in a firm, defiant voice, "that we will never consent to Germany being treated as an inferior in international policy. Our principle is to go with the other nations of the world as long as they recognize us as equals, but to part with them when they refuse to do so."

"We are a great power in Europe," he said at another point. "We have allowed others to treat us as a negro tribe can be treated. Germans have never tolerated that and never will. . .

"Germany wants to conclude a western security pact, stipulating a sort of 'peace of God' between Germany and France, guaranteed by England and Italy and stipulating that the League council shall determine the aggressor in case of a breach."

The demonstration in Munich before and after Hitler's speech was so vociferous that residents could compare it only with August of 1914, when Bavaria was wild with war fever.

The city's population of 750,000 was augmented by 45,000 "power-of-joy" tourists brought in 45 special trains and more than 50,000 others, who, taking advantage of a 75 per cent fare reduction poured in from various parts of Bavaria and elsewhere to the birthplace of the nazi movement.

Only 6,000 could crowd into the exhibition hall where Hitler spoke, but several hundred thousand were massed in the enormous Teresa meadow near the hall and in adjoining fields where they heard the speech through loud speakers.

Two hundred loud speakers connected by 16 miles of specially laid cable carried Hitler's words through every important street in the city.

Streets for miles around the hall were closed to ordinary traffic and filled with columns of troops and nazi organizations in black, brown and blue uniforms, contrasting to the sombre costumes of civilians and working men, jammed in a vast mass trying to get as close as possible.

When the cheering had died down sufficiently for him to be heard Hitler told his audience of previous nation-wide votes in which he had asked for all Germany's confidence.

"I asked you for your confidence when we withdrew from the League of Nations," he reminded them. "You know why we withdrew. They did not give us the same rights as others. It is impossible for us to play second fiddle.

"Now I am asking again for your confidence. Between now and March 29 (the date of the parliamentary elections) I will take the responsibility for what I have recently done.

"I assumed the responsibility. It was not always easy, for I took over a regime that was in a state of collapse.

"I assumed the heaviest burden it is possible for any man to assume. I doubt whether anyone else would have had the courage to take the full responsibility in his name alone.

"I did not hide behind majorities. I took my mandate from the German people and to that people I am responsible with my head.

"With it, I stand or fall."

"In three years," said Hitler, "we succeeded in bringing Germany's economy in order.

"If this or that critic tells me things ought to have been done differently I reply:

"'I had the courage to do something: Millions were crying for bread they demanded action; I acted.'"

Der Fuehrer then went into a long harangue against the parliamentary system of government, criticizing it with biting irony.

Said Hitler: "It is impossible to have good internal policy if a country is a helot and slave in foreign affairs. I care far less for sympathy than for respect.

Seek Respect.

"I am trying to restore to the German people the respect of the world, for I do not believe you can have sympathy for something you do not respect.

"It is so difficult to make clear to the rest of the world that this is a different Germany from that of former days; that it has nothing in common with the November republic. (The republic immediately after the overthrow of the kaiser.)

"The nations still think they can do with us what they please. I am suffering from the contempt which my predecessors brought upon Germany. We must succeed in making Germany free again.

"I tell you it took much courage to do what I did in these three years. Every step I took was directed toward the freedom of the German people."

"Nobody Shall Tell Me—"

"I attempted in the last three years to direct the political energy of the nation toward the reconstruction of the army. . . .

"I cannot represent the German people so long as they are second-class."

Apparently referring to the Rhineland, demilitarized by the Locarno treaty, Hitler declared "nobody shall tell me there is such and such an institution which I must respect. God Almighty has created me a German, therefore, with His grace, I will act for them and their interests."

He then served notice: "I cannot be forced to change what I have done either by menacing or by flattery."

The tone of Hitler's voice now became defiant. Shouting at the top of his lungs, he cried:

"We will not stand for being treated as you treat a negro state. We demand the same exits and entrances in the world as the rest.

"Germany will not stand for being cited everlastingly before international courts, especially not if the law is indubitably on our side."

After an hour and 10 minutes of his forceful speaking, Hitler's voice became hoarse and he coughed frequently.

Nevertheless, he took up the question of the Locarno pact, explaining the German attitude toward it and expounding his arguments against it. He also went at length into the Franco-soviet pact of mutual military assistance to demonstrate how, in his opinion, it conflicted with the spirit of the Locarno pact.

After explaining that the conclusion of the Franco-soviet pact compelled him to renounce the Locarno treaty, Hitler referred to his peace offers to the rest of Europe.

"I made the biggest gesture any European statesman ever made," he declared. "Europe must be rebuilt on a new basis. Mutual trust must be its foundation.

"We want to stretch out our hand to the French people, but we do not want Germany, anywhere or anyhow, discriminated against.

"We want to be masters in our own home. We do not want others to sit in judgment on our internal affairs.

"Above all human judges is the Almighty God. He alone can decide. God's voice is the people's voice and therefore you alone are my judges.

"On March 29 the German people will make their gesture. Its import will be: For German liberty and equality and therefore for peace.

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ROCK ISLAND, ILL.
ARGUS

MAR 5 1936

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The head of the Reichsanstalt, a German astronomy and working-class engineering, and report says, was "particularly zealous against scientist finds anti-bourgeois music and new idealogical love the followers of Einstein and attacked with between husband and wife and parents and the greatest frankness the scientific methods children is fast being jettisoned under pressure of Professor Planck, who, as is notorious ever sure of events from within the country and today stands at the head of a celebrated without. The present Heidelberg doctrine of learned institution." But it so happens that blond chemistry and blue-eyed astronomy is the professor is neither a Jew nor a Negro.

Heidelberg university is asked to assent to the fact that there is a German science, a Negro science and a Jewish science. "Perhaps," says a commentator, "for a Negro geometrician parallel lines cross each other. Perhaps for a Chinese physiologist the blood in a human body does not circulate. The opinions of mankind, at least to the threatening consequences of their own actions."

The observation is made that in Russia, where the universities were taken in hand, it was proclaimed that only "class science" exists. The only real thinking was class thinking. "Today that fantastic cargo of proletarian astronomy and working-class engineering, and anti-bourgeois music and new idealogical love between husband and wife and parents and children is fast being jettisoned under pressure of events from within the country and without. The present Heidelberg doctrine of blond chemistry and blue-eyed astronomy is bound to go the same way."

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12 inches in the foot and 16 ounces in the pound. Non-Aryan scientists probably make 14 inches in the foot. The Negro observer would report 17 ounces in the pound. The ancient university listens, and when it is all over, leaps to its feet and shouts Sieg-Heil and sings the Horst-Wessel song.

"How can such a burlesque of human reason continue amid a world of spectators? How long can a whole nation live in a mental fog? Reason in-berg to withdraw the invitation to all British universities and academies. Sooner or later the superintendents of such a madhouse must defer, if not to a decent respect to the Heidelberg celebration, and Cornell university, Ithaca, N. Y., will be represented by

Race Problem — 1936

Europe.

Hitler Tells 300,000 Cheering Nazis He Won't Face League as Accused

"We Are Not a Negro Tribe," He Shouts; Offers To Sign Security Pact With Big Three Acknowledging Geneva's Right To Designate Aggressor.

Text of Speech in Page 12-A

MUNICH, Bavaria, March 14.—Fuehrer Adolf Hitler, addressing 300,000 frantically cheering Germans in the birthplace of the nazi party, intimated tonight that Germany will decline to face the League council in London on Monday in the role of an accused nation.

"The German nation does not tolerate being continuously dragged before international tribunals, especially when right and law unmistakably are on our side," he declared.

Other references, including a refusal to be "dictated to" even by neutral organizations, and scathing allusions to request for him to make a "gesture" were widely interpreted as foreshadowing rejection of the League council's invitation to appear on Monday.

His speech also was interpreted as a flat refusal to make any concessions which would neutralize the March 4 re-occupation of the Rhineland.

In a voice of passionate intensity, Hitler reiterated Germany's refusal to make any sacrifices of her sovereign rights. He renewed his threat to isolate Germans from other European nations unless she is treated as a full equal.

"I declare before the world," he said in a firm, defiant voice, "that we will never consent to Germany being treated as an inferior in international policy. Our principle is to go with the other nations of the world as long as they recognize us as equals, but to part with them when they refuse to do so."

"We are a great power in Europe," he said at another point. "We have allowed others to treat us as a negro tribe can be treated. Germans have never tolerated that and never will. . .

"Germany wants to conclude a western security pact, stipulating a sort of 'peace of God' between Germany and France, guaranteed by England and Italy and stipulating that the League council shall determine the aggressor in case of a breach."

The demonstration in Munich before and after Hitler's speech was so vociferous that residents could compare it only with August of 1914, when Bavaria was wild with war fever.

The city's population of 750,000 was augmented by 45,000 "power-of-joy" tourists brought in 45 special trains and more than 50,000 others, who, taking advantage of a 75 per cent fare reduction, poured in from various parts of Bavaria and elsewhere to the birthplace of the nazi movement.

Only 6,000 could crowd into the exhibition hall where Hitler spoke, but several hundred thousand were massed in the enormous Teresa meadow near the hall and in adjoining fields where they heard the speech through loud speakers.

Two hundred loud speakers connected by 16 miles of specially laid cable carried Hitler's words through every important street in the city.

Streets for miles around the hall were closed to ordinary traffic and filled with columns of troops and nazi organizations in black, brown and blue uniforms, contrasting to the sombre costumes of civilians and working men, jammed in a vast mass trying to get as close as possible.

When the cheering had died down sufficiently for him to be heard Hitler told his audience of previous nation-wide votes in which he had asked for all Germany's confidence.

"I asked you for your confidence when we withdrew from the League of Nations," he reminded them. "You know why we withdrew. They did not give us the same rights as others. It is impossible for us to play second fiddle.

"Now I am asking again for your confidence. Between now and March 29 (the date of the parliamentary elections) I will take the responsibility for what I have recently done.

"I assumed the responsibility. It was not always easy, for I took over a regime that was in a state of collapse.

"I assumed the heaviest burden it is possible for any man to assume. I doubt whether anyone else would have had the courage to take the full responsibility in his name alone.

"I did not hide behind majorities. I took my mandate from the German people and to that people I am responsible with my head.

"With it, I stand or fall."

"In three years," said Hitler, "we succeeded in bringing Germany's economy in order.

"If this or that critic tells me things ought to have been done differently I reply:

"'I had the courage to do something: Millions were crying for bread they demanded action; I acted.'"

Der Fuehrer then went into a long harangue against the parliamentary system of government, criticizing it with biting irony.

Said Hitler: "It is impossible to have good internal policy if a country is a helot and slave in foreign affairs. I care far less for sympathy than for respect.

Seek Respect.

"I am trying to restore to the German people the respect of the world, for I do not believe you can have sympathy for something you do not respect.

"It is so difficult to make clear to the rest of the world that this is a different Germany from that of former days; that it has nothing in common with the November republic. (The republic immediately after the overthrow of the kaiser.)

"The nations still think they can do with us what they please. I am suffering from the contempt which my predecessors brought upon Germany. We must succeed in making Germany free again.

"I tell you it took much courage to do what I did in these three years. Every step I took was directed toward the freedom of the German people."

"Nobody Shall Tell Me—"

"I attempted in the last three years to direct the political energy of the nation toward the reconstruction of the army. . . .

"I cannot represent the German people so long as they are second-class."

Apparently referring to the Rhineland, demilitarized by the Locarno treaty, Hitler declared "nobody shall tell me there is such and such an institution which I must respect. God Almighty has created me a German, therefore, with His grace, I will act for them and their interests."

He then served notice: "I cannot be forced to change what I have done either by menacing or by flattery."

The tone of Hitler's voice now became defiant. Shouting at the top of his lungs, he cried:

"We will not stand for being treated as you treat a negro state. We demand the same exits and entrances in the world as the rest.

"Germany will not stand for being cited everlastingly before international courts, especially not if the law is indubitably on our side."

After an hour and 10 minutes of his forceful speaking, Hitler's voice became hoarse and he coughed frequently.

Nevertheless, he took up the question of the Locarno pact, explaining the German attitude toward it and expounding his arguments against it. He also went at length into the Franco-soviet pact of mutual military assistance to demonstrate how, in his opinion, it conflicted with the spirit of the Locarno pact.

After explaining that the conclusion of the Franco-soviet pact compelled him to renounce the Locarno treaty, Hitler referred to his peace offers to the rest of Europe.

"I made the biggest gesture any European statesman ever made," he declared. "Europe must be rebuilt on a new basis. Mutual trust must be its foundation.

"We want to stretch out our hand to the French people, but we do not want Germany, anywhere or anyhow, discriminated against.

"We want to be masters in our own home. We do not want others to sit in judgment on our internal affairs.

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The head of the Reichsanstalt, a German report says, was "particularly zealous against the followers of Einstein and attacked with the greatest frankness the scientific methods of Professor Planck, who, as is notorious everywhere today stands at the head of a celebrated learned institution." But it so happens that the professor is neither a Jew nor a Negro.

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Professor A. W. Boesche of the German department and J. Bennett Nolan of Reading, Pa., a Cornell alumnus.

Harvard's acceptance involves no change in the attitude of that institution toward Nazi policies, and Dr. Livingston Farrand, president of Cornell, says he did not regard an exchange of courtesies between two institutions of learning as involving an expression of judgment as to the policies of the present regime in Germany or as to the attitude of the German government toward the universities of that country.

Negro Tells How It Feels to Live In England

By Rudolph Dunbar

LONDON, (ANP) — How it feels to be a Negro in England—or any white man's country, for a'that—was told by Edven Crist, of Chelsea a Negro who has been here since 1887. It was told in print, in the columns of one of the biggest papers in this metropolis. So forceful was Christ's story that the editor, in a special note, said:

"He isn't pleading, he's simply telling the truth. But it's a truth of which every man and woman with a soul will feel ashamed."

Crist's complete story follows:

" 'I am a stranger here. My home is far away.'

"So runs the old gospel hymn. And, although I came to London as far back as 1887 and have made my home here ever since, it is what I feel.

"I am a stranger, cast out from amongst the people—uninvited, unwanted, and unloved. But I want you please, to read this:

"Beneath a carefully-schooled 'straight face' my heart aches as I walk through the streets of London. Aches for one sign of sympathy, one hour's relief from the everlasting octracism, one single geniune smile from the many who know me by sight.

"But it so very seldom comes John, a coloured friend of mine will tell that this is so.

"Every morning at the same time, John used to walk to his work, along Kensington High Streeet, and every morning he used to pass an old gentleman with white hair and smartly dressed in a silk hat. And because the old gentleman's face looked kindly every morning, John used to say, 'Morin', sah.'

"But the old man never so much as glanced at him.

"Then, one morning, John saw him walking towards him, deep in talk with another old man. He glanced up as he passed John, his kindly old face, lit up in a smile and in an absentminded way, he said, 'Good morning.'

"Something happened in John's heart. Something that hurt him so much that he had to turn back and much to the old man's amazement, say, 'Thank you, sah. That's the first kindly smile I've had in twelve years.'

"Tales like that never surprise us coloured folk.

"No one guesses from our faces what is happening inside us.

"If they did, they'd quickly think of something else. Something less unpleasant.

"So they shut us off, ignore us insult us; even though we do live in the same land and breathe the same air. Yes, even though we are subjects of the same monarch 'Members of the one great family,' as King George said. Please remember—your King is my King too.

"Yet, I've had to walk through crowds at night, and they've spat in my face, shoved me off the pavement called after me, 'Get away, nigger. Get away, nigger.

"I have been baited, too. I remember one Saturday night, two girls saw me, and one came up to me and took my arm.

"You are my sweetheart, ain' you, darky?"

"I tried to free my arm, but her friend laughed so much that the girl was encouraged. She knocked my hat off and stroked my hair A crowd of men had collected by now.

"I told the girl that she had had too much to drink and was making a fool of herself. The crowd laughed.

"That night I didn't sleep.

"That night, too, I tried to harden my heart. Told myself that I didn't care a damn for cruel whites. That I was now impervious to their mocking and their insults.

"But I wouldn't do it. Beneath the coloured man's black skin is a big heart, where hatred lies uneasily. We need love and kindness as much as we need food.

"Our very natures demand it. So there's never a Negro in England that isn't somewhere inside him, nursing a wound that won't heal.

* * * *

"The coloured man in a white country is denied justice. No lawyer would say so in as many words, but it is virtually true.

"For instance, I was walking past the entrance to a school one day. It was wet and muddy and I had on my best clothes as I was going to an interview for a job The children were coming out.

"Six or seven of them ran round me. I should have known better than to do what I did, but I smiled at them.

"One started shouting, 'Old darky nigger....old darky nigger.' ..The others started to pelt me with handfuls of mud from the gutters. This made me angry.

"When they saw this they ran away, but I caught one of them and, holding him firmly by the arm, marched him into the school and reported him to the mistress

"What did she say? Did she apologise to me for her scholar's rudeness? Not she.

"She said: 'why are you holding that boy like that? Let him go at once!'

"I let him go. Then she said: 'Now, Johnny, run along home, like a good boy.' Then she turned to me. 'Please leave here immediately!'

"I hestitated a moment — a threat to report her to the governors of the school ready on my lips. Then slowly I turned and went.

" 'If there's any trouble with a nigger mixed up in it, the nigger is wrong.' " We have learnt this from bitter experience, and I guess we remember it.

* * * *

"And so it goes on.

"Mocking, insults, cruelties, ostracism, oppression. No longer with the slave-driver's whip, but with a subtler lash that cuts even deeper. Its sting goes deeper than the skin, and wounds the humble, unoffending, friendly heart.

"That's all. I wanted to say it—and now I have. Perhaps, I shall feel better now."

Mixed Couples Populate Slum Area in Wales

Afro-American

By RUDOLPH DUNBAR

(For ANP)

5-2-36

CARDIFF, Wales.—British color prejudice has resulted in the development of a slum area here—the Loudoun Square District — in which most of the 2,000 West Africans, Arabs, West Indians and Somalis, many with white wives, are on the dole.

Baltimore, Md.

Whites are greeted with glances of resentment, based on the Shipping Subsidy Act, which prohibits all but British-born colored seamen who can prove their nativity, from being employed on British ships receiving the subsidy. The Ethiopian war has strengthened the resentment.

White women can been leaning in doorways, nursing colored babies, and the woolly-haired half-caste children who live there are unconscious, as yet, of the tragedy of the color bar.

White Women Poor Wives

It is not a happy place. The majority of the colored men make excellent husbands and good fathers to their half-caste children—all of whom, ironically enough, are British-born subjects—and are proud of them.

But the white wife is not so frequently a good wife nor mother, and often brings up the childen to look down, with their infusion of white blood, on their colored father.

Sometimes there are bitter family fights. Colored seamen who get a ship have come to the minister in charge of the Methodist Mission in Loudoun Square and begged him to take charge of their children while they are at sea, "because they can't trust their wives."

Race Problem - 1936
Europe.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
REPUBLICAN

JAN 14 1936

COLORED WORKERS HONORED

To the Editor of The Republican:—

Eugene Gordon, formerly of Boston, who represented the Negroes at various progressive meetings here, is now living in Moscow. He writes to a friend in Boston:—

"Yesterday I was invited to a reception and dinner that writers of Moscow were giving to a group of collective-farm workers from the cotton plantations of Tadjikistan (central Asia). They formerly belonged to one of the 'national minority' groups, and their former status was much like that of Negroes in the United States, and especially in the South.

"Last night they filed into the splendid old mansion used by the Soviet Writers' union's headquarters, to the sound of applause. They were dressed in their picturesque costumes of high black boots, varicolored striped greatcoats, and little skullcaps and turbans. There were 44 of them, six being women. To see how the writers of Moscow, many of them world famous, received these cotton-field workers thrilled me. I know cotton fields back home; I have worked in them.

"I tried to imagine a group of Negro cotton hands from the black belt being feted with a rich dinner of half a dozen entrees—fish, sausages, caviar, cheeses, salads, the finest drinks, a main dish of rice with beef, ice cream—I tried to imagine their being treated in this royal manner by the leading writers of Boston or New York, in some swanky Beacon street or Fifth avenue clubhouse. While they were eating, they were entertained with entrancing music played by a string orchestra, with the singing of concert artists, and with stunts by the best players from Moscow theaters.

"Having come more than 5000 miles by train to Moscow, these workers are here as guests of the textile factory which transforms the cotton from central Asia into various fabrics. They told me they had all been eager to see what happened to the cotton they raised, when it reached the Moscow mills. They were fascinated by the results. One little girl of 11, in a long, loose-fitting red dress, a purplish velvet coat, high black boots and a little round purple cap embroidered with gold and red threads, was asked what she wanted most to see in Moscow. She said, 'Stalin, nothing more.'

"Some of these workers were darker than I. One asked me whether I was a Hindu. When told that I was an American Negro, he was intensely interested."

A. S. B.

Boston, January 8, 1936.

Fraulein Hanna Yawa (left) and her sister, Hedje, who are threatened with forced sterilization in Nazi Germany because their father was a West African.

Sisters to Promise Not to Wed or Else Be Sterilized

Dad, African; Mother, a German; Future of Mixed Races and Jews Dark Under Hitler Regime.

By WILLIAM N. JONES

A choice between sterilization and virtual sexual imprisonment lies open to Fraulein Hedje Yawa and her sister, Hanna, attractive daughters of a white German woman by her West African husband, if they remain in their native Germany.

If they leave, their family's accumulated fortune must remain in Nazi Germany – all because of Hitler's vicious decrees.

Friends of these two brilliant young women have written acquaintances in America, expressing grave apprehensions which indicate a possible future more horrid and terrible than words can paint.

Cannot Marry

Some idea of the possible fate of Hanna and Hedje may be gleaned from the Nazi announcement that Germany must become a pure Aryan country and that steps have been taken to prevent the further propogation of Jews and colored people in the nation.

Neither Hanna nor Hedje can contract a normal marriage while remaining on German soil. These girls face the horror of sterilization or of such surveillance or control as will prevent them from any male contacts which may result in procreation.

It is said that hundreds of colored men in Germany are now being held in concentration camps to prevent any social contacts with white German women. That Hanna and Hedje may also meet such a terrible fate is

feared. Afro-American

Men's Release Sought

Last summer, an attempt to free some of these colored men was made by U.S. citizens interested in the matter.

2-8-36

Just a few years ago these two attractive girls, with their devoted mother whom a dead father had left in good financial circumstances, were looking into the future with the most hopeful anticipations.

Their father had come to Hamburg when a young man, married, and had conducted a successful business.

Baltimore, Md.

There were three children, one a young man, now in America. They had attended school and prepared themselves as the modern German girls do for happy lives in the country of their birth.

Then Came Hitler

Then came the Hitler regime with its racial proscription program.

The grim tragedy of what this has meant and may mean to these two young women makes gloomy reading.

Living next door to Frau Magdelene Yawa and her daughters is a brother of the former. He is, of course, a Nazi German. His son, the blood cousin of Hedje and Hanna, cannot safely walk with them upon the streets.

In Constant Danger

Wherever they go they face constant danger from the anti-colored mob hysteria that the Nazi governmen has engendered in the otherwise noble spirited and unprejudiced German people. Naturally, they live in fea of what the morrow will bring forth.

When this writer was in Hamburg some time ago, Frau Yawa expressed keen apprehension for her daughters. "It matters little to me," she stated, "but what will become of them now?"

They probably cannot marry.

They probably will not be allowed to hold any job that an Aryan Nazi wants.

Must Leave Money

If they leave Germany they will not be allowed to take away any of the hard-earned money their father left for them.

If they stay there anything may happen to them from sterilization to forceful confinement in a dreaded concentration camp, to insure that they will not bear any dark-skin children.

Have Friends

Notwithstanding this they have strong friendship ties among their former young associates, male and female, in the German city. Some of these friends have expressed determination to let nothing come between them and these attractive young women.

But what will Nazi Germany do about them?

Jews Force Lond Hotel to Accept Us as Guests

LONDON (ANP)—An attempt by a London hostelry to exclude Miss Maudell Bousfiield, graduate student of the University of Wisconsin, and Hilton Hanna, student of journalism at the same school, was balked, last week, when thirty-five Jewish persons on a tour with them forced the hotel management to back down.

The two, traveling as part of a group comprising a dozen University of Wisconsin students had made the trip here on the Berengaria. Arrangements had been made for them to stop at the hotel in question. The Jews, likewise on tour were booked at the same hostelry.

When the hotel people caughth a glimpse of Hanna, they promptly refused to accept him as a guest, but overlooked Miss Bousfield, whose vcomplexion did not readily reveal her racial identity.

Walk-Out Threatened

Shorty Colling, university faculty member, promptly stated that none of the Wisconsin group would accept their reservations unless Hanna was included. He was joined in the protest by the entire Jewish group, who threatened to walk out unless the hotel rescinded its policy. The manager accepted Hanna as a guest.

Miss Bousfield, a daughter of Dr. Midian O. Bousfield of Chicgo, received her B.S. in education from the University of Wisconsin in December and is working on her M.A. Hanna, a native of the West Indies, was graduated from Tuskegee Institute before going to Wisconsin U.

The party will tour the entire the Societ Union.

Nazi Insults To Negro Stars Condemned By Herndon

Urges Landon's Defeat to Halt Reaction in America

Discrimination against Negroes in the Berlin Olympics was cited yesterday as an example of what fascism would mean in the United States, by Angelo Herndon, chairman of the Youth Committee of the Communist Election Campaign Committee, in a statement calling for the defeat of the Hearst-Landon forces in the 1936 elections.

"The Nazi Olympics have given American Negro youth a picture of what they may expect in the United States if the reactionary forces represented by the Liberty-League-Hearst-Landon combination triumph," the young Negro leader stated.

Herndon, whose conviction in Georgia on an old slave law to come up before the U. S. Supreme Court, is expected to tour for the Communist election campaign with a special appeal to youthful voters.

"The crowning achievements of Jesse Owens and other American Negro athletes have been ignored by Hitler, he stated. "Leading Nazi papers carry vicious headlines such as 'German is first white man to finish' when announcing results of a contest in which a German finished second to Owens."

"The triumph of fascism in the United States," Herndon said, "would mean that the persecution and discrimination suffered by the Negroes in certain Southern states would be intensified many times."

Herndon concluded with an appeal to "young people throughout the United States to support in every way possible the formation of an American People's Front in a Farmer-Labor Party, which alone can bring about a decisive defeat of reaction."

Race Problem — 1936
Europe

Germans Look for Savage Negro, Chase Says, Citing Nazi Slander

By WILLIAM C. CHASE.
(Amsterdam News Staff Writer.)

PARIS, Aug. 20.—Back in Paris it is easy to reflect on the type of reception a Negro gets in Nazi Germany. Too, one is able to transmit any observation without feeling that he will run afoul the Hitler-inspired rule that correspondents must not write about anything "political."

The Germans were insistent that America cleaned up in the track and field games because they brought over their "alien" Negro athletes. No argument could convince them that Negroes are real Americans, for they have classified them like the Jews who were persecuted religiously by the Nazis until Olympic party manners were instituted.

The hospitality shown toward Negroes at the beginning of the games was overdone, and little incidents kept cropping up at times to convince one that the National Socialist spirit of antagonism toward non-Aryan races is beginning to permeate the people. After the finals in the track and field events, one paper (they are all mouthpieces of the Nazi party) stated that several Negro winners got drunk to celebrate. This was obviously untrue. Before the games when all contestants were shivering in their blankets in the wet, cold weather, one newspaper printed a picture of Owens and Metcalfe so garbed, with a legend stating: "Germany with its cold breezes is no place for a black man."

Many of the people have not seen Negroes before and it was not uncommon to find a mother and her brood running half a block to see one.

• • •

A GROUP including Archie Williams, Fritz Pollard, Jr., Dave Albritton, Dr. Leo Robinson of Ohio, an Olympic visitor; Dr. Chester Chinn of New York, who is studying in Berlin and in Vienna, and myself dined one evening in a rather big and toney restaurant. No sooner were we seated when all eyes were trained on us. A German who spoke English explained that the people expected to see us eat with our fingers instead of silverware.

Of the bronze contingent in the Olympic games, Archie Williams looked best in his clothes...The Germans insist that he and Jimmy LuValle are mulattos...LuValle, who boasts a Phi Beta Kappa key and plans to retire and marry Mary Silvero of New Jersey, was the most scholarly, and Dave Albritton the most playful.

The Nazi girls I interviewed said they thought Ralph Metcalfe handsome, and were open in expressing admiration for the flyer.

No racial segregation or discrimination existed at the Olympic Village, so far as observers were able to note. Two boys bunked in each modern room, and no house was filled with Negroes only. The white Southerners on the team appeared to enjoy the friendship of the Negro aces, and there were plenty of interracial games of black-jack in the idle hours.

From the stands Tidye Pickett looked very much like one of the Japanese team members.

Jesse Owens was not permitted to leave the Olympic Village to go into the city because his personal popularity would lead to his being mobbed. Many Germans know but two English words, and they are "Jesse Owens." Many of those who know four will greet youth with "Jesse Owens, Joe Louis." I met a number of Germans who admire Louis, and think he is the greatest fighter of all times.

Almost every Negro man on the streets was approached by a German woman offering to make love for a price. I was informed that they consider their attentions worth four times as much from Negroes as from whites.

Anti-Semitism Invades England's Communities

(By our London Correspondent)

LONDON, Sept. 18—(By Mail)—While the attention of the world is focused upon the persecution of the Jews in Germany, Poland, and other Fascist countries, emissaries from these countries have arrived in England to help the British Fascists, under the leadership of the English aristocrat, Sir Oswald Mosley, organize a campaign of anti-Semitism. During the past few weeks violent attacks have been made upon the Jewish community which is located in Whitechapel the east end of London.

Physical attacks against individual Jews, especially orthodox ones have had their beards pulled by Fascist hooligans, terrorization and intimidation of Jewish shopkeepers and desecration of Jewish synagogues, have been a frequent occurrence. The situation has become so alarming that Sir John Simon, Secretary of State for Home Affairs, has had to admit in the House of Commons that if this form of hooliganism is permitted to continue, the very existence of British Jewry will be threatened, and the fate of thousands of these innocent people will be similar to the fate of their co-religionists in Germany and other European countries.

Jews Organize in Self-Defense

One of the largest Jewish conferences ever held in London assembled here on Sunday, July 26, when over 200 delegates from Jewish friendly societies, trade unions and labor organizations, synagogues, youth groups, and ex-service men, and organized themselves into a defense organization to protect their race from this growing menace.

The leaders of the anti-Jewish movement are members of the Blackshirt Union of British Fascists, who, in order to gain the ears of the British people, are using the violent slanders against the Jews. Backed by some of the richest people of England, the Fascists are publishing newspapers and other forms of literature, calling upon the English people to do like the Nazis in Germany and drive the Jews out of England. One of the most virulent forms of their propaganda is spreading the slander that the Jews are stealing Christian children, killing them and taking their blood to mix for religious purposes. Sir Oswald Mosley openly boasts that his aim is the complete destruction of Jewry, and that he will not rest until every Jew has been wiped out.

The position of the Jewish people is a tragic one. Despite the fact that they are supposed to be the richest minority group in the world, their money does not seem to rescue them from racial persecution any more than the black peoples who, unlike the Jews, are the poorest of the poor. Only the destruction of the forces of reaction, such as Fascism, can save the Jews in England from the fate of German Jewry.

Soviet Youth Raise Demand For Racial Equality At Meet

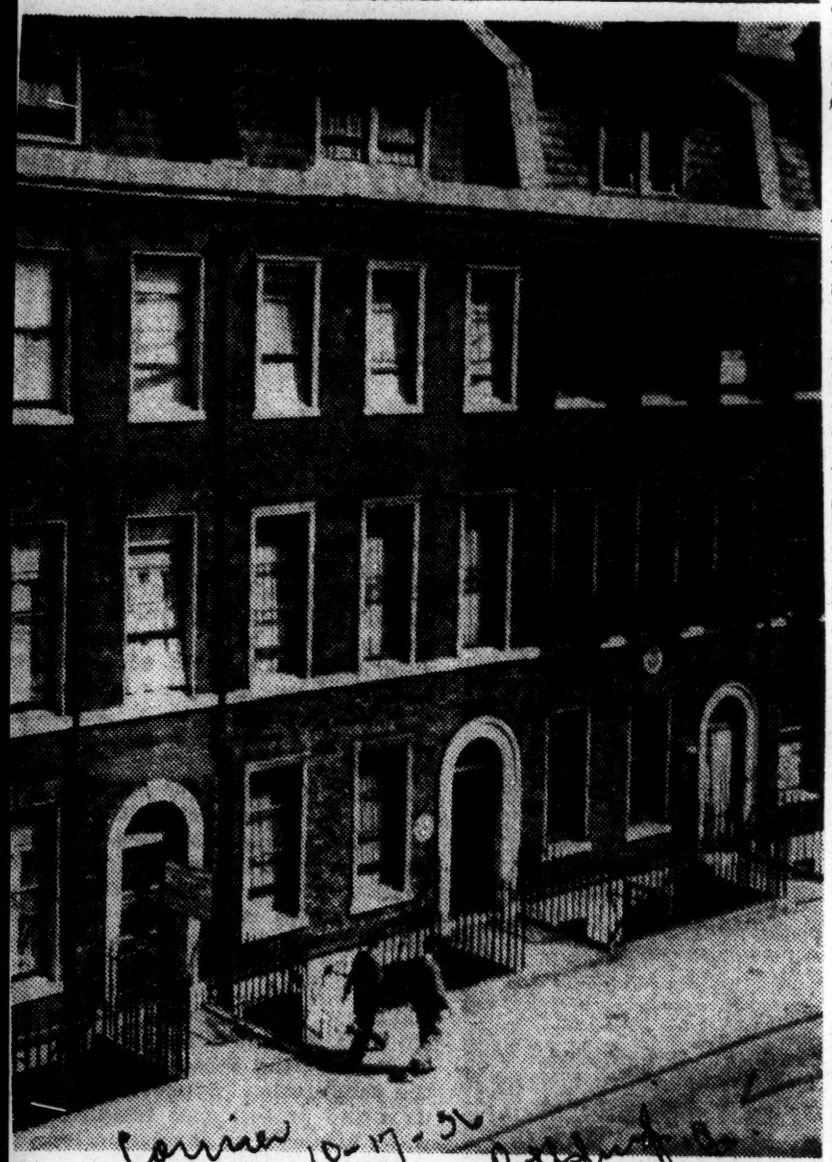
GENEVA, Sept. 18—Russian Communist youth delegates to the first World Youth Congress To Prevent War and Organize Peace, called for recognition of equality among all peoples as a basis for peace. "A people that oppresses others cannot be free," declared A. V. Kossariev of the Soviet Union delegation, quoting Karl Marx's words to the world youth congress here.

The Soviet youth delegate contrasted Tsarist oppression of various people within the empire with present conditions in Soviet Russia in which the formerly oppressed nationalities enjoy complete freedom and equality and where "school books are published in 90 languages and newspapers in 82, bringing knowledge to every corner of the Soviet land, to our many different races."

The congress was attended by 500 delegates and 200 alternates from 36 countries.

Nazi theories of "Aryan" superiority were assailed by Edward Strong, Chicago Race man, who acted as spokesman for the North American delegations in replying to the welcome accorded them by the congress. The theory of race superiority put forward by some governments was a menace to peace, Strong told the congress.

"AGGREY HOUSE" IN LONDON



Courier 10-17-36

It is said that no person of color should visit London without going to "Aggrey House," a cultural center for West Africans provided by the British government. It was named after "Aggrey of Africa," educated in the United States, who returned to his country and made a notable record as a missionary and educator.

DEMOCRACY IN RUSSIA

On various counts the adoption of the new Soviet Constitution is a political gesture of the first importance. The text is so liberal that it seems to abolish at a stroke the discriminations, restrictions and repressions that have governed Russia for nineteen revolutionary years. Besides the right to vote freely and secretly, now granted regardless of class origins and to the collectivized peasants on the same basis as industrial workers, it guarantees religious freedom (while still prohibiting religious teaching), freedom of speech, press and assembly. It permits ownership in personal property as distinct from land and the means of production.

Hailed as a great reform is the provision protecting the citizen against arrest without warrant, and imprisonment by the police without due sanction by the court.

The Socialist Magna Charta, as it is described in Moscow, goes beyond the guarantees that are the commonplace of democratic rule. It also recognizes "new rights of man." Among them the right but also the obligation to work, the right to rest, paid holidays, free education of all kinds and economic provision in all the vicissitudes of life. These rights are not granted as the result of popular demand or agitation, both impossible under the existing system. They are a pure gift of STALIN, and with natural pride of authorship he characterizes his masterpiece as a document of which "millions have "dreamed and are dreaming in capi-"talist countries," and assures these envious millions that "what has been "accomplished in the U.S.S.R. can be "achieved elsewhere."

While agreeing that the new Constitution marks a long step forward for Russia, older democracies will wait to see it work before they admit that it establishes the Soviet Union as "the greatest of the republics." Politically, the move toward democracy is part of the Soviet offensive against fascism. With obvious disquiet the Kremlin has watched its organization and its methods copied by the Fascist States. For the first time it meets an enemy who fights with the same weapons, particularly the deadly weapon of high-power and long-range propaganda. The effect of this exasperating development is to turn Russia toward the democracies. Her aim is to be ranged "on the side of the angels."

The trouble is that she wants the best of two worlds. The dictatorship is to be maintained, above and outside the elective Parliament. There is no indication that all power will not continue to reside in the political bureau of the Communist party, dominated by STALIN. There is no prospect that the ruling party will tolerate opposition, or that the voters will have any real choice as they cast their secret ballots. Without such alternatives the Soviet citizens merely progress from the indirect show-of-hands system of today to the one-party elections of Germany and Italy, also "free and secret." Nor with all its liberal provisos does the new Constitution offer any hope that the freedom it guarantees means an uncontrolled press or the open discussion of unofficial ideas. No religion may be taught save the Communist religion. The secret police will continue to function in ways inconceivable in free States. Dissenters will be hunted and punished.

Even as a blue-print, however, Russia's new bill of rights is significant of the evolution of the revolution. It shows that the Soviets are on their way, and every believer in freedom must hope that the paper plan will eventually come true. The Russians have to prove, if they can, that communism is compatible with liberty.

Labor-1936 Race Problem-1936 Soviet.
Europe
Unions, Strikes, etc.

Women's Dean, Now Anthropologist in Soviet University in Moscow

Vivienne France, Back from Research Expedition in Abhasia, Will Visit Home in America, but Says She Will Return to Workers' Society Where There Is No Discrimination on Account of Race.

Afro-American 3-14-36

BY CHATWOOD HALL

MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.—Two years ago a more or less stout brown-skinned American woman sat in an automobile as it ambled through Red Square from the railway station to a hotel.

The westering Russian sun was wheeling below the horizon, silhouettiing the ancient Kremlin, with the fluttering red flag atop, in an aureola of crimson rays. In the gathering shadows beneath the hoary walls of the ancient fortress, brooding-like, stood the tomb of Lenin.

Is Columbia U. Grad

It was Vivienne France, master of arts, Columbia University, one time dean of women at North Carolina State College, and former head of the history department in LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tenn., speaking. For the past two years she has been consultant in the anthropophysical laboratory, Moscow University.

"How does it feel to live and work in the Free Society?" she was asked, as we sat in her apartment on Petrovka Street near Pushkin Square.

"After having lived in America, living in the Soviet Union seems like being suddenly let out of a dark, close cellar into pure, free, fresh air!" emphasized Citizen France, glancing at the ice-covered windows.

An Expedition

Citizen France has just returned with an expedition from her laboratory to the Rebublic of Abhazia on the shores of the Black Sea in the North Caucasus district.

While there, they devoted much time to studying the descendants of hundreds of Negroes who were brought as slaves to the region by Turkish landlords hundreds of years ago. She is now busy in her laboratory assisting in compiling and coordinating the data gathered.

Study Racial Amalgamation

When asked about this study of racial amalgamation in Abhasia, she stated that interesting data would be given out later.

She did, however, relate several interesting incidents which set forth the fact that the colored citizens in that republic are absolutely free socially, economically and politically and participate on fully equal basis in all walks of life there.

It was significant, she said, that they threw in their power on the side of the Revolution in 1917 and are now reaping the reward.

"Have you ever found any hint of color prejudice or race chauvinism in the Soviet Union?" Citizen France smiled; the question seemed to her so ridiculous.

"Absolutely not! Nowhere and never! It just does not exist, that's all."

Finds Life Interesting

Aside from her work in her laboratory, Citizen France finds time to participate fully in the cultural and social life of the Red Capital, visiting the great theatres, museums and points of historical and social interest.

That she has such opportunities open to her is due to the fact that under Soviet power there is no conception of Jim Crow or any form of discrimination or distinction practiced or permitted against any nationality, be it Jew, Negro, Abhazian, Uzbek, Armenian, etc.

"I am going back into the 'cellar' for a few weeks this spring," said Citizen France, explaining that she intends to go abroad in May. "But I am coming back to the Free Society again—to the fresh air, the activity, vigor, and freedom of the Workers' Republic."

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MISS VIVIENNE FRANCE, former head of the history department at LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tenn., who, for the past two years has been consultant in the anthropophysical laboratory at Moscow University, in Russia.

A Column From MOSCOW

MOSCOW, U. S. S. R., Sept. 18—A news dispatch in an American newspaper informs that a well-known Negro politician charges that his son learned "radical ideas" and Communism in Howard university. Which recalls that the great Russian genius, Lenin, during his college days in Simbirsk, Kazan and St. Petersburg was a diligent student of Communism and a radical. Marx and Engels in their youth paid great attention to problems of Communism. All three of these geniuses have gained immortality. Perhaps the offspring of the displeased politician has thoughts of a measure of immortality for himself.

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This correspondent met, a few weeks ago in Leningrad, a rare and queer species of "animal" in the form of a colored woman from American travelling with a group of Race tourists. Nothing pleased her: the Slav temperament, the free relations between Soviet men and women, no hot and fiery jazz bands so that she could "truck on down," ad infinitum. "I'll be so glad when I get out of this country; the sooner the better," she bewailed to me.

But the rest of the group was having a tremendously gorgeous time: the lovely white nights, the Winter Palace, the Fortress of Peter and Paul, the unmatchable Nevski Prospect, Pushkin's apartment, strolls on the embankment of the full-streamed Neva, etc., etc. And above all: FULL AND ABSOLUTE SOCIAL EQUALITY FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THEIR LIVES.

But, alas, the sob sister, absolutely free for the first time in her life; she wanted to run away from all this. She sighed for the bourgeous-capitalist world, where she and her race are insulted, segregated, discriminated against. But what mattered all of this paradise about her—she wanted to be some place where she could "truck on down." How classify such an "animal?"

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Casus Belli: We were discussing in her hotel room the question of Jim Crow schools in America, the absence and impossibility of such schools in the Soviet Union, and the interior training which such a system visits upon colored children, not to mention the salary differentials for teachers. She was from Iowa; her tourist room-mates were from Louisiana.

Ruth, we shall call her, was castigating Jim Crow school unmercifully, when suddenly one of the Louisianians got ants in her pants and cried: "Now, look here Ruth, you have never been South and you don't know a g—— d—n thing about this problem!"

"The hell I don't," retorted Ruth. "All America and the world knows about your benighted South, its lynchings, its Jim Crow. Even in Russia they know all about it."

Before I could add my voice to the fray, the Louisianians had on their hats and were away to see the sights of the Red capital, to gaze with old-maidenish rapture at curly-headed Pushkin's monument, to read signs on barber shops, cafes and restaurants, which read: "For All Citizens."

Fisk Professor Lauds Soviet Achievements

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MOSCOW, U. S. S. R., Sept. 18—"The Soviet Union is the only country I know of that knows where it is going," declared Gilbert Hubert, assistant professor of economics, Fisk university, when asked today for his opinion of Soviet planned economy. Professor Hubert, who has just completed his first visit to the Soviet Union, said that his main interest in coming here was to see at first hand Soviet collective farms and other types of cooperatives. He has had conferences with many of the leaders of the Commissariat of Agriculture and has visited collective farms in Moscow province.

Professor Hubert made it clear to this correspondent that as far as he could ascertain the Soviet Union not only "knows where it is going," but is rapidly going to its ultimate aim.

"The Soviet Union has a specific plan and program, well-defined and well-conceived, and rapid strides are being made toward fulfillment of that plan," he said.

"What do you intend to do with the knowledge and information of socialized agriculture that you have gained on your visit to Soviet Russia," Professor Hubert was asked.

"First of all I must say that there is very much to be learned from the socialized collective system. It has so many great advantages over other systems," he replied.

Labor-1936
Unions, Strikes, etc.

Race Problem - 1936
Europe

Soviet.

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3-27-36

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Baltimore Sun

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Chicago Defender 4-18-36

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Looking Over Europe

With WILLIAM N. JONES

Dark-Skinned Folk Stole Social As Well as Athletic Show at Olympics; Olive - Tinged Beauties from India and South America Attract; Dr. and Mrs. Chester Chinn of New York, A. L. Foster and Party of Chicago Present.

BERLIN — Colored races not only captured the spotlight in Olympic athletic contests here, but stole the show in most of the social functions and places of amusement during the sixteen days and nights of flashy, tinkling play and merriment.

While there were less than 25 colored American visitors here, there were hundreds of darker-skinned peoples from other sections of the world who temporarily overshadowed Hitler's picture of Aryan purity.

Many Functions

There were olive tinged beauties from far away India, fiery and flashing girls and women from Argentine, Chile, Peru, and other South American countries; deep and dreamy-eyed girls from Egypt as well as the highly modern English-speaking Japanese and Chinese maidens who dominated the swimming features.

One could hardly go into any of the cafes, night clubs, hotel parlors or functions given by private families and groups where some of these darker visitors were not the center of attraction.

The American athletes and those few colored from America, found high pressure social activities crowded into every minute they had to spare.

Dinner Parties

Dr. and Mrs. Chester W. Chinn of New York were the nucleus for a number of dinner parties. The Chinns came down from Vienna, where the doctor is doing post-graduate work and research in ophthalmology.

Mrs. Chinn, who came over to spend the summer with the doctor, sailed on the twenty-sixth for New York. She is still enthusiastis about the bon voyage parties given her in America, including a Baltimore function, staged by Dr. N. Louise Young. The Chinns were also guests at a number of special parties given for American athletes by proprietors of night clubs.

* * *

Coming to Berlin to enjoy the finale of the Olympic festival was A. L. Foster of the Chicago Urban League and a group of tourists just fresh from Russia. In Secretary Foster's party were Mrs. Foster, Mrs. Jessie Smith, Mrs. Garmetta Carlisle, Mrs. Margaret Kirkling, Miss Viola Neely and Dr. A. Wilberforce Williams.

In their stay this group did considerable sight-seeing and hit the high spots of Berlin before leaving for Paris where they are spending a few days before sailing on the I de France for America.

* * *

T. Arnold Hill, National Urban League executive, who was expected in Berlin for the Olympics, passed up the Nazi Capitol and went on to Paris and London. Hill will remain in Europe a while completing some studies.

* * *

Among white Germans who gave house parties for American colored visitors were Dr. and Mrs. Carl Wehner of the editorial staff of the Berliner Tageblatt, and Bernhard Schultz of the Charlottenburg mayor's office.

The Tageblatt, one of the three largest Berlin dailies, praised the fine work done by American colored athletes and called the 1936 affair the "Owens' Olympics."

13 U.S. Tourists Return from Russia Monday

By CHATWOOD HALL

KHARKOV, Ukraine, U.S.S.R. —After spending three days in Leningrad and five days in Moscow, thirteen American tourists under the leadership of Miss Thyra Edwards, well-known Chicago social worker, reached here today for a two-day visit.

After visits to the Children's Palace, the Polyclinic, and other points of interest, the visitors will leave for a two-dy tour of Kiev, capital of the Ukrainian Republic. While in Kiev the tourists will visit the Birth Control clinic, the Institute for Reclaiming Former Prostitutes, the monastery, catacombs, etc.

Those in Group

Included in Miss Edwards's group are Dr. A. Wilberforce Williams, Albon Foster, executive secretary of the Chicago Urban League; Mr. and Mrs. Frank Turner, New York school teachers Mrs. Essie Monroe Edwards, Savannah, Ga., undertaker; Misses Garnette Carlisle and Marquerite Kirkling, Chicago school teachers

While in Moscow the group was addressed by Anna Louise Strong associate editor of the Moscow Daily News; William L. Patterson former general secretary of the American branch of the International Labor Defense and Scott Nearing, well-known writer on economic and labor questions.

On August 15, the tourists left the Soviet Union for their return to America by way of Poland, Germany and Paris. The crossing will be made on the Normandie which sailed from Havre on August 26, and will arrive in New York August 31.

Race Problem - 1936

Mexico

5 Black Mexicans Picked For Senate

(Chicago Defender Foreign News Service)

MEXICO CITY, March 13—(Special)—Five native Race students at the University of Mexico have been elected to the University Senate, the only official student organization recognized by the Mexican Ministry of Education and the board of regents of the university.

The election was based upon scholarship and popularity. This senate will arbitrate the differences between the government and the politically minded students who have been at odds with state officials and procedures.

Travelers To Mexico Meet Segregation

Negroes Are Forced To Leave Deposit, Whites Enter Free

CHICAGO—(ANP)—Dr. R. C. Barbour, editor of The Voice, national Baptist publication and Dr. H. M. Smith, dean of the School of Religion, Bishop College, Marshall, Texas, had an exciting experience last week in Mexico, where they are vacationing. Mexican consulate officials in the U. S. border cities had told the travelers that a cash bond of $150 would be required before they could enter Mexico—while white tourists were admitted without posting the bond.

Determining to visit Mexico despite the Jim Crow ban, they outlined a diplomatic plan of action which brought immediate results and landed them in Mexico City.

Dr. Smith's letter to the Associated Negro Press, follows:

"We (Dr. R. C. Barbour and myself) have just reached Mexico City 9 a. m. today from Laredo, Texas via the National Railways of Mexico, after a trip that has been more exciting than comportable. The first startling intelligence which confronted both of us at every Mexican Consulate in the States was this: While Mexico requires no deposit on bond of American citizens who enter Mexico as tourists yet she demands that all American citizens who happen to be Negroes deposit $150 (U. S. currency) before being allowed to enter Mexico.

"We applied to Mexican Consuls at Galveston, Houston and San Antonio with absolutely identical results. As soon as they discovered we were Negroes they refused to grant us the tourist identification cards which white Americans receive as a mere formality in two or three minutes at any Mexican Consulate.

"Determined to enter Mexico if at all posible without accepting this unfair and discriminatory arrangement we pushed on from San Antonio to Laredo on the border with nothing but our American passports and plenty of nerve and some little fear. We reached the border 9 p. m. Tuesday night. The high consular officials of course were off duty at this time of night.

"The police who were in charge being Indians rather than Spaniards passed us as we reminded them that no requirements were necessary for American tourist. By 3 a. m. Wednesday morning we were safely and comfortably settled in an air conditioned pullman with a valid tourist identification card as the most precious single item among our luggage. Here at least were two Negroes who did not pay $150 each to enter the country."

Given Lusty Greeting In Mexico City

Dean Smith and Editor Barbour Speakers at Mexican School

MEXICO CITY, Mexico—(ANP)—"The young people of the world must save our Western civilization from destruction," Dean H. M. Smith of the School of Religion of Bishop College, Marshall, Texas, told the young men and women attending the summer school of the University of Mexico last week, in a brief address.

Continuing he said, "When young men and women of the world know each other, love each other, respect each other, there will not be any more wars. We are not going to kill each other on battle fields to satisfy the blood-lust of selfish old men who live in the brutal past."

Dean Smith was presented by Editor R. C. Barbour, of the National Baptist Voice, who was given a great ovation when in a facetious mood he told the large audience of brown Mexican young men and women that "I do not remember my anthropology well enough to trace your background, but you certainly look like me."

Speaking of the religious situation which is acute in Mexico and Russia, Editor Barbour said, "The world is tired of the caricatures of Jesus given by organized religion everywhere. We must give the world a true and accurate picture of Jesus of Palestine—who was interested in the full life of his people—or the world will close our churches and live without the influence of our historic institutions."

Young men and women from all sections of the world were present at the Seminar fostered by the educational leaders of the University of Mexico during the month of July.

Dean Smith and Editor Barbour plan to visit Cuernvaca, Cuatla, Puebla, Taxco, Acapulco, Oaxaca, Monterey, and other points in Mexico before returning to the States.

Race Problem - 1936
Moving Pictures, Relating to.

"MIGHT INCITE CRIME"

All of the fair-minded Richmonders will applaud the action of Mr. Charles A. Somna in contesting through the court the decision of the Virginia Board of Motion Picture Censorship refusing him permission to show pictures of the Baer-Louis fight in his playhouses. The excuse upon which the decision is based is specious and frivolous. No crime was incited by the detailed and colorful descriptions of the fight carried in the newspapers and over the radio.

The secret of the whole matter is that one of the boxers was a Negro. This is apparent when it is remembered that fight pictures have received the approval of the board and have been exhibited in this city within the last two years.

If the excuse given by the board would hold water, the same logic would apply to prevent the exhibition of pictures of pole vaulting Howard Jones competing against white boys at the Penn meet. Pictures in which Jesse Owens and Ralph Metcalfe appeared would also fall under the same ban.

Clean sport whether boxing, running, jumping and whatnot has hitherto been accounted a deterrent rather than a breeder of crime.

Changing the analogy a little, if this flimsy excuse made sense, why allow the exhibition of pictures in which Bill Robinson and Shirley Temple, Louise Beavers, Fredi Washington, Claudette Colbert and Warren Williams appear?

The thing breaks down of its own weight. It is simply absurd. Nearly a half century of intimate contact with the Negroes of Richmond makes us bold to say that not a single one of them will become criminally inclined as a result of witnessing an encounter between two athletes, regardless of the race of the contestants. We cannot speak with much assurance for the whites because of the lack of contact with them.

It is the same old story. Virginia is fettered with color prejudice which imposes foolish restrictions and limitations and operates to handicap both her white and Negro citizens and to keep her in the rank of backward states.

"Might Incite Crime" is just another way of stating this fact.

Letters To The Editor

Please be brief. We reserve the right to cut letters more than 300 words long

WHENCE THE GEORGIA CRACKER?

Editor The Advertiser:

Recently you printed an article from The Nashville Banner entitled: "What is a Georgia Cracker and how did the word 'cracker' originate." As there seemed to be some doubt as to the origin, I quote from "Rutherford's History of Georgia":

"When the wagons loaded with cotton or cattle came into the cities from the surrounding country settlements, the driver used long leather plaited whips with poppers at the end which they would crack in order to make the horses, mule or oxen pull stronger, hence the expression, 'The crackers are coming!' The country people—the crackers—were shrewd, industrious, full of quaint humor, and very brave. They had the best blood of the Anglo-Saxon race in them. Years of isolation away from the centers of education had caused them to murder the King's English, and yet, nowhere else today, can be found in their descendants some of the old English words brought over by the founders of this colony of Georgia—words that are fast disappearing from our dictionaries.

These crackers were ungainly in figure, angular, stooped, sunburned, unkempt hair, and faces unshaven, but they were not able to buy slaves to assist them in the hard work. The Negroes have always despised them, calling them "Po' white folks", because they did not own slaves. But, we must remember that it was the Georgia Crackers who drove the Cherokees out of Georgia. It was the Georgia mountain crackers, who followed Andrew Jackson in the Battle of New Orleans in 1812. It was the Georgia crackers who aided Andrew Jackson to gain Florida from Spain.

The cracker in politics was a Democrat, and believed in upholding State's Rights, and standing for home and fireside. That is the reason so many were found in the Confederate Army.

Now the Georgia cracker is different from the North Carolina Tarheel; different also from the cracker of Florida and East Tennessee, but very much like the crackers of Alabama and Virginia.

If a good idea of this class of Georgia people is desired, read Judge Longstreet's "Georgia Scenes", Thompson's "Major Jones Courtship", and John B. Lamar's "The Blacksmith of the Mountain Pass". So frequently did Georgia authors write of this class in Georgia, that the Georgians have had a very hard time making our Northern and European friends believe that anyone besides these Crackers, ever lived in Georgia. I really think these writings have led to some of the many misrepresentations in regard to illiteracy in Georgia.

MAY A. COOK.

(Copied from Rutherford's History of Georgia.)

Notable Achievements

ALMOST daily there comes evidence of the race's strides forward in various fields of endeavor. Lately there has been ample evidence of his overcoming obstacles to achieve a high place in athletics, on the stage and in the movies. There are countless aftermath theories after each such accomplishment seeking to account for the Negro's athletic prowess and artistic ability. Some assert that the Negro has physical peculiarities and emotional characteristics which give him a special advantage in the arts and in athletics. This may or may not be so; the interesting thing is that the race is utilizing this prowess to get economic security—even the amateurs, for they make easier their permanent employment after their amateur careers are over by the publicity which follows their achievements.

Striking in this connection is the confidence with which American experts look forward to the Olympic track and field events in which Negroes in this country are excelling. From the performances of colored boys, America need have no fear in the sprints, in the high and broad jumps, and in the low hurdles particularly. In most of these our boys are believed able to score one-two-three.

ALAN GOULD, Associated Press sports editor, for instance, has said: "Thanks mainly to the startling prowess developed by the American Negro in the two jumps, this country is better equipped to meet all challengers than ever before . . ."

Every few weeks there comes out of Hollywood a movie featuring Negro actors or actresses. Rare are the seasons that do not have a Negro play on Broadway, or a play in which Negroes have important parts. On the concert stage MARIAN ANDERSON is attaining new laurels, to mention one, and ROLAND HAYES, JULES BLEDSOE, and others like them are slipping not at all. It is one of the bright spots in our often cloudy skies, racially.

Race Problem – 1936
South America

BRAZIL'S BLACKS FIGHT PLAN TO SCRAP 'FRONTE NEGRA'

Defender 12-19-36 Chicago Def.

Battle Police Who Seek To Prevent Them From Presenting Petition To The President; Crisis Mounts

RIO DE JANEIRO, Brazil, Dec. 18—Stirred to a frenzy by the reported move on the part of President Getulio Vargas' administration to disband the "Fronte Negra," and other political organizations which are mobilizing their forces for the coming presidential elections, members of the Black Front battled local police who attempted to prevent them from presenting a petition to the President.

They were joined in by followers of allied political organizations who seized upon this opportunity to present a solid front against the proposed governmental measures.

Most Forward Movement

The "Fronte Negra," with its ten thousand members, is said to represent the most forward movement for constitutional reform in the Republic of Brazil. Many of its proponents are recognized as astute and advanced students of political thought and social liberalism. It is feared that the attitude of the government and the dogged resistance of its opponents may precipitate a crisis endangering if not comprising the political future of the present administration.

The Black Front is primarily concerned with the liberalization of federal measures looking toward social and economic security for the blacks who have been victims of misguided enactments and discriminatory legislation. Organized in 1925, this organization has grown by such leaps and bounds until today its influence on political affairs of Brazil is sufficiently strong as to constitute a virtual challenge to opposing forces.

Race Problem - 1936
United States.

Blackshear, Ga., Times
July 9, 1936

This Is Unpardonable

We are amazed at the efforts of Governor Talmadge to intensnfy racial prejudice in Georgia. If there is anything we do not need it is that.

The statement is made by Governor Talmadge, in a signed article in his personal political organ, The Statesman, that during the Democratic National Convention at Philadelphia Southern white women "ate at the same tables" with Negroes.

That is not true. Every white person and every colored person in Georgia knows it is not true. Governor Talmadge knows it is not true. Yet in his effort to discredit the Democratic party and those who attended its national convention at Philadelphia he is perfectly willing to offer a deliberate affront to Southern white women, and to offer a large contribution to the cause of race prejudice.

The white and colored people of Georgia get along well together. They understand each other. Our Negro citizens have no desire for social equality, the best element among them very sensibly preferring to work for that which is attainable—the uplift of their own people, that they may be happier, more prosperous and more useful citizens.

Of course Governor Talmadge is a politician. He is holding one high office and running for another. He is doing everything in his power to discredit the President of the United States and the Democratic administration. He calls himself a Democrat, but is co-operating with the Republican party.

And in the hope of gaining some trifling political advantage (though exactly how we do not see) he is willing to offer, in his newspaper, a studied affront to the white women of his own and other Southern states.

Perhaps you can understand it. We cannot.—**The Albany Herald.**

TALMADGE RAISES RACE BOGY

Many Georgians Are Dismayed as Prejudice Is Brought Into Senatorial Race

By EDWIN CAMP

ATLANTA, Ga., July 10.—It was with a feeling of dismay that many Georgians heard by radio the peroration of the address at McRae with which Governor Talmadge opened his campaign for the Senate against the incumbent, Richard B. Russell Jr.

Once again, these citizens realized, after a decade and a half of surcease from the turmoil and strife caused by making a political football of racial prejudice, it had been thrust into the present campaign.

Mr. Talmadge departed from the prepared text of his address to conclude with this flight of oratory:

"Now listen! In 1776 the men that wrote the Declaration of Independence and later wrote the Constitution were white men. This is a white man's country, not only in the South, but I have heard from up in the North that the white people there know it. Georgia don't want any dictation from any Federal bureaus and boards of mixed races, and by the eternal God we won't have it."

Follows Up His Attack

The peroration apparently was an afterthought and an oratorical stratagem intended to stir a bit of enthusiasm in the crowd which had cheered enthusiastically the Governor's recital of how he had reduced taxes and had whipped the banks and the politicians, but which had been left cold by such abstruse propositions in his nine-point platform as reducing the Federal budget to a billion dollars a year for all purposes, prohibiting the creation of public debt beyond the fiscal year, prohibiting the issuance of Federal bonds except after popular vote, and reducing the postage rate from 3 cents to 2.

But this proved to be no tentative thrust. In his weekly paper, The Statesman, the Governor followed up his address by charging that the New Deal is "flaunting social equality with the Negro in the faces of the people, and most anything can be expected now."

In a previous issue he had declared that at the Democratic National Convention "Southern white women ate at the same tables with Negroes."

So with the contest between Mr. Russell and Mr. Talmadge joined clearly on the issue of pro-Roosevelt and anti-Roosevelt, the Governor seemingly has decided on racial prejudice as his one best appeal to a people whose traditional loyalty to the Democratic nominee can be upset only by extreme measures.

First Such Move in 16 Years

The lugging in of the Negro question already has drawn sharp editorial rebuke from some of the rural newspapers.

It has had no place in State politics since the campaign of the late Tom Watson for the Senate in 1920, and during these years, observers agree, absence of the agitation has enabled the leaders of both races to make a notable advance in cordial and mutually helpful relationship.

In Mr. Talmadge's thrusts at Mr. Roosevelt in the two or three county primaries earlier in the year thousands of copies of a publication called The Georgia Woman's World were distributed from house to house, and at the so-called "grass roots" convention at Macon a copy was placed at the seat of each delegate containing pictures showing the President and Mrs. Roosevelt in the company of Negroes.

Mr. Talmadge disavowed responsibility for circulating the publication but said he could not criticize a friend "whose heart is in the right place." A few weeks later an automobile owned and driven by his stepson was wrecked in Atlanta. Police investigating the accident reported officially that the re the car was filled with bundles of the paper.

CHARLOTTE, N. C.
NEWS

JUN 16 1936

Not Very Helpful.

There may be a more contemptible method of politicking than raising the race issue, but at the moment none comes to mind. South Carolina, God rest its name! seems to be fertile soil for the sowing of such inflammable seed. Coley Blease thrived there for years on a doctrine of protecting the virtue of Southern womanhood from the infinitesimal minority of its assailants, the blacks, and now comes Thomas P. Stoney, once mayor of Charleston, to drag the Negro problem into the Senatorial forum. Without shame and frankly in the interest of his candidacy, he derides Senator Byrnes for having failed to protest the admission of whites and Negroes to the same theaters in Washington and licks his chops over what Ben Tillman'd done to 'em if he'd been there. Ben Tilman, now, would'a "grabbed his pitchfork 'n' run 'em so fast—"

There is, indubitably, a Negro problem in the South. Here are two races of markedly different characteristics which have had a time of it learning how to live agreeably one with another yet each to itself. No easy and guaranteed solution of this problem ever has been presented, possibly because it is ever changing in scope and form and substance. About all any intelligent white man hopes to do with it is to put off the final decision upon it, in the meanwhile doing his best to formulate and carry out a policy of live and help live. It is the Bleases and the Stoneys who make this more difficult even than it has to be.

LEWISTON, IDAHO
TRIBUNE

FEB 28 1936

Injecting The Negro Problem Into Politics

An advance taste of the kind of politics the American people face during this heated campaign year was afforded in the address of Secretary Ickes at Chicago Wednesday when he made a direct appeal for racial support by charging the republican party has traditionally repaid the "tremendous" election services rendered it by American negroes through permitting their economic exploitation between campaigns. The asserted purpose of his remarks was to demonstrate the fallacy of the belief taught the negro that "the republican party by its unaided efforts had liberated him from slavery."

The negro problem usually is considered a particularly vulnerable and ticklish one when brought into politics and most politicians assiduously choose to avoid it. There are conspicuous exceptions to this general rule, of course, one of them being Senator Borah who, in his recent Brooklyn speech, invited the wrath of the negro press by stating his opposition to the proposed federal anti-lynching bill, a courageous act under the circumstances, not simply because of his position but because of the reasons by which he arrived at that position. Senator Borah's political advisors were alert to the dangers in that situation. Rep. Hamilton Fish of New York immediately took steps toward offsetting racial antagonism by inserting in the Congressional Record a lengthy statement designed to show Mr. Borah's friendly attitude toward the negro, taking pains to point out that he once helped to save a black from lynching at Nampa at great personal risk.

The validity of the general charges made by Secretary Ickes is apparent. That the negro has been made the football of bad politics and that he will continue to be so long as the politicians have the power to make it so, is true as scripture. We could go a step further and declare that the same thing is equally true of other great problems and issues, of temperance, of farm relief, of the tariff, of legislation as a whole.

It is difficult to conceive of anything that would weaken and destroy the negro more completely than the assumption that any particular political party should be entrusted with his exclusive guardianship. Just where political supervision of class, caste or race should begin and end has never been definitely determined.

One fact should be recognized, that the self-reliance

of the citizen is largely a result of necessity. Even strong men will rely upon others if they find it easy and profitable to do so. A poorhouse is a good institution in its way, but free soup has never failed to increase the ranks of the free-soupers. It is not selfishness, but wisdom born of centuries of observation that leads one irresistibly to the conclusion that the best way to produce a community of incompetents and dependents is to adopt paternalism as a permanent public policy when it is not needed.

Even the Indian had learned to rely on his bow, his skill and his cunning on this western frontier before the coming of the white man. It required only a few invitations to visit the agency and there receive free supplies to bring him off the strenuous trail. He merely changed as others have changed under similar treatment. The negro, wherever he has been petted, nursed, voted and misused and then left derelict by the politicians of either party or of any section, has not failed to find "paternalism" not a blessing but a curse. From the old fallacy by which the races have been misled and afflicted from the beginning may the good Lord deliver the black man, the red man and the white man.

Liberal Southerners Uphold N.C. Prof. Who Ate With James Ford

Greensboro Daily News 9-14-36

CHAPEL HILL, N. C. —(C)— They may not kick out Prof. E. E. Ericson of the University of North Carolina for dining with James W. Ford in Durham recently. Circular letters have been sent out "to all southern liberals," defending Prof. Ericson, charging the attack on him is "against the right of an individual to exercise his personal convictions with impunity."

Names on the letter-head of the circular include: Jonathan Daniels, editor of the Raleigh News & Observer, Paul Green, author and playwright, Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, Dr. Douglas Southall Freeman, editor of the Richmond News-Leader and author of a biography of Robert E. Lee, and Dean Elbert Russell and William T. Couch of the University Press.

It was at the University of North Carolina last June that Prof. Guy B. Johnson advocated admitting Negro graduate students to the Southern white universities.

The hotel in which Prof. Ericson dined with Ford is the Biltmore, built and owned by Dr. Clyde Donnell, medical director of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company.

Nothing Bad About Eating With Negro, Organization Holds

Journal and Guide

(Special to Journal and Guide)

CHARLOTTE, N. C. — The agitation for the dismissal of Dr. E. E. Erickson from the University of North Carolina faculty because he dined with a Negro (James W. Ford, Communist Vice Presidential candidate) was termed an "insidious attack against the right of an individual to exercise his personal convictions with impunity," by the Southern Committee for People's Rights, a progressive organization with headquarters at Chapel Hill.

The organization is mailing circular letters, addressed to all "Southern liberals" asking them to resist the dismissal effort on the part of "reactionaries."

"We believe that this impunity should be his right," the letter continued, adding, "we repudiate utterly the doctrine that no white person may eat with a Negro without lowering himself in some way."

Tampa Morning Observer November 12, 1936

Dinner With Negro Starts A Tempest

A circular letter signed by the Southern Committee for People's Rights comes to the defense of Dr. E. E. Ericson (above), English professor at the University of North Carolina, who is reported to have dined with James W. Ford, Negro Communist candidate for the vice presidency of the United States. The letter said the professor's dismissal from the university faculty had been demanded by critics of his meeting with the Negro. (Associated Press Photo)

Lawrenceburg, Tenn., Democrat December 11, 1936

Racial Integrity Morality Urged By Negro Speaker

Bishop Socrates A. E. O'Neil, of Washington, a national representative of the negro race, and a candidate for the position of leadership left vacant by the death of Booker T. Washington, who is opposed to the menace of racial intermarriage, was here Wednesday.

Bishop Socrates commented upon Southern white people and their ethics and the lessons to be learned from a careful study of vital statistics. He said he will return to Washington in the near future to petition congress to pass a federal law providing a punishment of 25 to 37 years or more in prison for racial intermarriage and miscegenation, the abolition of which, he says, will abolish the causes which bring about lynching.

Race Problem - 1936
United States

TEXAS WHITE GOES HARA KIRI FOLLOWING VISIT OF DUNJEE AND PICKENS TO LONE STAR STATE

Black Dispatch
2-1-36

MRS. ROOSEVELT HELD UP TO PUBLIC SCORN IN CONTEMPTIBLE SHEET SCATTERED OVER SOUTH TEXAS

Political "Die-hard" Has Social Equality "Jimmy"

By ALBERT WHITE

HOUSTON, Tex., Jan. 30.—(ANP)—Allen S. Shepherd, Esq., white-haired "Negro hater" and political foe of President Roosevelt and the New Deal, has issued a vile publication here, holding Mrs. Roosevelt up to public scorn and contempt in an effort to brand the First Lady and the President as advocates of social equality for whites and blacks.

Mr. Shepherd is president of the Texas Election Managers Association and a member of the Harris County Domomcratic Executive Committee. He is responsible for the passage of the absurd resolution by the Texas Legislature in 1935 asking the Democratic party to bar Negroes from its elections. The resolution has been ignored by national officials of the party.

The sheet published by Mr. Shepherd carries pictures of prominent Negroes in all sections of the country and numerous clippings from Negro papers to emphasize its contentions.

Pictures of Robert L. Vann, Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, Father Divine, Representative C. W. Anderson, Jr., of Kentucky, William Pickens and Forrester B. Washington are carried in the local circular.

Mastheads of The Afro-American and the Texas section of The Pittsburgh Courier are reproduced. The article reprinted from The Courier relates to the recent visit of Roscoe Dunjee, editor of the Oklahoma City Black Dispatch and William Pickens to Texas in the interest of the N. A. A. C. P.

According to reports, 20,000 copies of the paper were printed here last Saturday for Mr. Shepherd who announced in its columns that copies could be obtained at cost. It is similar to one printed in Atlanta by the Talmadge forces. Governor Talmadge of Georgia and John Henry Kerby, a white Texas politician, have joined hands to fight Roosevelt.

Texas Negroes, generally acquainted with Mr. Shepherd and his tactics of Civil War days have taken his sheet with a grain of salt? They know he represents a by-gone era and that he is a political die-hard. They also believe that he is attempting a fight on the New Deal as a revenue producing medium, and Texas Negroes pity a man with such a small soul who finds it necessary to spend his aged and declining years in fomenting strife and racial hatred. The general opinion is that the efforts will prove a boomerang. They will teach the poor whites of Texas who think Negroes inferior that people of the high character of the Roosevelts find Negroes of similar high character worthy of association in public and civic matters.

NEW YORK SUN

FEB 11 1936

TALMADGE GOES TO LINCOLN RITE

Georgian Will Pay Tribute to Civil War President.

SHARES HONORS WITH ICKES

Has Often Assailed Him in His Anti-New Deal Blasts.

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Feb. 11 (A. P.).—Gov. Eugene Talmadge of Georgia, scene of Gen. Sherman's march to the sea, was en route to Abraham Lincoln's shrine today to pay tribute to the civil war President.

He was scheduled to speak tonight on the Midday Luncheon Club's program commemorating Lincoln's 127th birthday, sharing the speakers' platform with Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, and Gov. Henry Horner.

Gov. Talmadge's speech was to be delivered over the objection of some Illinois Democrats, who resigned from the club after it had invited the Georgian, a bitter critic of President Roosevelt's administration.

Mr. Ickes, an Illinois Republican until he joined the Roosevelt Cabinet, is a stanch supporter of the New Deal. As holder of the big public works purse, he has been a target for some of Mr. Talmadge's attacks.

Elmer Kneale, club secretary, said that both were scheduled to speak on the general subject of "Lincoln." They will meet frequently as the guests of the Illinois Governor. Mr. Ickes will be a house guest at the executive mansion and Mr. Talmadge has been invited to spend considerable time there.

Both were expected to arrive this afternoon, the vanguard of numerous distinguished visitors for the two-day observance.

The Springfield branch of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People adopted a resolution last night terming the appearance of Gov. Talmadge "an insult to every colored citizen who cherishes the name of Lincoln." The association planned a dinner in honor of Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, the emancipator's political opponent.

Other observances were planned by the American Legion, the Grand Army of the Republic, the Boy Scouts, the Abraham Lincoln Association, the Young Republicans of Illinois and the Communist party.

Political Play Upon Racial Issue Laid to Talmadge by New Dealers

By W. M. PEPPER JR.,
Associated Press Staff Writer.

A New Dealer's accusation that Governor Talmadge is trying "to play the white worker against the negro" was thrust forward yesterday after having been withdrawn from a speech here Wednesday night.

Brooks Hays, special assistant to Administrator Rexford G. Tugwell, of the Resettlement Administration, volunteered in a statement charges he had deleted from his prepared address before a forum of the Georgia League of Women Voters.

2-7-36

"As one who was born and reared in the south under the influence of southern traditions," Hays said, "I predict a sharp rebuke will come to those who capitalize the troubles of southern people, white or colored."

Referring to Georgia's anti-New Deal Governor as the "man in the red suspenders," the former Little Rock attorney said:

"The Liberty League is not going to send outside politicians down here to carry out their plans.

"Use Local Boys."

"They use the local boys for that purpose.

"They have had some meetings with Gene Talmadge right here in Atlanta.

"The big money boys said, 'Gene we will furnish the money and we expect to confuse the people about states' rights.' Then from some source comes another confusing issue about Roosevelt favoring social equality for the negro.

"The states' rights cry is a ruse and the statement about the negro is a lie. They can search the statements of Franklin D. Roosevelt from the day he was born down to this good hour and they can't find an utterance which shows a disposition to dictate to the south about handling the race problem, which is our own and a very difficult one to solve.

"Damnable Thing."

"That is a damnable thing that the Governor of this state is trying to do, poison the minds of southern white men and play the white worker against the negro.

"If feeding hungry children and the extension of an economic opportunity that would give men of all races a chance to get food and clothes for their families is a crime, Franklin Roosevelt is an arch criminal, for that is just what he has done."

He made no specific references to Talmadge's raising of the race issue.

Deleted for Time.

In explanation of his withdrawal of his charges against Talmadge from Wednesday night's speech, Hays explained he found that the time required to make them would cut into the period allowed to his opponent in a discussion of the New Deal.

The references were deleted after the speech had been released for publication.

Hays' address was on "the purpose of the New Deal." He defended the accomplishments of the administration.

Borden Burr, Birmingham attorney and Liberty Leaguer, spoke from the same platform in opposition to the New Deal, treating the subject strictly from a constitutional standpoint.

New York Times

FEB 11 1936

BACKS MRS. ROOSEVELT.

School Principal Defends Acceptance of Negro Escort.

Mrs. Gertrude E. Ayer, principal of Public School 24, the first Negro woman to be appointed as a public school principal in New York, condemned last night Southern politicians who were trying to defeat the Roosevelt administration by "playing up" the fact that Mrs. Roosevelt allowed a Negro professor to escort her to her automobile.

She mentioned this in the course of a speech on the status of professional Negroes before the professional and business women's group of the New York Society for Ethical Culture, 2 West Sixty-fourth Street.

Negro children, she said, seldom had parents who could afford to educate them to be professionals; those whose parents had the means had difficulty in finding training centers; once equipped professionally, they had to serve a group who could not afford professional services, and, finally, they had to compete with white professionals in serving that group.

TOLEDO, O.
TIMES

FEB 12 1936

COLORED CITIZENS Ask Economic Fairness

CITE POSITION DURING DISCUSSION

RACIAL RELATIONS BETTERMENT TALKED BY LEADERS

More adequate representation of Toledo's colored citizens in the trades and professions was asked by colored civic leaders in a race relations meeting last night in St. Paul's M. E. church. The Toledo Council of Churches sponsored the meeting. It was attended by both white and colored persons.

Procedure was a panel discussion, presided over by Esther Huckins, general chairman of the Y. W. C. A., and participated in by the following: Attorney Albertus Brown Conn; Rabbi Leon I. Feuer of Collingwood Temple; Mrs. Jesse Heslip; Carlton Matson, editor of the News-Bee; the Rev. G. Horace Jenkins; Mrs. William T. McKnight, and Morrison Van Cleve.

"I'm willing to admit that the solution of the race problem on the basis of good will is a failure," Rabbi Feuer declared. "The basis of tolerance has to be evaluated. It is necessary to begin by recognizing that there are differences between races, and to try to accentuate these differences rather than to batter them down. The object should be not to make humanity uniform, but to make existence diversified and rich."

Other members of the panel challenged the rabbi's reference to "good will," declaring that without it no progress in harmony between races could be achieved.

Mrs. Heslip declared colored people are not given an opportunity to show what they can do with their talents. She said the large percentage on relief is a reflection not on their ability, but on white prejudice which prevents their employment.

Mr. Jenkins spoke on prejudice against colored persons in the post office department; and Mrs. McKnight referred to the few colored teachers employed in Toledo, and to the absence of any colored librarian.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
Feb. 24, 1936

Would Break Down State Lines

Amazing indeed is the proposal of George A. Dawson, a gifted and valued correspondent of The Telegraph's letter columns. He would do away with state governments entirely and centralize government far beyond anything ever dreamed of by Alexander Hamilton. Nobody who slew Southern men in the bloody sixties to impress the idea of central government maintained any such views as Mr. Dawson expresses, except perhaps the more rabid South haters who wanted to make the Southern states a conquered province. They were willing for the other states to remain intact and autonomous, but in beastly revenge they wanted the blood of the South because Southerners had insisted upon the right of the individual state to decide certain questions for itself.

The shades of our fathers had not yet passed from earth before the South is yielding much of its opposition to centralize government, and the former champions of centralized government are becoming the defenders of state rights. The industrial North and East are now seeing through the spectacles that the Southern Confederacy wore, and the sons and daughters of the old soldiers in gray are beginning to advocate centralization of government. Note what George Dawson says, and what the farmers are clamoring for at Washington. Farmers want Federal regimentation and control of agricultural production and marketing. Of course, there are some exceptions, but in Confederate cemeteries one can almost hear the groaning and the turning in the graves of the men who died for a cause nearly forsaken in an ordinary lifetime.

And stranger still, comes the voice of a Negro student of government. On March 18, 1886, Joe Sampson writes to The Jacksonville Times-Union saying he is a Negro who had been a Republican until he studied the fundamental differences between the two parties. He pointed out the injustices that states must suffer because of their differences in development and in their interests if administration is undertaken from Washington. He said The Times-Union editorials had convinced him of the importance of preserving state rights and state functioning, and he proceeded to read the Times-Union a lecture for getting selfish enough to advocate the adoption of the Blair educational bill being agitated at that time. He said merely because Florida was to gain an adavntage under the operation of the bill was no cause for Florida and her advocates to say "no harm could come from sinning against the principle of state rights just one time". "There is no stopping place," argued the Negro in a most logical and intelligent way, "when unwarrantable authority is once assumed by the Federal Government, and is quietly acquiesced in by the state and the people. There is no better place to draw the line than where the Constitution draws it." Herein lies the secret of most human trouble and governmental trouble. Statesmanship is too apt to die just where selfish interest begins. Joe Sampson stated a truth that all should learn.

Ringgold, Ga., Record
February 20, 1936

Unpardonable Political Tactics

Franklyn Walton, of the Washington Post, attended the Macon "grass root" convention to try to find out what is back of the opposition to Roosevelt in Georgia. He reported to his paper that the most significant and disturbing feature of the proceedings was an apparently carefully studied effort to arouse race prejudice.

Mr. Walton wrote that it was not the usual whispering campaign stuff, but that it was openly and brazenly carried on from the public platform. He cited the distribution of the propaganda sheet known as the Georgia Woman's World imputing negro association to both the president and Mrs. Roosevelt. It will be recalled that John H. Kirby, chairman of the meeting, took the platform and disavowed responsibility of the slanderous sheet. Walton writes:

"There is no doubt that those seeking to lead the southern rebellion against President Roosevelt have decided to make the innocent negroes a football in their plans. The astounding phase of this effort to engender race prejudices and hatred in the south is that the elements in the north opposing Roosevelt are commingling hand in glove in their flirtation with the negro vote." He says that at the Liberty League dinner where Al Smith made his "walkout" speech numerous negroes held places of honor at the table.

The pictures in the Georgia Woman's World distributed at the Macon meeting, and since mailed to every farmer in Georgia whose address could be secured, showed Mrs. Roosevelt walking with a negro man and the president at his desk talking to several negroes. The caption over them read: 'This Didn't Happen In Jackson's Day."

The history of the pictures is simply that Mrs. Roosevelt on humanitarian mission passed a negro school that she had heard much of, stopped her car, went in and asked to be shown over the institution. When she had completed her inspection and started back to her car the head of the school, anxious to impress her with his work and needs, followed her to the street, explaining details of his operations.

The other picture showed the president at his desk listening to a delegation of negroes who had come to discuss relief and employment on behalf of their race.

The Atlanta Constitution says it was a scene that has been enacted in the governor's office at the Georgia capitol many a time, and that any governor who would refuse to listen to any class of his constituents would be unworthy of his office.

Race Problem-1936
United States.

A DESPICABLE RECOURSE

Commenting on the recent "grass roots" convention in Macon, Frank lyn Waltman, political commentator of the Washington Post, in his dispatch to his newspaper writes that amid the "fervently bitter oratory which marked the four-hour convention, the apparently carefully studied effort to arouse race prejudices stands out as the most significant and the most disturbing feature."

Constitution 2-2-36

This Washington newspaperman who came to Georgia to report the meeting held in Macon in the hope of drumming up opposition to President Roosevelt, cites that the effort to make racial prejudice an issue "is not a whispering campaign; it is carried on boldly and brazenly, from the public platform in open daylight."

Atlanta Ga.

He further cites the distribution among the delegates of copies of a propaganda sheet in which were published pictures of President and Mrs. Roosevelt in company with negroes, and under which appeared comment so objectionable that even John H. Kirby, the chairman of the convention, publicly disavowed the responsibility of his organization for the distribution of the indecent sheet.

The Waltman dispatch reports that "there is no doubt that those seeking to lead a southern rebellion against President Roosevelt have decided to make the negro an innocent football in their plans."

The astounding phase of this dangerous effort to engender racial prejudice and hatred in the south is that the elements in the north who are opposing Roosevelt are commingling hand and glove in their flirtation with the negro vote.

At the recent Liberty League dinner in Washington, at which Al Smith, like Governor Talmadge, denounced the New Deal, there were numerous negroes holding high seats among the diners.

Thus in the north direct appeal is made to the negro to oppose Roosevelt, while in the south the same element seeks to gain the support of the whites on the ground that President Roosevelt has gone too far in acknowledging the rights guaranteed to negroes by the constitution.

The effort to arouse racial prejudice and passion is unworthy of any man in office or who, out of office, would attempt to climb into office through the use of such a ladder.

The miserable effort of the Atlanta publication to besmirch President and Mrs. Roosevelt is all the more revolting because the pictures show the first lady while engaged in humanitarian work and the President seated at his desk listening, in his official capacity, to a message brought to him by a delegation of negroes.

Exactly the same scene has taken place time and again in the Governor's office in the Georgia state capitol, and the governor who would refuse to listen to any element of his constituency would be unworthy of the office.

The sole purpose of this publication is to drag into the campaign against Roosevelt the specter of racial hatred and racial animosity.

It is an unworthy recourse, born of desperation, and it should, and will be, resented by the decent sentiment of the state.

As to who paid for the 400,000 copies of this objectionable and dangerous sheet that are said to have been distributed throughout Georgia, as to how they were distributed, who is responsible for the use of the state Market Bulletin mailing list for this purpose, or the commandeering of federal relief workers as the clerical force to spread this diabolical propaganda, we do not know.

The Governor has stated that he is not responsible.

But somebody did it, and whoever it was should be ashamed of such despicable tactics.

New York Evening Post

FEB 3 1936

Wake of the News

When Implications Fail the Bare Facts Are Necessary

By ARCHER WINSTEN

IT has come to the attention of this almost incredulous department that certain columns of recent date have been read hastily by persons who were able to gather from them that your correspondent has suffered a change of heart concerning Negroes, their place in society and their capabilities.

His sympathies, once brightly fired for the Scottsboro Boys, are supposed to have been damped in admiration of the forthright speaking of Judge Callahan. Or, at least, to have been sicklied with dainty asides, quaint observation and the familiar taint of the liberal who is attempting to be fair to both sides.

Where was the indignation, the trip-hammer invective, the pile-driving repetition of the Facts of Life in the South?

The answer to the foregoing lies less in denial than in positive statement of beliefs and intentions.

Equality

He knows that there is no equality among men, not in the characteristics with which they are born, nor in the opportunities parents or fortune provide, nor in the heights to which they rise nor in the depths to which they sink. But none of this depends upon race primarily, except that a Negro's skin is dark and his opportunity restricted no matter what his capabilities, and his life chained to an unsolved and often tragic problem.

He believes there is no more outrageous injustice practiced by mankind than the mental state and social custom which enable one human being to regard himself as superior to another because there is a difference in skin color, cranial contours or lip-eversion.

He has often thought that if the Negro were really as inferior as he is pictured by those who have known him only in the master-servant relation, it should be the decent thing to allow the Negro an equal opportunity in this land of so many opportunities to prove himself. But no. In countless industries, professions, hotels, dining rooms and plain jobs the color line is drawn

Justice

When faced with statements with which he does not agree, what shall an interviewer do? Say so, argue, and go home to write a denunciation? Would it not be better to listen patiently, feeling out the quality of the mind that can say such things, and present, unqualified, the statements for exactly what they may be worth.

When talking with Judge Callahan it was noted that personally he was a likeable fellow. To regard him as a devil, as a mean-minded man determined to wreak injustice upon nine Negro youths because he himself has a mean streak, is far from the mark.

Similarly, a Morgan County jury is not made up of men in whom human kindness has long since turned to vinegar and hatred. Foreman Burleson was doing his duty as he saw it. So were the others. When they had previously stated their lack of prejudice against Negroes, they were convinced they were telling the truth.

Now, look. Would you consider yourself prejudiced against horses if you thought horses lacking in human qualities?

In the South, in those parts, it is that deep, that certain, that terrible in its complete abandonment of the open mind, that hopeless.

Correction

You are asked what benefit invective brings to such a condition.

None.

The proud and stiff-necked South is only hardened in opposition by arguments it considers ignorant, ill-mannered and vicious.

The South says, and with some weight of evidence on its side, that its way of treating the Negro is at least honest. In the North, where many speak of racial equality, the knife of unfairness is used under cover. So that you can hear Negroes say, "In the South at least I know where I stand, where I can go and can't go, what I can do and what I can't."

Here in the North, it's the cold eye, suspicion and fear.

In the South race prejudice is like the scientist's conception of ether waves. It runs through everything, not like color pointed on the outside, but like a substance which is that color the whole way through.

The North may consider itself superior in respect to prejudice only in that it allows the individual slightly more leeway in constructing the edifice of his prejudice. The South tends to think in routines. As, for instance, that if several black boys kicked several white boys off a freight train and there were two white girls left, there would be but one possible thought filling the minds of the black boys.

This department, in writing stories about Decatur and the Scottsboro Boys' trials, made the mistake of assuming that these facts were too well known to need underlining.

Rather than run the risk of having one person laboring under a mistaken notion as to what was intended, the repetition has been made. And still it seems like something

you should have known without being told, something always stale, flat and enfuriating. This cancer that eats the hearts of those who once might have known the free fellowship of different races, different creeds and different colors.

NEW YORK SUN

FEB 6 1936

AID TO TUGWELL ASSAILS TALMADGE

Says Georgian Is Playing White Against Negro.

ATLANTA, Feb. 6 (A. P.).—A New Dealer's accusation that Gov. Talmadge is trying "to play the white worker against the Negro" was thrust forward today after having been withdrawn from a speech here last night.

Brooks Hays, special assistant to Administrator Rexford G. Tugwell of the Resettlement Administration, repeated in an interview charges he had deleted from his prepared address before a forum of the George League of Women Voters.

"As one who was born and reared in the South under the influence of Southern traditions," Mr. Hays said, "I predict a sharp rebuke will come to those who capitalize the troubles of Southern people, white or colored."

Referring to Georgia's anti-New Deal Governor as the "man in the red suspenders, the former Little Rock attorney said:

"The Liberty League is not going to send outside politicians down here to carry out their plans. They use the local boys for that purpose. They have had some meetings with Gene Talmadge right here in Atlanta.

"The big money boys said, 'Gene we will furnish the money and we expect you to confuse the people about States' rights, then from some source comes another confusing issue about Roosevelt favoring social equality for the Negro.

"The States' rights ~~cry is a~~ ruse and the statement about the Negro is a lie. They can search the statements of Franklin Roosevelt from the day he was born down to this good hour and they can't find an utterance which shows a disposition to dictate to the South about handling the race problem, which is our own and a very difficult one to solve."

TORONTO, CANADA GLOBE

JAN 31 1936

BRINGING ON THE ISSUES.

Now that the campaign has commenced to move, issues aplenty are being thrust into the United States Presidential election race. The entrance of Governor Alf M. Landon of Kansas into the Republican nomination tangle may properly be termed an issue for Senator W. E. Borah, whose "Socialist" candidature has already been announced. But Governor Landon, who to the present seems to have the greatest visible support of the four or five Republicans mentioned, has brought other issues. A "recovery-before-reform" cry—vaguely familiar to the Canadian electorate of last October—governmental economy, a sound currency, equality between agriculture and industry, are all his.

For President Roosevelt, who may be forced to face these issues, they are far away and for that reason not dangerous. The latest issue he has to worry over comes from within his own party, made articulate by the anti-New Deal followers of Governor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia. The issue, repugnant as it may be to most Americans, is the negro question, resurrected from the history of the South. The Grass-Roots clan have gone to no amount of trouble to drag it in and stir up a spectacular opposition in their country.

Certainly this issue will be confined to the South, and, perhaps, to a loud-mouthed minority section of that. If so, it will not take many votes from the President, either at the Democratic convention or at the polls. Of that he will not be greatly concerned. But what must concern him is the ease with which rebels all over the country are finding issues on which to break the Democratic ranks.

Morristown, Tenn., Gazette
March 5, 1936

TRUE TO THE SOUTH'S BEST TRADITIONS

Southerners who have a sense of human obligation to our 10,000,000 Negro citizens are sometimes thought of as disloyal to the South's traditions. Nohting could be farther from the truth. The best people of the "Old South" had just such a sense of obligation, and discharged it, under great difficulties, with a faithfulness that their descendants may well emulate.

We learn, for example, that multitudes of slave owners, caught in a system for which they were not responsible and which they did not approve, sought long and earnestly for some practical means of ending it. Many of them voluntarily freed their slaves, so that by 1860 there were in American no fewer than 400,000 free Negroes. Others poured out millions ~~of~~ dollars in colonization and repatriation projects. Had the politicians and partisans, North and South, been wise enough and patient enough to follow the lead of men like these, a peaceable solution of the problem would have been found, and the greatest tragedy in our national history would have been averted.

In the early 1800's most of the states passed laws making it a crime even to teach a Negro to read and write. Yet, in spite of these laws, the wives of these same slaveholders gathered their slaves about their feet and gave them the rudiments of education, because they recognized these slaves as human beings, with inalienable rights to a measure of human opportunity.

Recently I visited the lovely old First Presbyterian Church of Lexington, Va., the church of Stonewall Jackson. There they showed me with pride the pew where every Sunday for years Stonewall Jackson taught a class of Negro slaves, because he really believed that God was no respector of persons, and that these humble black men also were God's children.

In the same little town, in the years following the war, that matchless Virginia gentleman, Robert E. Lee, then President of Washington and Lee University, twice came down to the courthouse square and dispersed excited mobs bent on lynching suspected offenders of the law.

In the light of traditions like these no Southerner need apologize for taking seriously the South's obligation to its Negro citizens. Here thru no fault of their own, and largely dependent for their chance in life upon the white man's justice and humanity, their presence is a challenge no fair-minded man can ignore.—Nashville Christian Advocate.

RAYMOND DANIELS' SLUR

To the Editor of The Telegraph: Macon, Ga.

I recently read, in one of our Northern daily papers, a contribution by R. Raymond Daniels, (newspaper correspondent, Macon, Georgia), entitled "Grass Root." Macon Telegraph

It stated, "here in the Heart of the Solid South, 3,500 Southern Democrats shout hate of Negroes and New Deal, and Communism." I doubt if there is any hatred of the Negro by the great majority of fine Southern people, at least I did not observe it during my nine years residence in the South at Miami Beach among the right kind of Southern people. 3/10/36

I found the support of the Constitution, hatred of Communism, and kindly treatment of the Negro the real characteristics of the Southern people. I am not thinking of ignorant and brutal people common to all sections.

I had an urge to write this letter because I am afraid too many here will gain the wrong impression of the situation, and too, a small percentage of Southerners themselves could accept the idea, "Hate the Negro" to the disadvantage of the South, North, and all concerned.

Here in New England we have many people from certain countries, who have never had many privileges, freedom of action or thought; many who seem to be inherently dishonest in petty affairs and social relations, ill-mannered, and inconsiderate of others. The older people are not so bold as their children, who were young when they arrived and who mistake freedom for lack of manners and for clever activities. It is a tough spot for our children in the future.

I believe these people are a greater care and responsibility than the Negro of the South. It seems to me that we have a harder problem to solve because these people are bolder and less sensitive than the older Americans. Not having been accustomed to freedom of action and thought or prosperity and being possessed with unlimited egotism and nerve; also lacking in ordinary sensibilities, they will be in my judgment, a problem for a generation or two.

This condition is evidenced in all activities of life, whether it be recreation, business, public conveyances or small business matters. I have looked forward to spending some of my later years in the South, and one of the inducements is the use of the Negro for household work and labor in place of these people.

If the colored people migrate to other sections of the country, it is possible and quite likely that their places will gradually be filled with others not as satisfactory, especially to the Southern people. The Negro, is without doubt, keeping a lot of the type of people mentioned above from going to the South, as he does the work to a large extent that these people are capable of and are used to performing.

No doubt most Southerners realize this, and any suggestion from me may seem officious. My intentions are right anyway, and this letter is written because of the newspaper report that 3,500 Southern Democrats shout "Hate the Negroes." This should be nipped in the bud by those who have no hate or ill-feeling towards the Negro. It will be wise to keep Negroes as happy and contented as conditions warrant, for they are on the whole an asset in comparison with some of our people, both as to cleanliness, honesty, and courtesy.

A. B. McG.

Worcester, Mass.

Race Problem-1936
United States.

The "Niggers" Called "Snowball"

Beach Enterprise 3-21-36

"Did you ever see a coal black 'nigger' whom somebody did not nickname 'Snowball'?"

With this and other references earlier in his address regarding a "nigger" child, with which to emphasize his points, Congressman Josh Lee, candidate for United States senator, in opposition to the incumbent, Senator Thomas Pryor Gore, Saturday night during the course of a speech at Norman, threw his hat in the ring and eulogized President Roosevelt's "New Deal" policies.

So far as the address of Congressman Lee relates to the New Deal and its support of President Roosevelt, it was a gem. We endorsed every word that was uttered for the policies of President Roosevelt and we could have offered a full and complete "Amen" to the entire speech but for the attempt of the senatorial aspirant to get funny at the expense of his black constituency.

Ordinarily we would support a young white man as against an old one. The young white man has been cast in a different mold than his elders who knew chattel slavery and its attendant evils. We think, however, since listening to the radio address of Congressman Lee that it would be better for the Negro to throw his support to either Governor Marland or Gore rather than vote for a man who callously insults a unit of his constituency in his opening statement in his race for the Senate.

It is our opinion that Governor Marland and Senator Gore would have more respect for the Negroes of the state than to deliver an address to a radio audience in which they would refer to black people in terms of ridicule, derision and contempt. Unquestionably this speech of Congressman Lee is an index to what his attitude would be towards Negro problems were he to become a senator. We are surprised at him in the light of the liberal attitude which has in the past decade been assumed by the younger element of Democracy in Oklahoma.

Nothing that we have said here should be taken to mean that we have formed an alliance with either Governor Marland or Senator Gore. The bare truth is that we have not had any talk with either of them regarding their candidacies. We are assuming this attitude solely because of the Saturday night speech of Congressman Lee. This is one of the reasons why we like to be independent. We wear no man's brass collar nor any party label.

Hitherto we have been greatly impressed with Congressman Lee. Unlike our relationship with Senator Gore and Governor Marland, we have had much correspondence with Congressman Lee and we have been laboring under the impression that he was one of the coming young men of the state whom Negroes would do well to support. We have given over our columns to his publicity releases, but the Saturday night address cooks us. We are through. There is no excuse for white men who openly insult Negroes, but even so, we would support an older man who did so more quickly than the younger man. Younger white men know better. Many older whites were taught in youth that their present attitude is right.

It makes small difference to us what other folk think about our attitude on this subject. Some may say, "Well, this is trivial as compared with other considerations." This is not our viewpoint at all. We consider the speech of Congressman Lee as having great significance.

In the Southland there is a carry-over from slavery which regards Negroes as half-citizens, something to be denied equality of opportunity. Such unreconstructed whites identify the black race as "niggers." The white man who runs for office and refers during the course of public address to black people in such derisive terms, in that one breath symbolizes all we have suggested above. "Nigger" to him means half-citizens; a demoted unit, not entitled to equality of opportunity.

The address of Congressman Lee was devoid of any reference to "Christ Killers," "Wops," "Dagoes," "Red Necks" or "Poor White Trash." Our experienced ears have heard such designations made during the past quarter of a century and we understand and know that the failure of Congressman Lee to salute units of his audience with such cognomens develops out of his deep regard and respect for their voting ability, and the spirit of manhood possessed by them.

Here's hoping that all of the "niggers," whom people call "Snowball," will rally to the support of some other aspirant for United States Senator other than Congressman Josh Lee.

Millen, Ga., News
March 26, 1936

RACE PREJUDICE

The Jesup Sentinel: The Georgia Woman's World, published in Atlanta and having as its managing editor a Mrs. James Rogers Wakefield, is trying to stir up opposition to President Roosevelt and the New Deal throough a campaign of Race Prejudice. The whole burden of the paper is apparently to paison the minds of white people against the ignorant and imitating negroes. The whole sheet of its January 15th issue is filled with pictures and editorials portraying President and Mrs. Roosevelt as placing themselves on equality with our colored "brothers and sisters." Race hatred, in other words, is the theme. In the mast head is this slogan, "Published semi-monthly and dedicated to our God, our Country and our Home." A rather difficult mixture of patriotism as we see it, since to undertake to bring God into such a picture smacks of ignorance of the part God has in the lives of men.

The role this paper is playing in Georgia politics is hardly worth a notice were it not for the fact that it is being used by many of Governor Talmadge's men in the fight on the President. Hundreds of these papers are being handed out by employees of Mr. Talmadge throughout the state. They were distributed at the Grass Roots convention of Mr. Talmadge's calling in Macon in January. Hundreds were gathered up and burned in Backshear the other day when some of his men tried to hand them out in Pierce County. And now we have just picked up one as handed to a friend of ours this week by one of Mr. Talmadge's supporters. "Dedicated to God!" Did God ever instruct His people to hate the negro? Can you find anywhere any of His servants taught race hatred? He did instruct the Jews not to intermingle and marry into heathen families, and if they did certain punishments were meted out. But race hatred since the coming of Jesus has been taboo so far as Christianity is concerned.

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The Supreme Court And The Negro

(From the Chicago Daily Tribune, Monday, March 23, 1936)

Twice the United States Supreme Court has intervened to save the lives of the Negro defendants in the Scottsboro cases. In 1932 the court held that the trial at Decatur, Ala., had not been a fair one because the prisoners had been deprived of the help of a lawyer, to which the Constitution entitles them. This was an 8 to 1 decision. Mr. Justice Butler, who dissented, did so only because he thought the record on the point was not clear.

The Scottsboro cases came before the Supreme Court again last year. Again the court reversed the convictions, this time because it was shown that Negroes had been systematically excluded from the juries. The decision was unanimous in favor of the Negroes and against the state of Alabama.

A few weeks ago the Supreme Court once more spoke unanimously in defense of Negro rights in the deep South, this time reversing a Mississippi judge and jury which had sentenced three Negroes to death. The Supreme Court found that the only evidence against the defendants was their own confessions, which had been obtained only after they had been subjected to prolonged and excruciating torture. The trial judge in Mississippi had not regarded this as an injustice, and neither had the Supreme Court of Mississippi, even though a deputy sheriff had admitted on the witness stand that he had been present and had himself swung the whip.

The Supreme Court of the United States was the only agency to which these obscure and impoverished Negroes could turn for elementary justice. Save for the court and the Constitution which it interprets they would have had no chance. They would all be in their graves today. As individuals they would have suffered the ultimate wrong, but that is the least of the damage that would have been done. If there were no check by the Supreme Court upon race prejudice in these and similar cases, Negroes throughout the South and in many parts of the North as well could not escape the loss of all their rights as citizens.

The moment has come for plain speaking. Prevailing opinion in great sections of the South believes the Negro to be a hopeless inferior; none of the achievements of Negroes in the arts, the professions, and in business has served to alter that view. The Negro, the argument runs, as an inferior, has no rights which the community must always respect. Colored boys can be sentenced to death even if they have no lawyer prepared to plead for them. That kind of a trial is plenty good enough for them. Negroes can be sent to the gallows with no other evidence against them than confessions extorted by torture. And so on.

If ever the power of the Supreme Court to uphold the Constitution is restricted, the findings of the local courts in these cases will be final. A Negro who dares to educate himself and acquire property will be whipped back into poverty and dependence; if that treatment doesn't break him he will be framed in a so-called court of law and sent to the chain gang or the gallows for his impudence in pretending to be a human being.

Thus an entire race will be reduced to a kind of serfdom meaner than slavery itself. The victim will suffer all the humiliations of slavery, but will be deprived of even the meager security which the slave, as a valuable piece of property, enjoys. His person will not be safe from the lash and his property will not be safe from expropriation. He will be bound to the soil in a form of peonage, bound in chains of ignorance and helplessness. The Negro's lot in all parts of the country is bitter enough today with the court to protect him; without the Constitution and the Supreme Court it would be far worse, especially in the deep South.

It is that fate which the New Dealers who seek to curb the Supreme Court are preparing, perhaps unwittingly, for the Negroes and, it should be added, for every other minority group in this country against which prejudice exists.

Nine Old Men

The Southern committee to uphold the Constitution, with headquarters in Houston, Texas, took page advertisements in newspapers, March 23, declaring that it stands for "constitutional government."

Now whenever a thief begins to talk of honor, honest men look to their pocketbooks.

The committee's argument is directed at President Roosevelt who, it says, violated his pledge to defend the U.S. Constitution by sponsoring New Deal legislation.

Let's admit the President thinks we have outgrown the Constitution and wants it changed. The only difference between the President and the South is that Mr. Roosevelt has violated (?) the Constitution for four years and Dixie for forty years. So the pot calls the kettle black.

The Chicago Tribune, in an editorial titled "The Supreme Court and the Colored Man," attacks this question from a different angle.

The Tribune points out that the Supreme Court saved the Scottsboro boys twice after unfair trials in Alabama. Save for the Constitution and the Court the boys would have no chance, the Tribune says, and it adds that unless the President can be thwarted in his desire to change the Constitution and restrict the power of the Court, the colored people will be reduced to slavery again.

But the Tribune cites only one case. Let's look at the record.

Who was it that said that the "colored man has no rights that the white man is bound to respect"? It was the Supreme Court.

Who was it that reversed Congress and declared the Civil Rights law unconstitutional so that colored people today are jim crowed on railroads, street cars, and barred from stores and hotels? The answer is—the nine old men of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Who was it that interpreted the Constitution to read that separate public and State schools are legal and that colored voters may be excluded from the polls in primary elections in the South? The Supreme Court did that to us.

The record thus shows that these nine old fellows of our highest court, far from preserving our liberties, nullified and misinterpreted the Constitution so as to take them away.

How strange, then does it sound for the Tribune to tell us that our salvation lies in a Supreme Court which has been our worst enemy!

Take one single instance. Imagine any court solemnly declaring that railroads may provide jim crow cars for colored people between two points in any State, but may not do so between two points in different States.

The Constitution does not say that, but the Supreme Court says it does.

The original Constitution said nothing about abolishing slavery or permitting women to vote until it was amended. All told, it has been changed nineteen times.

As we see it, another amendment limiting the power of the sacred (?) Supreme Court would not be amiss.

Neither the Southern committee nor the Chicago Tribune care about our liberties or our welfare. They are out to beat Roosevelt, and they want our votes.

We need to keep them both advised that we believe the Constitution ought to be changed whenever it is in the interest of the public good, and as for the Supreme Court, we know an enemy when we see one.

Race Problem—1936
United States.

Thomasville, Ga., Press
July 24, 1936

THIS IS UNPARDONABLE

We are amazed at the efforts of Governor Talmadge to intensify racial prejudice in Georgia. If there is anything we do not need, it is that.

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The white and clored people of Georgia get along well together. They understand each other. Our negro citizens have no desire for social equality, the best element among them very sensibly preferring to work for what is attainable—the uplift of their own people, that they may be happier, more prosperous and more useful citizens.

Of course Governor Talmadge is a politician. He is holding one high office and running for another. He is doing everything in his power to discredit the President of the United States and the Democratic administration. He calls himself a Democrat, but is cooperating with the Republican party.

And in the hope of gaining some trifling advantage (though exactly how, we do not see) he is willing to offer, in his newspaper, a stodied affront to the white women of his own and other Southern states.

Perhaps you can understand it. We canont—
Albany Herald.

CHICAGO, ILL.
TIMES

JUL 21 1936

EVANSTON FORBIDS PAMPHLETS AIMED TO STIR RACE HATE

Evanston today officially struck at race hatred.

An ordinance was passed by the city council prohibiting "the writing or distributing of any material libelous, defamatory or inflamatory, designed to incite rioting or stir up racial or class hatred."

The ordinance was introduced by Ald. Tim G. Lowry of the 4th ward. It was on an incident six weeks ago, when a bundle of pamphlets were left in the doorway of the Foster school, seven-eighths of the enrollment being Negroes. The broadsides, printed on cheap paper by a hand press, threatened "necktie parties" unless "certain Negroes mended their ways."

Rocky Mount, N. C., Telegram
July 18, 1936

NEGRO EDUCATOR WRITES GOVERNOR

Shepard Urges Governor Talmadge to Refrain From Attacks Upon Negro Race

Evening Telegram Bureau,
Sir Walter Hotel.

Raleigh, July 18.— Governor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia has received a letter from Dr. James E. Shepard, president of North Carolina college for Negroes in Durham, urging His Excellency to refrain from attacks upon the negro in the governor's campaign for the seat of United States Senator Richard Russell.

Apologizing for the antry into the discussion, Dr. Shepard quotes Solomon to the effect that "he that passeth by, and meddleth with strife not belonging to him, is like one that taketh a dog by the ears," but sees a difference in the fact that all race antagonisms affect Dr. Shepard's people. He therefore acquits himself of being a foreigner intruding himself into a matter that doesn't concern the Durham educator.

Dr. Shepard reminds Governor Talmadge that it has been 16 years since anybody made a Georgia campaign on a race issue. The last of the race-baiters seems to have been Thomas E. Watson. There is a parallel, too in the fact that Watson conducted his campaign on race lines and in terrible antagonism to President Woodrow Wilson. "I have read quite a number of extracts from your speeches," Dr. Shepard says, "and I do not find in them any charges that such conditions as you attack are in the slightest measure precipitated by the negroes of Georgia or elsewhere. I observe with something of a shock that you have sworn eternal hostility to certain fanciful honors and recognitions that may come to the negro. I often wonder why governors of our southern states do not become much more excited over rights and privileges accorded our negro citizens by our federal and state constitutions, our congresses and legislatures, but universally denied in practice, than over things that the negro cannot hope to gain during the lifetimes of any adult today."

Dr. Shepard would like to hear from Governor Talmadge just how much "the industrious, the intelligent and the law-abiding members of my race must do to win your friendship to the extent that you will use your great office to guarantee them their rights. What price must they pay to have peace, a rest from ceaseless agitation against them, the right to participate in the affairs of their country into which they were brought against their will, and freedom from exploitation in politics? If there is a negro in Georgia making himself obnoxious over any powers bestowed by his government, I have not heard of him. But a reading of your speeches would lead an uninformed man to believe that the Negroes, even as Sherman, are marching on Georgia." Dr. Shepard then refers to the national democratic convention episode in which Senator E. D. Smith "rudely and irreverently walked out, leaving a trail of radical rancor behind him." It so happened that the praying minister, Rev. Marshall Shepard, was a North Carolina man and is a first cousin of the Durham educator. The college president does not allude to the relationship.

Referring to Governor Talmadge's oath to stand in the way of all movements toward "social equality," Dr. Shepard says: "I have never understood how any intelligent southern white man can fear 'social equality' at the hands of a people almost universally denied political, educational, economic and judicial equality. No other people ever gained social standing when denied every other 'equality'. The Negro does desire social justice. The white man wha makes all the laws, sets all the standards of education, fixes all the social canons, and holds a monopoly on all the means of promoting the general welfare, refuses to live by his own enactments and unwritten commitments, and holds the denial to the negro of the benefits of the white man's own laws to be in the interest of that general welfare." The Durham man says he cannot comprehend a race issue in 1936.

He closes his letter to the Georgia governor with a reminder that Henry W. Grady 50 year ago was thrilling the world with his fine eloquence devoted to peace and racial goodwill. The North Carolina negro asks the Georgia white man to extend that good administration of the governor in behalf of the Georgia underprivileged whites also to the disadvantaged blacks. "The thousands and tens of thousands of underprivileged negroes, peons, sharecroppers, the uneducated, and unprotected, do they make no appeal to you," he asks, begging the governor to forget the negro as a senatorial issue.

Carrollton, Ga., Times
July 30, 1936

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—Albany Herald.

WILMINGTON, N. C.
STAR

JUL 25 1936

WISE TO GO SLOW

The Morning Star is quite appreciative of the desire of Wilmington negroes to further their beach resort, Seabreeze, by seeking its incorporation as a municipality, but is not moved to the slightest enthusiasm by the potential spectacle of another town in the confines of New Hanover county, regardless of whether the petitioners for such distinc-

tion be white or negro.

Frankly, there are too many, far too many governmental sub-divisions as it is. Every new one means an additional set of officials; additional budgets and additional tax levies, to say nothing of additional bond issues which inevitably come sooner or later.

Today, a sufficient percentage of the total population is carried on the public payrolls of these various governments to shock the economist and appal the statistician. Why, then, add more?

The United States is more honeycombed with government than any nation on the globe, and if crime is a criterion it has less respect for law and therefore for these governments. It follows then that government is not precisely the builder expected when carried to extremes.

North Carolina has a hundred counties when it needs no more than twenty-five at a maximum. It carries the burden of seventy-five county governments that it could eliminate with profit. It pays interests in that many more sets of bonds.

Coming down to villages and towns the useless corporations are legion. Some of them have such meagre claims to village status as to be ridiculous.

It is, therefore, our advice to our negro citizens to proceed with caution. They should do everything possible to develop their resort, and for this they are to be commended, but corporate responsibilities may invite worries that are not compensated by such benefits as might accrue.

Columbia, S. C. State
August 8, 1936

THE NEGRO VOTE—LYNCHING—CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION.

"The Columbia State," says The Charleston News and Courier, "recalls the Democratic policy of 1876. What has it to do with conditions in 1936?"

In 1876, declares the Charleston paper, when Hampton and other South Carolina leaders appealed for Negro votes—and received enough of them to more than account for the claimed Democratic majority—universal and unrestricted manhood suffrage had been established by law, and Negro voters were a majority upwards of 30,000 in the state.

Very well, contemporary. Cheerfully conceded. Historically correct. Now what has 1876 to do with 1936? is asked. Just this. In 1936 relative conditions as to manhood suffrage and Republican majorities are exactly the same in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Massachusetts and Illinois as they were in South Carolina in 1876.

But when the campaign managers for the Democratic party in 1936 attempt to win Negro votes in those Eastern and Mid-Western states by the identical appeals made by white Democrats in South Carolina sixty years ago, The News and Courier and men it commends, raise the cry that Farley and Roosevelt are driving a wedge into white supremacy in the South.

We ask, is that sincere? Is it honest? Is it sincere or honest, when these accusers know that the identical effort to get Negro votes in those states, different in degree only, has been made by the Democratic management in every campaign for forty years, and received at least their tacit approval?

Is it sincere or honest when they know that no appeal for votes is directed to Negroes except in those states where unless they vote for Democrats they will vote for Republicans, and that conditions in the South are not touched? It is not intelligent for The News and Courier to allege or infer the vote-seeking policy in the North touches South Carolina primaries at any point.

At numbers of points, Mr. Farley's policies and practices; judgments and degrees of tactfulness are not The State's. We are not responsible for them. We do not indorse or defend them. Nor are we particularly concerned when professional politicians in the South display themselves as "rabble-rousers." They are performing according to type. We are not surprised. Why should they not play the part of demagogues, when if they hadn't they might be plowing a mule instead of being an "eminent statesman"?

But we confess to surprise, shock and grief when a respected and esteemed contemporary performs far outside our conception of its ordained role of impeccable leadership. It is impossible for us to understand how the same mind and pen now bitterly denouncing Farley et al for seeking Northern Negro votes are the same mind and pen which only four short years ago, freely and unafraid, recorded the services of Negro Democrats in 1876, and **chided the present generation of white men** for denying South Carolina Negroes "THE SMALL PRIVILEGE OF MEMBERSHIP IN THE PARTY" ! !

The News and Courier asks one question with seeming sincerity. "Is The State for or against the Costigan-Wagner bill, opposed by all Southern Democratic senators and supported by all Northern Democratic senators"?

On the general theory that this measure to give the federal government jurisdiction over cases of lynching, is directed against the South and therefore sectional in spirit, The State opposes the present enactment of the Costigan-Wagner bill. But opposition in perpetuity is not promised. Were conditions in the South as to lynchings the same today as they were forty years ago, The State would probably favor that measure as the hope of civilization. Forty years ago there were murders by mobs, often wholesale and always with impunity and immunity. There were barbarous burnings of human being at the stake.

Through change in public sentiment, and an aroused public conscience these conditions have greatly improved. In years in the 1890's one state furnished more mob-murders than are now provided by the whole South. We much prefer that the South, on her own power, eliminate the blot. And while marked improvement is in progress, we greatly prefer that this section have opportunity to "come clean."

But since we, The News and Courier and practically all the rest of us in the South, have condoned federal authority over kidnaping cases, we are debarred from throwing a sincere fit on the ground of state's rights. Indeed, on the ground of state's rights the Costigan-Wagner bill would not, in our judgment, be so offensive as the proposed child labor legislation which would give a federal bureau authority over the working activity of youths under 18 years of age. Were the anti-lynching law to be enacted, the findings of juries and sentences by judges would be by Southern juries and Southern judges. The control of the children under a federal law would be in the hands of agents probably alien to the South.

But were conditions of child labor the same in this section today as they were in the 1890's we would probably favor this legislation which we have been bitterly fighting. But South Carolina, in the matter of child labor in factories, has already "come clean," on her own power. Every other state can do the same, by the same process.

In conclusion The State abhors the spirit and practice of lynching, which has brought to the South the reproach of the civilized world. It is for the South to eradicate it. We wish that opportunity to be the South's opportunity. But we have no resentment against Northern Democrats or Republicans who believe federal control desirable. In their position, our outlook would probably be the same. We vigorously contest the position of President Roosevelt and members of his cabinet on federal child labor control, but because of that opposition we do not go over to the Republican party.

Race Problem- 1936
United States.

Harlem Indignant Over Musicians Who Parade As Eritreans in New York

Journal & Guide 8-15-36
Norfolk, Va

Group Are Dressed In Askari Uniforms; Give Salute

(Exclusive to Journal and Dance)

NEW YORK CITY — Twenty five Harlem musicians, dressed in the uniforms of Eritrean soldiers played Saturday and Sunday before an all Italian gathering of 500 in the Garden City Amusement Park at Carnarsie Shore on the outskirts of Brooklyn. While their leader in Italian lauded Benito Mussolini, the bandsmen frequently paused to salute the Italian flags, with the familiar Fascist salute accorded Il Duce in Italy.

Although only one of the twenty-five is really a native of Eritres, the Italian possession in East Africa, the entire group has been advertised in New York Italian newspapers as "a band of native Askaris" imported from Italian Somaliland.

REPORTER DISCOVERS FRAUD

A reporter who visited the band concert here Sunday learned every one of the colored musicians lives right here in Harlem and with the one exception, have never seen the shores of Africa.

Each musician wears the Askari red hat with black tassel and his pants are decorated with the colors of the Italian flag. Only the native Eriterean makes the speech in Italian. The speech contains oaths of fealty to Mussolini and declares that all the natives want him to rule Ethiopian sector.

The all Italian audience, 90 per cent of whom stand up when the Facist salute is given "eat up" the performance and really believes the Harlem natives are from the shores of Africa. The manager of the Amusement Park, lured into a conversation in Italian Sunday, admitted: "Yes, they all live in Harlem."

HARLEMITES INDIGNANT

The handful of Harlemites who have heard of the performance are enraged that while Negroes in general oppose the policies of the Italian Government in their rape of Ethiopia; twenty five New York Negroes lift their hands to rigid salute to Il Duce; play his national anthem, and laud him before his countrymen.

The band appeared at this park the past weekend but is understood to move back and forth into other surburban sections during the season.

Sunday no American flag was displayed inside the fenced off concert scene, but one was on the outside. Inside there were numerous Italian flags.

The American national anthem was sung at the end of the concert which lasts continuously from 5 p. m. until midnight.

TO DOROTHY THOMPSON

THE MOST senseless article we have read in recent months is written in a syndicated column by Dorothy Thompson, under the caption: "American Politics and the Negro Vote."

"The Negro is a voter who can be bought," is one of the screaming, misleading paragraphs in the article, and every effort is made to show that sable-hued citizens in the United States, "ignorant and illiterate," are utterly different to other strata of American citizenship.

After alleging that the Negro vote can be bought with a doughnut and a song, the writer expresses real fear that the Southern Sharecroppers Union will sway this vote, because it offers equality of opportunity to white and black workers alike and Miss Thompson fears that if the Negro should be foolish enough to look away from his alleged doughnut bait when he votes for a chance to work and enjoy American opportunity that Mr. Black Man will be preparing "the way for eventual pogrom."

Well, there's a pretty picture. With the Negro citizen, according to Miss Thompson, it's hell if you do and hell if you don't. She tells of how the Negro is an "outcast," "the disinherited," "the exploited' here in American, and she charges the black voter with being "notoriously venal," even though he and his children admittedly walk about in America with an empty belly. The picture Miss Thompson draws for us is that unless the Negro consents to starve and perhaps sell his vote occasionally as a temporary expedient; unless he desists from apparent efforts to improve his economic status by union with the Southern Sharecroppers, Communist or what not, he will be massacred.

The fact that a democratic administration has seen fit to give some measure of equality in wages to Negroes under the WPA, seems to disturb Miss Thompson. She avers that this has caused "much caustic comment." She seems to think that Negroes who receive WPA funds prove conclusively that Negroes are lazy.....

Those who remember political history back in the days when Uncle Joe Cannon was speaker of the House of Representatives, know that in the Danville district of Illinois, thousands of white men were proved to have been bought at the polling places like slaves on the auction block. It was men like Lincoln Steffens who exposed this foul blot on the American electorate, and these were white men.....

If those who read Miss Thompson's article will re-read it for such information as relates to the economic distress in which the Negro finds himself in this country, justification might be found for black folk selling their almost worthless birthright for a mess of pottage, or for stealing money off the dead men's eyes.

What Miss Thompson should know is that there is no difference between the thinking of an empty black belly and an empty white belly. Both bellies will vote alike if the issue relates to a square meal in American life.

—Black Dispatch (Okla.)

THAT "SOCIAL EQUALITY" BUGABOO

WHENEVER WHITE POLITICIANS treat Negroes as citizens, and appeal for their support as they are doing in this campaign, a certain type of writer for the daily press always views with alarm this mixing of the races, and in many cases tries to frighten the politician by raising the "social equality" bugaboo.

Walter Winchell, clever columnist for the Hearst newspapers, is the most recent writer to take this attitude. A recent column of his reported on the political war front in Pennsylvania and how Governor Earle and Mayor Kelly of Philadelphia were wooing the Negro vote. Winchell wrote:

> ..Among other remarks allegedly made by both Democrats was this: "There is no reason for any discrimination in Pennsylvania — just because you are black doesn't mean you cannot enjoy the same privileges of the whites!" .... As a result, a few colored doubters picked their most representative colored citizen and offered his name for membership in one of their exclusive clubs which the Governor and Mayor are on the board.

Evidently this was a social and not a political club and the inference was that such an application was embarassing to the Governor and Mayor. We think that this alleged application is but a figment of Winchell's imagination and was thrown in more as propaganda to warn politicians against becoming too intimate with the Negro than anything else.

As the campaign progresses we shall see more of this sort of propaganda. It's merely a "red herring" drawn across the trail to prevent the Negro getting the square deal he deserves.

In the first place, Mr. Winchell knows that only members can propose the names of new members to "exclusive" clubs. Again, no Negro would want to join such a club just to represent his race. There would be no pleasure for him to go among a group of strangers unless he were invited by them. And on the other hand, if it were a political club or public organization, the new civil rights law which they have in Pennsylvania is designed to prevent just such discrimination. Although we have been told that this law is as yet imperfect and not very effective, we are sure that the Negroes of Pennsylvania with the assistance of a friendly Governor, will have this law amended so that it will effectively prevent discrimination in the Keystone State because of race or color, in public places.

No Mr. Winchell, this old "social equality" bugaboo doesn't work any more. Not even in Georgia, or Governor Eugene Talmadge would have won the nomination for the U. S. Senate there.

Open Forum

Negrophobists Gradually Dropping Out Of The United States Congress

Editor, Journal and Guide: The capers of politics somehow, sometimes remind the writer of Nemesis, the goddess of vengeance whose feet were said to be shod with wool.

She was patient and persevering, but sooner or later she got her victim.

In connection with the above allusion, I am reminded of the recent overwhelming defeat of Representative Thomas L. Blanton of Texas, in the recent primary for re-election to Congress, by a man practically unknown nationally.

Please pardon a little historic data. In 1869 Howard University, Washington, D. C. was founded by an Act of Congress for the liberal and higher education of Negroes in academic and professional lines. It is the greatest institution of learning for the education of the colored youth in this country. General Oliver O. Howard, at the time, Chief of the then Freedmen's Bureau, was elected by the Board of Trustees as its first president. Its annual maintenance depended sclely upon appropriations by Congress.

When Mr. Blanton became a Member of Congress about twenty years ago, he self assumed the roll of the "watch dog" of the treasury; and whenever the appropriation bill was presented in Congress for Howard University's upkeep, he usually appointed himself to fight against it, or at least the amount the bill asked for.

In the Senate Mr. Cole Blease, who for a few years, misrepresented South Carolina in that legislative body was his co-partner in fighting the appropriation, if it successfully ran the gamut of opposition in the House of Representatives. Mr. Blease on one occasion is alleged to have said, in opposing the appropriation, that the Negro didn't need any higher education; that what "the niggers most needed was an education in the cotton fields, the canebrakes and rice swamps of South Carolina or in some other southern states."

Not until Howard University's annual appropriation was withdrawn from the Congress and placed in the Interior Department during President Coolidge's administration, was Mr. Blanton's absurd and prejudiced opposition stopped.

Just here, I am reminded of a consoling and satisfying answer of an old colored woman in Washington City some years ago when she was approached by a newspaper reporter and asked her opinion, regarding a bitter attack upon the race in Congress by a Negrophobist: "Why honey, I ain't worried over what sich wicked folks say about us for I have turned them over to de Lord long ago, and I am sure He will 'tend to them in His good time.

"F'instance, don't you 'member how old Ben Tillman frum South Carlina used to go throughout the North, making speeches, trying to pisen the minds of the white folks up dere against us, when all at once his tongue was paralized? Then don't you recall how just as soon as Jeff Davis came here as a Senator from Arkansas he began to boast how he was gwine to have the 14th and 15th amendments done away with, case as he said Congress hadn't ought to pass them in the fust place? So, he introduce a bill for dat purpose; but all of a sudden, God laid His hand upon him and he quickly melted away. And then again there was old Rodenburg from Georgy. When he came here for Congress, he saw us white and black folks riding togedder in de same street cars and he did not like it, for he wasn't used to such a sight down Souf. So he said "I'll put a stop to it." He introduced a bill to do so.

Well, you know what happened to him, don't you? Why, de Good Lord jest blew His bref 'pon him and he was no more.

"Now as to old Vardaman, Cole Blease, Tom Heflin and de udders like dem, de Lord is letting dere own people look after dere cases for de present. But when He is ready for dem, He'll send for dem also, you see.

"No honey, I am not 'tall worried, for I sho' do put my faith in what David says in de Pslams: In God have I put my trust, I'll not be afraid of what man can do unto me," and I advise every cullud pusson to do likewise."

The Holy Writ says: "Rejoice not, when thine enemy falleth lest the Lord see it and it displease Him." Prov. 24-17.

But we are human and not divine. May God forgive us.

It seems that the colored folks are not the only ones rejoicing, because of the political Waterloo that recently befell Mr. Blanton according to the paragraphist in the Greensboro Daily News, for he says:

"As for the passing of Honorable Blanton,
Nobody's weeping and nobody's ranting."

CHARLES H. MOORE
Greensboro, N. C.

Race Problem - 1936
United States.

'Tobacco Road' And Politics

Charles B. Crow, secretary to Senator John H. Bankhead, recently prepared for another publication the following incisive comment on "Tobacco Road," a controversial play of life in one stratum of Southern life. He has given The Advertiser permission to reprint it.—Ed.

I have just seen "Tobacco Road" and am much impressed with the masterful portrayal of Jeeter and Ada Lester by Mr. Henry Hulling and Miss Mary Servoss. They showed consummate artistry and were well supported by an able cast. The play is most interesting, and brings a new realization that one of the great-est problems of modern times is not yet solved.

I am amazed, however, that some critics, in commenting on the play "Tobacco Road", have been moved to state that New Deal farm policies have aggravated the pitiable condition of tenants and sharecroppers. The fact is the exact opposite, as all who have first-hand knowledge of the real workings of those policies will agree. Those policies, if carried to their logical end, should come close to correcting the faults of the present tenancy situation.

It must be extremely difficult, however, for even a fairminded inquirer, who has no accurate knowledge of conditions in the cotton section, to reach any satisfactory sort of conclusion about the effect upon the southern farmers, farm tenants, and sharecroppers wrought by the New Deal farm aid program. The wide variety of so-called expert opinion, the many conflicting statements and reports which have been made, must lead him into utter confusion.

"Tobacco Road" portrays an extreme condition which no one will claim is the average. But with emphasis and clearness it depicts the utter hopelessness of a minority section of our southern farm people. These people are the victims of a set of circumstances which threaten to engulf not only them but their landlords and the bankers and business men who are traveling with them down the road to certain economic destruction. I think it can be clearly shown that the evils of farm tenancy as at present constituted in the cotton South, form the circumstances of which the groups I mentioned are largely the innocent victims.

A few facts will suffice to make the situation clear. Census records show that forty years ago about 25 per cent of the farmers in Alabama were tenants. In 1930 about 63 per cent were tenant farmers. This means that land ownership had passed from that many farmers. During that same period the farm mortgage debt in Alabama increased about 400 per cent. This means that that portion of the value of the land, represented by that amount of mortgage debt, was passing to other ownership—largely to banks, land banks, insurance companies, mortgage loan companies, etc. Obviously the majority of our farmers in that period were living on their principal instead of profits from farming. These farmers have gone down hill, step by step. Maybe a step occupied a year's time—maybe a generation; maybe they came down two or three steps in one year.

* * * *

There are many reasons why a region, farmed by that large a proportion of tenants, suffers. A farmer cannot be expected to take the same interest in maintaining the fertility of rented land that he would if he owned it. He resorts, rather, to blindly exploiting the soil's fertility, getting the most he can out of it with the least effort and expenses. He borrows from his landlord or from a bank or from a "furnishing merchant" whatever he can get to finance his crop, at whatever rate of interest they decide to charge him. He gives as security a mortgage on or a share of his crop. If the land he is farming is low in fertility and he finds it necessary to use a large amount of fertilizer; if on account of an unusually large crop of cotton generally and a large carryover from previous years, he gets a low price for his crop, he frequently comes to the end of a year to find that his whole crop will not pay his debts. Crop liens and fertilizer mortgages must be paid out of the first fruits of the harvest. He has probably been urged by his creditors to raise as much cotton (the main cash crop) as possible, so they may collect their mortgage notes and rent in money. In doing so, he probably has neglected to raise a proper quantity of food, feed and forage crops. He then may find it necessary to mortgage future crops to get through the Winter until the next planting season—granted that he can find someone willing to risk him that far. Many tenants, after a series of such experiences, give up in despair and move on to other places; leaving farms and equipment worn out and their creditors to "hold the bag". The vicious cycle continues—land is depleted; debts increase; those who finance crops raise their rates of interest to take care of losses; landowners mortgage their lands for money with which to pay taxes and operating expenses. On account of failures, mortgages are foreclosed and more land is placed into the hands of absentee landlords and those who "rent their lands out" to tenants instead of farming them themselves. Tenancy is thus increased and its condition further aggravated, and all go down the hill toward economic ruin—the tenant, the landowner, the bankers and business men together.

In the sections where cotton is the chief cash crop, the whole social and economic scheme of things for the entire population—not just the farmers—revolves around the price received for cotton. The price varies according to the relation between supply and demand. The supply includes the carryover of cotton in warehouses and in the mills throughout the world, together with the prospective crop to be planted or already on the way. During the growing season monthly estimates are made and published by the Government and the market prices vary according to the crop prospects.

The larger the cotton crop beyond the estimated world need in a given crop year, the less money the growers receive, because the price grows progressively smaller. It is perfectly obvious that, if the cotton farmers, in cooperation, reduce their crops to a point where they receive as much money from the sale of seven bales of cotton as they would have received from 10 bales, they are better off. Not only can they raise the seven bales for less cost than they could the 10 bales, but they can have left more land and time with which to raise additional food, feed and forage crops; in short, they can more easily make a profit from their year's labor. That is exactly what has happened in Alabama under the new farm programs. The plow-up campaign in 1933, the AAA crop-reduction contracts in 1934 and 1935, have brought a good measure of prosperity back to our farm population. The farmers, tenants and sharecroppers, all given the right to vote on the situation after a trial, voted nearly 10 to 1 for continuation.

* * * *

There has been isolated cases, it is true, where these programs have worked hardships. I am certain, from our experience in Alabama, however, that a vast benefit has been brought to the great majority.

A tenant such as Jeeter Lester, and there are undoubtedly many of them, is more to be pitied than condemned for his apparent shiftlessness. He is but a victim of an outmoded day and system. Think what wonderful benefit he would get from the New Deal program if he lived in Alabama. There the situation has been, for many, almost as hopeless as Jeeter's; but a new day is dawning; Recognizing that such rehabilitation is necessary, for many reasons, the problem was largely turned over to the Resettlement Administration headed by Dr. Rexford G. Tugwell. His Rural Rehabilitation division went to work on the proposition of reversing the down-hill, step-by-step process through which 13,000 Alabama farm families—65 to 75 thousand people of the farms—had become so destitute they had had to go on public relief.

They make for each family a plan based upon sound agricultural usages—a plan approved by the Extension Service. It provides adequate credit for subsistence, for seed, fertilizer, etc., and at 5 per cent interest instead of the exhorbitant rates charged by many private agencies and individuals. They aid the farmer if he follows the plan agreed upon, and he knows he can depend upon them "seeing him through" if he will carry out the agreement. They put those families on good land and have a supervisor in each county and a woman agent who corresponds to the Home Demonstration Agent. Together they work out the client's farm plan, his canning program, his garden program and livestock plan. The double purpose in doing this is to insure the government loan being repaid, and to educate the client to the point where he can do these things for himself. Not all of them will succeed but I believe the majority will, given the proper chance and time in which to adjust themselves.

Rural Resettlement will select from these 13,000 families the better ones, which will be graduated into land ownership. These will be provided credit with which to buy farms. Such a program has pretty nearly removed farm people from the relief rolls in Alabama.

So I assert that, instead of aggravating the conditions of the tenants and sharecroppers, the New Deal programs are the first comprehensive, intelligent efforts to meet the challenge thrown down to a civilized people by the situation portrayed in "Tobacco Road". Senator Bankhead's Farm Tenant Bill, already passed by the Senate and pending before the House committee on agriculture, if it becomes a law, will establish a strong government agency empowered to deal forcibly and effectively with the tenancy situation. Its declared purpose is: "To create the Farmer's Home Corporation, to promote more secure occupancy of farms and farm homes, to correct the economic instability resulting from some present forms of farm tenancy, to engage in rural rehabilitation, and for other purposes."

CHARLES B. CROW.
231 Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Progress in the South

IT is not wholly accidental that this week's issue of *The Nation* contains two articles dealing with the problems of the South. As Representative Maverick points out so graphically, the South is in ferment today as it has not been since the Civil War. The depression and the world-wide trend toward economic nationalism have threatened the foundations of its economic structure. The loss of the export market for cotton has perhaps permanently cut off its chief source of cash income. While the AAA and the Bankhead act staved off complete ruin for the landowners, hundreds of thousands of share-croppers have been deprived of their only means of earning a livelihood. In the old South the situation is particularly grave because of competition from the more efficient cotton producers of the Southwest.

Barring war or a miracle—such as a drastic cut in the American tariff—cotton will never again play the dominant role in the South that it has played in the past. A complete reconstruction of the economic life of the entire region is inescapable, although it will be greatly retarded by political and cultural backwardness. The decay and corruption resulting from the single-party system makes it unrealistic to expect progressive leadership through ordinary political channels. Denial of franchise to the underprivileged, both Negro and white, precludes any effective revolt through the ballot-box against the power of the land-owning aristocracy.

Programs such as the TVA—described on another page by Stuart Chase—are bound to contribute to the removal of some of these barriers; but it goes almost without saying that the motivating impulse for a fundamental reshaping of the social pattern must come from within. There are numerous indications that this process is already under way. The existence of militant organizations of share-

croppers in Alabama and Arkansas, the formation of the Modern Democrats in Florida, and the successful fight being waged by the progressive Democratic wing in Texas are illustrative of the ferment at work. The recent conference of the Southern Policy Committee at Chattanooga brought together many of the leaders in this movement. Composed of professors, editors, and business men, the group represented a fair cross-section of Southern progressive opinion. The moderate nature of their recommendations is a reflection, at least in part, of the magnitude of the problems which they faced. As immediate steps for improving the economic status of agriculture, the conference recommended passage of the Bankhead-Jones farm-homes bill, the organization of farmers in producers' cooperatives, the reduction of tariffs, the establishment of laws for the enforcement of minimum housing standards applicable to rural conditions, and the extension of the federal Social Security Act to cover agricultural unemployment. In the industrial field the conference went on record as favoring laws prohibiting the abuse of injunctions in labor disputes, guaranteeing the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively, restricting the workweek, and establishing minimum wages. It also recommended ratification of the child-labor amendment, and the passage of legislation implementing the Social Security Act.

Mild as they are, these proposals are indicative of a definite social awakening on the part of certain "responsible" elements in the South. It is disheartening, however, to realize that even in a group as progressive as this there is so little disposition to come to grips with fundamental problems. It is almost incredible, for example, to find that apart from general recommendations regarding the extension of suffrage and educational facilities it offered no specific proposals for aiding the Negro. For though a Southerner may be right in arguing that Negroes will be aided by any measure that is designed to benefit the South as a whole, it can scarcely be denied that the colored population as a group is suffering from innumerable economic and social disabilities which must be removed before they can make their full contribution to the renaissance of the South. There was a similar disinclination to face the fact that the injustices of which the group complained are deeply ingrained in the profit system. Except for a mild indorsement of collective bargaining, the committee showed little disposition to choose weapons adequate for the task at hand. The conference apparently ruled out political action, either through the Democratic Party or by the formation of a new party, as impracticable under present conditions. This may or may not have been a wise decision. But if the ordinary avenues of popular expression are closed in the South, it would seem all the more imperative that attention be centered on the organization of rural and urban labor for direct economic struggle.

Clarendon, Va., Chronicle
May 29, 1936

THE CHRONICLE

NEW DEAL NEGROES ATTEMPT TO DISCREDIT THE SUPREME COURT

Newspapers owned and edited by negro politicians, who are profiting as publicity men and other high salaried office holders under the New Deal, are teaching their readers through editorials and contributed articles that it never was intended that the Supreme Court set aside an act of Congress upon the ground that it is unconstitutional. They get their inspiration from the contemptous remarks and ominous attitude of President Roosevelt, whose numerous attempts to regiment the merchant, the manufacturer, the farmer, and all industry, after the manner of Karl Marx, have been nullifield by the Supreme Court, because of conflict with the Constitution.

The more than 12,000,000 negroes in this country must look to the Constitution, and not to Presidents or to politicians, for protection of their freedom and the preservation of their equality before the law. A breath can make, and has made, a President, and clamor against the negro can make, and has often made, politicians and statesmen, but, as said by the Supreme Court, the Constitution was made for the ages, and it has spread a mighty sheltering wing above the millions of negroes incapable through poverty and ignorance of protecting themselves.

To preserve that Constitution and to see that its mandates are obeyed, and its prohibitions respected, the instrument itself created a Supreme Court. Of necessity it must declare unconstitutional acts passed by congress, and acts passed by the legislatures of states void, if in conflict with the Constitution of the United States, for the Constitution is by its own words the Supreme law of the land.

Acts of the legislatures, intended by indirection to disfranchise the negro, have been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States because in conflict with the 14th. Amendment, and will any negro editor or politician, or lawyer, say that an act of congress aimed at the disfranchisement of the negro should stand, and that the Supreme Court had no power to declare it unconstitutional, although the right to vote is the right that preserves all rights.

Suppose that Congress should pass a "Jim Crow" law, for the District of Columbia, or for interstate trains, in conflict with the Constitution, will any negro editor, or politician or lawyer, say that the Supreme Court had not the power to nullify such an act of congress? Where would the negro turn for protection except to the Supreme Court?

Suppose an act of Congress, or of the legislature of any state, should declare that negroes should not serve on juries, where would the negro turn for protection except to the Supreme Court?

Suppose an act of congress, or of the Legislature of a state, should declare that only persons of the caucasian race should be eligible to office, where would the negro turn for protection except to the Supreme Court?

Suppose that Congress should pass acts denying to the negro the right to bear arms, the right of protection against unlawful search or seizure of his person or property, the right to due process of law, or to trial by jury, would not the negro depend upon the Supreme Court to declare such acts of Congress unconstitutional?

Can negroes forget that but for the Supreme Court the Scottsville boys would not get the semblance of a fair trial. Have they forgotten the grandfather clauses in state constitutions, intended to disfranchise the negro, that the Supreme Court has declared unconstitutional? Have they forgotten the acts of legislatures declared unconstitutional by the federal courts because they provided that only known white democrats could vote in democratic primaries, even though state supreme courts had decided that a negro democrat might be excluded from a democratic primary?

From the beginning of these United States from 1776 to 1934, no negro was permitted in the courts of the state of Virginia to sit in a jury. He sits on juries now, in state courts in Virginia, because the Supreme Court of the United States has declared that no subterfuge, artifice, or evasion or ingenuity to exclude him shall be tolerated.

We do not doubt that the efforts of negro editors and politicians, under the leadership of President Roosevelt, to discredit and belittle the Supreme Court of the United States, are unmusical and harsh in sound to negro ears. He needs the protection of that great court more than the white man needs it.

Race Problem - 1936
United States.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN

APR 27 1936

The Woes Of Arcadia

By H. L. MENCKEN

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I

IN the year 1910 a young Georgian by the name of Howard W. Odum, then 26 years old, turned in a doctoral thesis at Columbia University under the title of "Social and Mental Traits of the Negro." It must have given the learned brethren of the faculty a considerable thrill, for it was one of the best doctoral theses in the whole history of American universities, and it was unquestionably the best treatise on the Negro ever written by a Southerner. In it there was a complete absence of both moral indignation and academic theorizing. It confined itself to observed facts, and it presented them clearly, succinctly and extremely effectively. Dr. Odum has now lived another twenty-six years, and is become a venerable gaffer of 52, but his prentice work holds up beautifully. It must be taken into account by everyone who writes about the Negro, or about the South.

In the meanwhile, its author has certainly not lolled upon his bays. I know of no busier man in the entire United States, nor one whose activity has been more valuable. For the last sixteen years he has been studying and teaching at the University of North Carolina, and helping to build up the high reputation of that remarkable institution. He has published, I should say, at least a dozen books, and all of them have been good. They have ranged from technical monographs in sociology to amusing volumes on the songs and folklore of the colored people, but all of them have had one central purpose: to describe the sub-Potomac *Kultur* precisely as it is, and to deal realistically with the problems it offers.

When Dr. Odum undertook this life-work it called for a great deal of courage, for since the Civil War, as everyone knows, Southerners have shown an almost pathological antipathy to the truth, and in particular have resented bitterly any honest discussion of themselves. If the business takes less courage today, it is mainly because Odum's pertinacity has, to some extent at least, broken down that old hunkerousness. He has not, to be sure, made much impression on the common run of Confederate morons, but he has trained and nourished a minority of Southerners who understand what he is about, and know him to be an able and honest man, and so he has gradually rounded up an audience, and even acquired some ardent partisans. Because he has lived and worked, the South is measurably less stupid than it used to be.

II

HIS latest publication is a stout volume called "Southern Regions of Today," prepared for the Southern Regional Committee of the Social Science Research Council and printed by the University of North Carolina Press. It is a sort of one-volume encyclopedia of the South, and especially of what the author calls the Southeast, to wit, the States of Virginia, the Carolinas, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas and Louisiana, excluding Maryland, West Virginia and Missouri. This grouping is not arbitrary. Dr. Odum established it only after a careful examination of a vast amount of indicative material. He found some wide variations in the States of his choice, but he also found that they resembled one another much more closely than they resembled any other States.

One of their common characters is their tremendous wastefulness, both of material resources and of human materials. The South has plenty of good land, but much of it is not utilized, and that which is under the plow is being damaged by the idiotic one-crop system of cultivation. It has enormous forests, but they are being slaughtered rather than harvested, and the erosion of the soil is making their replacement increasingly difficult. It has plenty of minerals, but save when Northern capital undertakes the business, they are not adequately worked, and Northern capital naturally carries off most of the profits when it intervenes. There is excellent human stock in the South, but its advancement is held back by the inertia of the hordes of half-wits, white and black, and gifted individuals only too often clear out for the North.

The result is a pervasive and pathetic second-ratedness. Everyone knows Southerners who are admirable and extraordinary persons, but everyone also knows that the South as a whole lags a great deal behind the rest of the country. It lives relatively badly, it is ignorant and credulous above the common, and save in the sorry fields of party politics and tin-pot evangelism it offers the nation no leadership. Ideas that all civilized persons have long since rejected as idiotic are still cherished down there, and values that all civilized persons esteem are scorned.

III

THE way out is not easy to discern. Dr. Odum is enough of an adherent of the materialistic conception of history to believe that a lightening of the prevailing poverty would help things all along the line, but how to lighten it is a problem that looks almost insoluble. Cause and effect are constantly changing places. If the present excessive birth rate could be reduced there would be fewer children to educate, and the education of the few could be carried further and made better. But a reduction in the birth rate will be difficult as long as millions remain as ignorant as they are today.

In more than one way the South is fully a century behind the rest of the country. I point, for example, to its theological backwardness—its peculiar subservience to the mandates of its reigning ecclesiastics, most of them utter ignoramuses. New England, once completely in the power of similar quacks, threw them off so long ago as the end of the eighteenth century, and today it is conscious of them only as an unhappy memory. But south of the Potomac they still have more influence than any other class of men, and are, in fact, the chief shapers of Southern thought. Their fingers are in every pie. They not only harass the people with theological balderdash out of the dark abysm of human history; they also dominate education, and are immensely potent in politics.

I have more than once argued that the chief task before the civilized minority of young Southerners is to gang against these preposterous shamans, and I find nothing in Dr. Odum's book to change that view. They survive in power only because there has never been any resolute and determined attack upon them. The minute they were put to defending themselves, with a sufficiency of well-equipped antagonists in front of them, they would collapse as their forerunners collapsed in New England. There can never be any real civilization in the South so long as the test of a new idea is not whether it is true, but whether the village pastor approves it.

IV

IS an organized raid upon this obscurantism possible? Manifestly, it will be very difficult so long as the majority of the young Southerners who cross the Potomac to be educated remain above it to make their careers. If enough of them returned home there would soon be a formidable party of iconoclasts, and it might easily give the shamans a serious shaking-up. But the boys and girls educated at home are plainly not so well fitted for the business. Even when their disgust is profound they commonly make outward submission to the communal *mores*, and as a result their protests when heard at all, are too cautious to be effective.

If it be argued that I overlabor this matter I can only reply that its importance is only too obvious. In no other part of the country, and indeed in no other civilized country, is ecclesiastical pretension more impudent and dangerous. It reaches out in every direction, and lays its blight upon the most diverse and apparently unrelated enterprises. It has produced, as a natural reaction, that somewhat bitter literature of revolt which now engages most of the Southern writers, but its direct effect is to leave those writers almost without support in their own country. Dr. Odum refers with justifiable pride, to their achievement, but I think he pays too little heed to the raucous and merciless opposition that has been their only local reward. They make their careers, not in the South but in the North, and that is one of the most dismal facts about the Southern culture of today.

The Southern one-crop farmer is at once the chief customer of the shamans, and the chief impediment to the material progress of the region. Can he be taught to farm in a decent and rational manner? The Brain Trust mountebanks propose to lift him up by giving his wife an electrical washing machine, but they neglect to provide her with either the skill to operate it or the wash to keep it busy. The problem is really much too difficult for any such facile solution. My own guess is that it belongs to biology rather than to politics or economics. Its first half consists in persuading those hardly human hinds to cease reproducing their kind so copiously. Its second half consists in promoting the death rate among those already born.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
April 17, 1936

RACE SPLITTING RAPPED

Northern Money for Use in Spreading Photos Scored

Atlanta, April 16.—(U.P.): Dissemination of literature and photographs calculated to invite race prejudices, financed by contributions of Northern financiers, was condemned tonight by the Southern commission on inter-racial cooperation.

A resolution adopted at the annual meeting of the commission today protested "vehemently" at distribution of such literature as "anti-social, un-American and un-Christian".

The resolution referred directly to revelations before the senate lobby committee yesterday by Vance Muse of Houston, Texas, of "distribution all over the South" of pictures of Mrs. Roosevelt entering a "negro meeting with two negro escorts".

"The United States senate committee investigating lobbying has produced testimony showing conclusively that some Southern politicians have accepted thousands of dollars from Northern financiers for the purpose of manufacture of the basest racial prejudices for political ends," the resolution read.

Black on Blacks

White citizens of the U. S. South expect a Republican President, for political reasons, to treat Negroes as near-equals. That is a prime reason why they have almost always voted solidly Democratic since Reconstruction.* On the other hand, Southern voters expect a Democratic President to co-operate in keeping Negroes firmly in their social place.

Last summer President Roosevelt, a

MRS. ROOSEVELT & ESCORTS

A Texan was nauseated.

Northern Democrat, received a delegation of Negro Elks in his office, allowed himself to be photographed with them (TIME, Aug. 12). Still more shocking to Southern sensibilities was it when Mrs. Roosevelt addressed the Women's Faculty Club of Washington's Howard University (Negro), let herself be photographed between two young Negro officers of the University R.O.T.C. (see cut). By count of Chicago's Negro Representative Arthur Mitchell last August, President Roosevelt had given more jobs to blackamoors than had all three preceding Republican Presidents put together. To a North Carolina Negro businessman the President wrote that, in proportion to their numbers, Negro citizens had been given more Relief than whites. Negro journals like the Baltimore *Afro-American*, and the Pittsburgh *Courier* commented happily on these and other instances of the Roosevelt consideration for their race.

Political opponents of Franklin Roosevelt were not long in seeing that this kind of political dynamite could blow larger holes in the Solid South than any other single campaign issue. Throughout the South began to appear cheap pamphlets containing blurred photographs of the Roosevelts consorting with Negroes, blatant text proclaiming them ardent Negrophiles. First public notice of this stirring of the black pot of race feeling was taken when copies of the *Georgia Woman's World* were placed on the chair of every delegate to the convention of anti-Roosevelt "Goober Democrats," called by Georgia's Governor Eugene Talmadge and the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution in Macon last winter (TIME, Feb. 10). Embellished with most extant photographs of Roosevelts & Negroes, this shoddy sheet shrilled:

"Notwithstanding the fact that he was elected by the Democratic Party, PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT HAS . . . PERMITTED NEGROES TO COME TO THE WHITE HOUSE BANQUET TABLE AND SLEEP IN THE WHITE HOUSE BEDS. . . . THE LITTLE DOLE WHICH HE GAVE TO THE SOUTH WILL NEVER PERMIT HIM AND MRS. ROOSEVELT TO PUT SOCIAL EQUALITY IN THE SOUTH AS THEY HAVE DONE IN THE NORTH AND IN PENNSYLVANIA."

Last week Senator Hugo Lafayette Black chose to give this whole delicate question a public airing in his Senate Lobby Investigating Committee.* Up for investigation was John Henry Kirby's Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution. First witness was fat, freckled and John Henry Kirby, Texas oil and lumber man, who quickly revealed that the right-hand man who really knew the inner workings of his organization was one Vance Muse. A big, muscular, loose-jointed Texan with thick brown hair and a scar on his cheek. Mr. Muse swung up to the witness chair. Senator Black told him to sit down.

"I think," boomed Vance Muse, "that I should stand in the presence of the Senate of the United States, in which I have implicit faith."

Confusion arose at once over the line to be drawn between the activities of the various organizations with which Mr. Muse, like Mr. Kirby, seemed to be connected—the Southern Committee, Texas Taxpayers League, Texas Election Managers' Association, Order of American Patriots—all with headquarters in Houston's Kirby Building.†

Cutting through the fog of Mr. Muse's organizational affiliations, Senator Black put a pointed question. "Have you personally," he asked, "caused pamphlets or printed sheets to be circulated, with reference to the President of the United States and his family?"

"I have," said big Vance Muse.

"Describe them."

"It's nauseating for me to do it," blurted Vance Muse. "It was a picture of Mrs. Roosevelt going to a Negro meeting with a Negro escort on either side of her. You forced me to say that."

"I didn't force you to circulate them," snapped Inquisitor Black.

Vance Muse pounded his big chest, boomed: "My conscience forced me to do that. The same conscience that made me put on a uniform. I'm a believer in white supremacy." (Outside the committee-room, Mr. Muse explained that by "uniform" he meant the grey suit he was wearing. Grey being the Confederate color, it was, he said, a sort of symbol.)

Witness Muse explained that the pictures had been printed and circulated by Allen Sheppard of Houston, head of the Election Managers' Association and a Democratic county committeeman.

Pushing on toward his main objective, Inquisitor Black asked Witness Muse if he had caused the stuff to be distributed at the "Goober Democrats" convention.

"I think Gene Talmadge's group did that," replied Vance Muse.

Getting still warmer, Senator Black asked who had paid for the Macon convention.

He and John Henry Kirby, testified Vance Muse, had persuaded two men to put up $5,000 each to finance the convention. One of them was John Jacob Raskob. The other was Pierre S. du Pont. Both are prime supporters of the American Liberty League.

"Did either Raskob or Du Pont," cried Inquisitor Black exultantly, "complain about the type of literature and pictures distributed at the convention?"

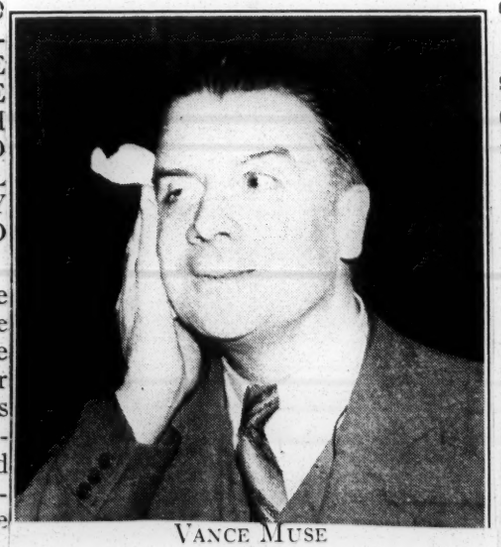
"They didn't know anything about it," hedged Witness Muse.

"It was printed in all the newspapers," insisted Senator Black. "You knew that, didn't you?"

"Yes."

"Did they express disapproval?"

"Not that I know of."



VANCE MUSE

Confederate grey is his uniform.

*An exception: In 1928 Virginia, North Carolina, Florida and Texas preferred Hoover and the Negro to Smith and Catholicism.

*Expecting to have to fight William Randolph Hearst's injunction suit against it up to the Supreme Court (TIME, April 20), the Black Committee last week asked the House for permission to pay its counsel more than the statutory $3,600 per year allowed to Congressional investigating committee employes, got a stern refusal, 153-to-137.

†Named for John Henry Kirby by its builder-owner, RFC Chairman Jesse Jones.

HIGH POINT, N. C.
ENTERPRISE

MAY 31 1936

LET'S FORGET

Mrs. Raymond Parker, according to The Enterprise reporter, "spoke to an appreciative audience" when she addressed the citizens assembled at the Hoey headquarters Thursday evening.

But Mrs. Parker is quoted as saying that her father "was a Confederate soldier and to bring into our midst an alien from Illinois (Doctor McDonald) who went to school with Negroes and to ask for him the highest gift within the power of North Carolinians is more than I can justify."

With all due credit to Mrs. Parker's good speech we are sorry that she said that. If we know Clyde Hoey aright he could not appreciate that kind of argument in his behalf. As to the "alien" part of it we should recall that there have gone out from North Carolina able men who have become governors in other states and that their Tar Heel blood was no bar to their good conduct in office.

As to Candidate McDonald's going to school with Negroes we might remember that he had no choice in the matter out in his native state of Illinois; then, too, to look in on a school out there is like beholding a few blackberries in the midst of a multitude of white blackberry-blossoms at the beginning of the berry season.

We had hoped that the stings of Reconstruction days had gone forever and ever by and that we had come to remember with pleasure the kind treatment accorded his slaves by "Marse" Robert E. Lee, and the faithful instruction of Negroes by Stonewall Jackson. Without believing in social equality we would do well to get over racial prejudice or anything that smacks of it.

In reference to candidates for governor of North Carolina The Enterprise has sponsored no particular candidacy. However it is our desire to see fair play among those who are championing the cause of the various aspirants for office. Racial discussions have certainly been worn threadbare in this state, so let's forget them, and think in the best terms possible of the human race.

Gastonia, N. C. Gazette
June 2, 1936

Blease Raps Racial Equality And Sen. Byrnes In Speech

Fire-Eating South Carolinian Talks To Firemen At Lumberton.

LUMBERTON, June 2.—(AP)—Cole L. Blease, former Governor and U. S. Senator from South Carolina, attacked James F. Byrnes, his senate successor, and tendencies to social equality for negroes today in addressing the North Carolina Firemen's convention.

Blease referred to South Carolina politics long enough to deny that a vote against Byrnes in his race for re-election was a vote against the Roosevelt administration Byrnes had upheld.

He then criticized "the white man or white woman who invites a negro to eat at his table or to sleep in his home" as "lower down than the negro."

Of Byrnes, he told the firemen, "the impression which is attempted to be made that those who are against Byrnes in South Carolina are against Roosevelt is a plain, common, old time, everyday, lie out of the whole cloth.

"There may be personal reason and other reasons that might cause people to vote against Byrnes who are the strongest supporters of Roosevelt.

"There are things going on today which I do not approve but I shall confine my fight to the limits of the Democratic party and when the majority speaks I shall abide as I have always done."

Blease, described himself as a "dyed in the wool Democrat," declared "in favor of standing by the constitution of the United States through thick and thin."

He admitted saying, "to hell with the constitution" while in the senate, but explained his statement was predicated upon the constitution coming "between me and the defense of the virtue of the white women of my state."

He said he had befriended hundreds of negroes, defended them free as a lawyer, and pardoned them as governor because "I am a friend of the negro.

"The best element of colored people in the south do not want equality in the general use of the term," he continued, but ask equal economic standing without social relations between the races.

Race Problem-1936

United States.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
April 28, 1936

"Race Question" in ' e Convention

One cannot presume, presumption is too strong a word, that the Democratic negroes will demand of the national Democratic convention in June a plank in the platform pledging the party to protect the rights of negroes in Southern states to register and vote in general elections and to be admitted into the Southern Democratic primaries if they are Democrats, but if they do not press the demand this year they will not postpone it for long.

The unanimous vote of Northern Democrats in the senate backed by two Democrats from border states for the Costigan Wagner bill is the same thing as admission that the Northern Democrats will not resist pressure from the negroes. However a Northern state be safe for Mr. Roosevelt it may not be safe for a candidate for senator or governor, and Senators (Wagner, Van Nuys, and Logan for examples) who have numerous negro constituents must look out for themselves. They do, and they will.

The declaration in the speech of Representative Mitchell, negro Democrat of Chicago, that the negroes in twenty-three states will vote 2,400,000 for the reelection of Mr. Roosevelt puts the national Democratic party on notice that they are to be reckoned with.

It is foolish to underestimate the ability of Northern negro leaders. They are few, exceptional, but those few, men of the Walter White stamp, are as shrewd and clever as most white leaders are. The Southern states, which do not send their ablest men to congress as a rule, are not as well equipped to cope with them as they ought to be.

It is possible, which is not saying probable, that the Northern negroes will ask for a plank for the protection of negro voting in the South and that if the platform committee denies it the demand will be taken to the convention floor. Then what? Guffey of Pennsylvania, Neely of West Virginia Wagner of New York, Moore of New Jersey Donahey of Ohio, Lewis of Illinois and other Northern politicians will be "on the spot"

Southern Democrats, as Smith and Byrnes of South Carolina, Harrison and Bilbo of Mississippi, Russell and George of Georgia also will be on the spot. The danger will be instant of a sectional breach in the Democratic party. At least six, possibly eleven Southern states are not prepared to entertain thought of admission of negroes in their states to Democratic party activity.

The issue may be postponed this year. The Northern negroes may believe that the moment has not arrived to insist upon recognition in the South. Walter White and his lieutenants are far-seeing men. They can put the screws on the Northern white leaders whenever they wish. The Wagner-Costigan debate proved that.

The Democrats may succeed in side-tracking and suppressing the question another year or two. That is not unlikely.

The suits at law for admission of negroes to Southern colleges and to primaries, the Northern crusade for the "Scottsboro boys" which has brought the decision declaring the rights of negroes to serve on juries, the Wagner-Costigan bill, the circulation of photographs of white people and negroes to stir "race prejudice" or to gain negro votes for Democratic candidates, the presence of a Democratic negro in congress (he seems a first rate negro), Secretary Ickes's public announcement to negroes in Chicago that "There is a New Deal for negroes," a variety of incidents besides, point unmistakably that the negro issue is coming sharply and immediately to the front.

The settlement of it involves states rights. What Southerners should do about it is not here discussed. They should at least be prepared to meet the issue intelligently in the Chicago convention and should send delegates of capacity to meet it. What the opinions of these delegates are should be known and recorded in advance. The platform of the South Carolina Democratic convention should be clear on the subject.

The Democratic policy in South Carolina, toward all national questions, however close home they come, is to say nothing, drift with the Democratic tide, take the offices and the federal alms. It is charged with the gravest dangers.

The New Deal program cannot succeed without revolution in Southern states. That is self-evident.

Kinston, N. C., Free Press
April 22, 1936

Common Politeness

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT said photographs showing her in company with Negroes were taken with her permission and that she had no objection to their distribution.

The pictures were distributed in the South in the recent abortive effort to turn Dixie sentiment against the best friend this region has had in the White House in many years

One picture, the President's wife said, was made at Howard University, Negro institution. She addressed a gathering of women, but two officers of a colored Civilian Conservation Corps camp met her car and escorted her up the steps. They treated her with the "utmost respect." Incidentally, Howard is a government institution.

Two Negroes escorted Mrs. Roosevelt up the steps "with utmost respect." As they should have done in the circumstance.

Suffolk, Va., News-Herald
April 18, 1936

DASTARDLW CONDUCT

The admission of a witness before the senate committee engaged in probing lobbies that he had conspired with others to libel Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt has aroused the indignation of the nation. He confessed to distributing lithographs which purported to show the first lady fraternizing with Negroes in a familiar way.

The only foundation for the presence of Mrs. Roosevelt in the company of Negroes was on the occasion of her address at Howard University, Washington. She was photographed while there as a matter of course. Then some evil-minded Texan aligned with those who are seeking to destroy the New Deal, conceived the idea of making it appear the Roosevelts were abetting and practicing that will-o'-the wisp "social equality."

So this assassin of truth, through trick photography, had the lithographs made in the libelous and scurrilous form they appeared. Ten thousand of these lithographs were made. A copy of each was placed in the chairs of delegates attending the Democratic "grass roots" convention held at Atlanta earlier in the year. Asked to describe them the witness said they were 'nauseous."

Mrs. Roosevelt, like any other good citizen anxious to perform some service to her fellowman, was doubtless glad to speak before the students. She never thought anyone would stoop so low as to try to create a false impression as to her presence there or her motives.

Thus it is seen just how far these contemptible rats in the form of human beings are going to defeat the president for reelection. In order to do so they would libel, disgrace and destroy his wife—strike down a woman to reach her husband. And this grand idea was conceived in Texas where we were supposed to believe that womanhood was sacrosanct.

Don't tell us that this poison has not done its work. Only a few weeks ago we heard an ex-congressman charge the Roosevelts with practicing "social equality." Being president, Mr. Roosevelt cannot go gunning for these traducers of his wife's fair name; she being his wife cannot prosecute them for criminal libel. But the people can pillory these defamers and crucify them on the cross of public scorn.

Spartanburg, S. C. Journal
April 18, 1936

Striking a Low Ebb

Madam Roland's exclamation, "Liberty, how many crimes are committed in thy name", could well be applied to politics, and recent disclosures brought out at the senate lobbying investigation indicate that the country at large and the south in particular is in for one of the roughest, rawest and bitterest of presidential campaigns.

Money was provided on a liberal scale to promote the mid-winter convention of the save-the-constitution adherents at Macon, Ga., and as the Atlanta Constitution observes, "some of this money was used to circulate literature so scurrilous and offensive to decency as to shock members of the senate investigating committee, both Democrats and Republicans.'

It is but natural that the Commission on Interracial Co-operation should look with regret and condemnation upon this attempt to create racial prejudice and hatred for "political ends." In a resolution on the subject it records itself as follows: "We depreciate all racial prejudice and warn the people of the south to beware of attempts to create and incite race prejudice for any ends whatsoever."

Statesville, N. C. Daily
April 17, 1936

Prejudice Mongers.

Vance Muse, of Texas, general manager of the southern committee to uphold the constitution, admits that he circulated pictures of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, in company with two negroes, but he did not go into details as to how this activity would serve to "uphold the constitution."

The pictures were taken at Howard university, negro college in Washington, when the first lady went there to make a speech. Even the most violent critic could find little in that to get het up about "social equality," which evidently was the purpose of the distribution. Taking the picture out of its proper setting in an effort to inflame the minds of Southerners, who are all too easily inflamed, was utterly contemptible, and demonstrates to what lengths the duPont-supported "southern committee," which includes a number of prominent North Carolinians, is willing to go.

It is not uncommon for Southern

whites to address negro gatherings, and it is right and proper that they should. But to take pictures of them on the platform and circulate these among their neighbors in an effort to work up prejudice against them, would not be tolerated for a moment, not if a good horsewhip was handy.

Not that Eleanor cared much about it one way or the other, but as usual public reaction will work out the other way around. The "southern committee to uphold the constitution" in employing such tactics has disclosed its soul, which is very, very black, and in spite of its high-sounding name, it is just as well that it has deceased and is laid out for burial.

Will political campaigners never learn that "smearing" is the surest way of defeating their own purposes and exalting those whom they would destroy?

Atlanta Constitution
1936

COMMISSION RAPS 'RACIAL' POLITICS

Stirring of Prejudice for 'Political Ends' Condemned as 'Un-American.'

The Commission on Interracial Co-operation yesterday condemned as "anti-social," un-American and un-Christian" any attempt to create racial projudice "for political ends."

The commission's stand was taken at its annual meeting held here a day after Vance Muse, of Houston, Texas, told the senate lobby committee he distributed in the south pictures of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt with two negro escorts.

Muse, general manager of the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution, also told the committee John J. Raskob and Pierre S. duPont each contributed $5,000 for the anti-New Deal "grass roots" convention in Macon. The pictures were widely distributed at the Macon assembly.

Delegates to the meeting were told yesterday of the government's plans for operation of the University low rent housing project in southwest Atlanta. O. L. Freeman, manager of the project, was the speaker.

The University project, similar to the Techwood housing project, is being built by the PWA housing division for the negro population of Atlanta. The members of the commission were shown the buildings, which are nearing completion, and plans for management were explained.

About 50 members of the commission, representing virtually every state below the Mason-Dixon line, were present. Dr. Edward Poteat Jr., of Raleigh, N. C., was re-elected president and Dr. Will W. Alexander, of Atlanta, executive director.

Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch
April 22, 1936

In the Gutter

[*Bristol Herald Courier*]

There seldom is an important political campaign in this country that somebody does not get down in the gutter. That is what the so-called Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution has done this year.

Photographs showing Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt in the company of two Negroes have been distributed broadcast in the South. The photograph was taken as Mrs. Roosevelt left Howard University, a Negro institution, where she had delivered an address. It was distributed by Vanse Muse, general manager of the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution, an organization bitterly antagonistic to President Roosevelt.

Muse admitted to a Senate committee that he scattered the pictures liberally. He also told the committee the names of some of the men who have been helping to finance the activities of his organization, which include this despicable piece of work. Among them were John J. Raskob and Pierre du Pont, who so far have come down with $5,000 each; Ogden Mills, Frank B. Kellogg, H. C. Hopson of the Associated Gas and Electric Company, and a number of gentlemen connected with the steel, oil and automobile industries. The name of John Francis Neylan, general counsel for William Randolph Hearst, is on the list of contributors.

The purpose in the distribution of these photographs of Mrs. Roosevelt was and is, of couse, to stir up prejudice in the South against the President. Such a disreputable method of "upholding the Constitution" has been properly condemned by the Committee on Interracial Co-operation, meeting in Atlanta, as "antisocial, un-American and unchristian." It will react against the men and the organization responsible for it.

Three Dillard Professors Who Protested Parade Of Italians Threatened

Journal and Guide
5-30-36

New Orleans Facists Rip Huge Red-Lettered Sign From Insructor's Automobile After Police Belligerently Surround Their Car

Special to Journal and Guide

NEW ORLEANS, La. — Three members of the Dillard University faculty Sunday narrowly escaped arrest and injury at the hands of Italian paraders when they drove an automobile bearing a huge sign in black and red letters "We protest against this celebration of aggressive war and fascism" through the line of march.

L. R. REDDICK

The professors, L. D. Reddick, Byron Augustine and J. G. St. Clair Drake, after police had attempted several times to drive them away, were suddenly surrounded by the blue-coated minions of the law, while a group of angry and belligerent Italian paraders snatched the sign off their car.

The teachers had continually pestered the adherents of Mussolini by darting their car back and forth through the line of march, sometimes leading the blaring bands and other times trailing the Italians.

With a barrage of protests from the NAACP, the Louisiana League for Peace and Freedom, the Social Actions Committee of the Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, the Federated Civic Leagues, and the League Against War and Fascism, New Orleans Negroes made it clear that the "Victory Parade" of two thousand Italians in celebration of the crushing of Ethiopia was an insult to the Negroes of America and all peace loving citizens.

Twenty-seven orders of the Italian Union, including delegations from the surrounding parishes, marched for three hours to the tunes of a double band, while over ten thousand spectators looked on. Exclamations of Vive L' Italiane and the raising of the right hand in the fascist salute, lent added color to the demonstration. As a climax a special mass was sung in the historic St. Louis Cathedral.

Later in the evening, three thousand Negroes gathered in Freedman's Auditorium to consider the imposition of "economic sanctions" against local Italian merchants as a sign of protest.

ALBANY, N. Y.
Knickerbocker Press

APR 20 1936

DREGS OF POLITICS

NOBODY can have anything but contempt and indignation for the cowardly social attack made upon Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt by the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution which circulated pictures of her in company with two Negroes.

The purpose, of course, was to influence the minds of Southern whites against Mrs. Roosevelt on the ground that she accepted Negroes as social equals. Thereby, it was hoped to injure her husband, the President, politically. That, of course, could happen in only one section of the land.

That represents politics at its lowest ebb. It is an even more despicable offense than the recent display of a cartoon in which the First Lady was lampooned.

Making all allowance for the great exception which is taken to the activities of Mrs. Roosevelt we do not believe the American people are yet ready to accept tactics of that kind as permissible. There are some things which ought to be beneath the dignity even of politicians of the lowest grade. That is one of them.

Race Problem—1936
United States.

Forsyth, Ga., Advertiser
February 13, 1936

IN THE NAME OF DECENCY

Is Talmadge editing the sheet called Georgia Woman's World? Is he just furnishing the money to scatter it through the state? Why are the women whose names are at its masthead so filled with hatred for Roosevelt and the Democratic party that they can lend their efforts to such a program of unwarranted hate breeding utterances to prejudice the unthinking? And are they financially able to give their time and money to that cause?

What is the connection of Talmadge and the Woman's World? The first copy of it I ever saw was when it covered the state like the dew during the last governor's race. Then apparently it folded up and took a long nap and never woke up till Talmadge threatened to become a presidential candidate.

Now it is alive and everywhere scattering its venom so thoroughly that it is beyond belief of common sense that any publication without a large paid subscription list and plenty of paid for advertisements could so liberally cover the highways and bypaths of the state.

What is the connection of Talmadge with the sheet? The women would probably shout none. The governor would probably affect his saintly priesthood air and become indignant at his name being mentioned in the connection. That is his usual procedure. He professes to run his campaigns on a high plane, yet instigators of hate are intense in his behalf and political vultures do not work without pay.

It is still a free country (possibly too free in this case) and every one has the right to think and say whatsoever is on the mind. I have my own opinion, and the matters so dexterously presented in the Woman's World are easily and quickly answered.

No one believes in lynching the rapist (black or white) any more than I do. I think the most of Southern folks generally agree on that question. There is little to argue about. The few lynchings that we do have are because of the few cases. The Negroes know this as well as the whites. Like an old sore, it is irritating enough without hurting anew.

If these women editors are sincere in wanting to do something for the safety of the white girls of the South, there is a far graver danger to contend with than the black rapist. There is a far nobler purpose than inflaming race prejudices for political purposes.

If these women want to do something for the white girls of the South, let them start a movement for protection of the girls against white youths and men. The cases of the black rapist are few and far between. The seduction of girls through drinking and doping parties, love making and promises of marriage are numerous everyday occurrences.

Hotels of the cities are full of girls, each of whom some white man prostituted. Houses of ill repute are numerous. In one little city of fair renown and culture in Georgia are said to be close to 100 of these girls, many of them 15 to 18 years old. And the most of them came from respectable homes, shifted to the red lights by white men. This crime, that in my opinion is worse than rape, goes steadily on. The law is seldom brought down on the man and society only pushes the girl further down.

What is the Georgia Woman's World (and Talmade) going to do about it? Nothing! Absolutely nothing. It does not appeal to race prejudice for political purposes.

We people of the South have been fortunate in our relations with our darkies. They did not come here in the first place on their own choice. For years they worked as slaves and made the South the richest spot in the Union. During the war they worked the crops and took care of the women and children while their masters were fighting a war to keep them in chains. Since the war they have made the best of help on the farms and the best of house servants. They have gotten less pay and less justice in courts than menials in most countries. They do not try to vote, yet they pay their taxes, are patriotic in times of war, always ready to help the whites in distress, maintain their good natures, are dependable and far less a menace in their access to and freedom of homes than many whites who come driving up to the front doors.

In 40 years dealing with Negroes in business, on farms, in factories and in homes, I have not had one unpleasant experience and I have never seen a rapist.

I think if Southerners will read up a little on the lives of Robert E. Lee, Jeff Davis, Henry Grady or other truly great men of the South, they will, perforce, have kindlier feelings for the Negro. I think we owe the Negro too great a debt to condemn him because a few of his race have committed the unpardonable crime. I think it is unpardonable in a governor who will condone the instigation of race prejudice for political purposes or any other cause. I think a governor sworn to uphold the law and maintain peace, who allows a campaign of hatebreeding propaganda to be used in his own interests is unworthy of the office. I think any man is unworthy of any office who does so. I think the fair minded men should rise up as one man and brand the instigator as the worst enemy to human happiness. Nothing can be more degrading than the instigator of hate. Any spirit that seeks to create race prejudice should be abhorred.

The Woman's World goes into great length over about a dozen appointments that Roosevelt has made to Negroes, none of which, with the exception of one in Mississippi, are in the South. It loses sight of the fact that every one of these appointments were confirmed by the U. S. Senate, a body of all white men, two of whom are from Georgia. It loses sight of the fact that the Negro in border and northern states is quite a factor in voting, and that the small number of appointees is small indeed to the number that could have been appointed. It loses sight of the fact that Georgia alone, under Republican rule, has had a larger number of Negro Federal office holders than the whole country now has under Democrats.

My further and last opinion on the subject is that had not Governor Talmadge lost the Federal patronage after he had vigorously apportioned it among his friends for political purposes, he would not today be thinking of opposing Roosevelt; and the Georgia Woman's World, if it were in existence, would not have had one word to say of the unfortunate Negro, or of Roosevelt's appointing a few of them to Federal office.

No, there would have been no need to incite race prejudice for political purposes. In the name of decency, no race hatred inciting literature should be allowed in Georgia.

GEORGE A. DAWSON.

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution
February 2, 1936

A DESPICABLE RECOURSE

Commenting on the recent "grass roots" convention in Macon, Franklyn Waltman, political commentator of the Washington Post, in his dispatch to his newspaper writes that amid the "fervently bitter oratory which marked the four-hour convention, the apparently carefully studied effort to arouse race prejudices stands out as the most significant and the most disturbing feature."

This Washington newspaperman who came to Georgia to report the meeting held in Macon in the hope of drumming up opposition to President Roosevelt, cites that the effort to make racial prejudice an issue "is not a whispering campaign; it is carried on boldly and brazenly, from the public platform in open daylight."

He further cites the distribution among the delegates of copies of a propaganda sheet in which were published pictures of President and Mrs. Roosevelt in company with negroes, and under which appeared comment so objectionable that even John H. Kirby, the chairman of the convention, publicly disavowed the responsibility of his organization for the distribution of the indecent sheet.

The Waltman dispatch reports that "there is no doubt that those seeking to lead a southern rebellion against President Roosevelt have decided to make the negro an innocent football in their plans."

The astounding phase of this dangerous effort to engender racial prejudice and hatred in the south is that the elements in the north who are opposing Roosevelt are commingling hand and glove in their flirtation with the negro vote.

At the recent Liberty League dinner in Washington, at which Al Smith, like Governor Talmadge, denounced the New Deal, there were numerous negroes holding high seats among the diners.

Thus in the north direct appeal is made to the negro to oppose Roosevelt, while in the south the same element seeks to gain the support of the whites on the ground that President Roosevelt has gone too far in acknowledging the rights guaranteed to negroes by the constitution.

The effort to arouse racial prejudice and passion is unworthy of any man in office or who, out of office, would attempt to climb into office through the use of such a ladder.

The miserable effort of the Atlanta publication to besmirch President and Mrs. Roosevelt is all the more revolting because the pictures show the first lady while engaged in humanitarian work and the President seated at his desk listening, in his official capacity, to a message brought to him by a delegation of negroes.

Exactly the same scene has taken place time and again in the Governor's office in the Georgia state capitol, and the governor who would refuse to listen to any element of his constituency would be unworthy of the office.

The sole purpose of this publication is to drag into the campaign against Roosevelt the specter of racial hatred and racial animosity.

It is an unworthy recourse, born of desperation, and it should, and will be, resented by the decent sentiment of the state.

As to who paid for the 400,000 copies of this objectionable and dangerous sheet that are said to have been distributed throughout Georgia, as to how they were distributed, who is responsible for the use of the state Market Bulletin mailing list for this purpose, or the commandeering of federal relief workers as the clerical force to spread this diabolical propaganda, we do not know.

The Governor has stated that he is not responsible.

But somebody did it, and whoever it was should be ashamed of such despicable tactics.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
February 2, 1936

The following subjects will be discussed at the week's morning watch programs at the college: Monday, The Negro's Part in American History, given by Miss Bernadine Smith, Atlanta; Tuesday, America's Obligation to the Negro, Miss Mary Noble, Jacksonville, Fla.; Wednesday, Burnt Cork and Crime, Miss Anne Munck, Tampa, Fla.; Thursday, America's Crime of Crimes—Lynching, Miss Margaret Mitchell, Griffin; and Friday, Seek to Uproot Social Enmity and Oppression, Miss Virginia Scott, Winchester, Tenn.

WILMINGTON, DEL.
Journal-Every Evening

FEB 1 1936

In the Spirit of the Klan

JUDGED on the basis of their meeting this week in Macon, the discontented Southern Democrats led by Governor Talmadge of Georgia are adding nothing new to the political campaign but some additional vituperation and race prejudice of the disreputable Ku Klux Klan type.

It is true enough that Governor Talmadge has a just quarrel with the Administration for the manner in which it has scrapped the time-honored principles of the Democratic party. If his speech was lacking in polish it was a strong attack, framed for not too literate ears, on many of the worst mistakes of the present Administration.

But as a political prophet Governor Talmadge lacks both followers and constructive ideas. He would undoubtedly like to be the Messiah to lead the rock-ribbed Democrats out of what he terms "Socialistic and Communistic" bondage but he is woefully weak so far. In contrast with the late Huey Long, the Governor of Georgia cannot count on even the Democrats of his own state to support him.

The convention at Macon would be of no great importance in any case, except as an additional irritant to plague official Washington, if it had not been for the obvious attempts that were made at the meeting to inflame the voters of the South by sowing the pernicious seeds of prejudice in the most obvious manner possible.

Charges that President Roosevelt has "elevated more Negroes to office than any Republican President ever dared" ~~and that~~ he is "encouraging them to embrace Communistic doctrines" amount to inciting passions that are as uncontrollable as a forest fire in a gale.

If this is the tack that Governor Talmadge and his supporters expect to take they will not only help to make this campaign the "dirtiest in history"—they will be helping to arouse a blind and intolerant spirit that every decent American wants left buried deep in the group and they will be sowing seeds in the South that will bear bitter fruit for many years to come.

Dublin, Ga., Courier-Herald
February 11, 1936

Whispers Have Already Begun

By LESLIE EICHEL
Central Press Staff Writer

CLEVELAND, Feb. 11. (CPA)—The hidden elements, that seldom are discussed out loud, will play an important part in the Republican convention in Cleveland. Those elements may lead to the defeat of particular candidates for the Presidential nomination.

One such hidden element already has been brought to the surface. Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, voted against the anti-lynching bill. The Negro population of large industrial centers has become so large that it can mean victory or defeat for a party in such states as Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri.

The same issue can be worked both ways, as observe this:

Included in the vicious underground propoganda being used against President Roosevelt (not with the consent of the Republican party) is a story that he employs a Negro clerk (among the many clerks) in the White House, that a Negro was received at the White House, and that he tactily favored the anti-lynching bill.

Visitors to the United States may be appalled at such manifestations—yet politicians recognize them as part of the game. Much of the public, however, seems unaware of these hidden forces and is shocked when the whispers become public.

Unquestionably, the majority of people of the South will accept such attacks on President Roosevelt for the little they are worth. But Senator Borah is in a more awkward situation. Republican leaders desire a man who can carry the industrial states, otherwise there would be no need to nominate anybody.

Other Whispers

Other whispers can be heard in Cleveland:

"He's a dry!"

"He's a Townsendite!"

"He spoke against Townsend and Townsendites are our for him!"

"He favored the Roosevelt farm plan!"

"He said things the farmers didn't like!"

"He voted against the bonus!"

"He once said there ought to be an amendment to the constitution!"

"Father Coughlin is out for him!"

"He got a lot of funds out of the New Deal!"

"He goes with too many millionaires!"

"He was tied up with Hoover!"

Race Problem—1936
United States.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
February 3, 1936

LETTERS FROM THE PEOPLE

"I despise everything you say—but I will fight to the death for your right to say it."—Voltaire.

IN THE NAME OF DECENCY

To the Editor of The Telegraph:

Is Talmadge editing the sheet called Georgia Woman's World? Is he just furnishing the money to scatter it through the state? Why are the women whose names are at its masthead so filled with hatred for Roosevelt and the Democratic Party that they can lend their efforts to such a program of unwarranted hate breeding utterances to prejudice the unthinking? And are they financially able to give their time and money to that cause?

What is the connection of Talmadge and the Woman's World? The first copy of it we ever saw was when it covered the state like the dew during the last Governor's race. And it was "handed out" by Talmadge supporters. Then apparently, it folded up and took a long nap and never woke up till Talmadge threatened to become a Presidential candidate.

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No, there would have been no need to incite race prejudice for political purposes. In the name of decency no literature inciting race hatred should be allowed in Georgia. In the name of fairplay, the Negro communist, Herndon, should be pardoned. His offense can hardly be worse than the wholesale efforts of the Governor's friends with the Governor's consent (and possible aid) to stir up trouble and strife.

GEO. A. DAWSON.

Editor's Note—In the interest of truth, it should be pointed out that Governor Talmadge's convention managers gave out statement that they had nothing to do with distribution of Woman's World, complained of above. It should also be pointed out, however, that the convention did not declare for or against the race hatred sought to be inspired by the Woman's World, nor did it give any attention to the appeal of the Negro organization for observance of the Constitution in securing justice for the Negro. Against this arraignment is the fact that Governor Talmadge sent troops to Colquitt County recently to protect a Negro who had confessed wantonly shooting and killing a young white man sitting on the side of road with a white girl. Federal Court nullified conviction of the killer because presence of troops indicated such passion and excitement as to prevent the Negro's receiving a fair trial. If Talmadge had not protected the Negro he in the opinion of officers would have been lynched. And in protecting him with troops the Governor contributed to having the judgment set aside, and the Negro is now technically free.

ENTERPRISE
McComb City - Miss.
JAN 17 1936

THE SOUTH

Here's a slant on the South, gleaned from the fertile columns of the Freehold (New Jersey) Transcript. It presents an outsider's point of view. Thousands up north hold to this view.

A school teacher has written her experiences in the South. She says she has taught geography from a map in a mailorder house catalog, and history with Barker's almanac. Parents were unable to buy school books, pencils, or a five-cent pad of paper. When politicians criticized her for teaching some old people, she wrote, "When you pay me a decent salary (she received never over $60 a month), when you equip and maintain the school, instead of leaving me to do it; when the State supplies books, as many do; when you clothe and feed my people as I'm helping to do; then I'll concede your right to say something about their education." In the winter boys came to her school clothed only in a pair of tattered overalls; girls with fragments of one thin cotton dress, no shoes or stockings. Some came to school barefoot over frozen ground, often without having had a breakfast.

There are at least two Americas, the one we know most about, and the other where emigrants do not locate. One is forced forward by new ambitious blood, the other lives as in the past. The people of the South must be helped, but it is doubtful if much can be done from within. It is a general rule in industry and business that if men are anxious to improve their work, or need better tools, they get nowhere and finally become disgusted. But new people employed may have anything they ask for within reason, and suggestions from them are received. A receivership is often necessary because it gets things done that members of an organization well knew should be done but could not be done.

Every backward part of our country needs to be placed in the hands of Receivers. America is now hamstrung by acting as a great poor house. Paul Revere needs to ride again, this time arousing civic pride. We are our brothers' keepers, and the best way to help each other is to always be doing something constructive. Changes cannot be made in a day, a month, or a year, but the Russians are making them by five-year periods, and Germany is also alive to such a program. We must always do things in a big way. We might accomplish more if we were satisfied to make improvements each week instead of once a year.

Sit down when you have time and estimate the average farm income, and you will be amazed.

Place an estimate on the total income of share-croppers, white and black, and you will wonder what is meant by the Great American Standard of living, so-called.

Nevertheless, the south is not alone. The situation is national.

The mines of Pennsylvania afford a similar situation. The mountaineers of the ranges along the Ohio, and the workers in the sweat shops of New England, afford the same picture. The New Deal is seeking to solve this problem and for this liberal point of view a nation is grateful but a party snuffed out is certainly yelping.

UNION CITY, N. J.
HUDSON DISPATCH

JAN 30 1936

Hatred Drummed Up Against Negro

Cliffside,
Jan. 28, 1936

Editor Hudson Dispatch:

Whenever a murder is committed or a white woman is attacked a Negro is usually accused in the South.

What is happening in America now is the urge to drum up hatred against our Negro brothers.

The southern aristocrats seem to forget that the Negro is an American citizen given full rights under the Constitution, with the rights for free speech, freedom of the press and the right of assemblage.

One would never think so, because everytime the Negro in the south tries to use his privileges he is brutally supressed.

Witness the Scottsboro frame-up. The Angelo Herndon case (hunger march leader). The Tampa murder of a union organizer by the K. K. K. and the reactionary instances of the aristocratic class justice!

Talk about Fascism in Germany and Italy, where the denial of the elementary rights of the people are in full sway!

We need not look across the seas we have Fascism right here at home.

L. K.

LAMBASTING MRS. ROOSEVELT

Afraid to lift a voice against the President, there is now a disposition in some quarters of the South to lay it on Mrs. Roosevelt. And what is the burden of the complaint? From a recent editorial in a white weekly newspaper of South Carolina, the great sin of Mrs. Roosevelt is her willingness to address worthwhile gatherings of colored citizens. Mention is made of her address last December to a club of colored women at Howard University and before the talk she posed for pictures in which appeared 2 colored R.O.T.C. officers, one on each side of her. Now isn't that too bad! Think of the "First Lady" of the land allowing herself to be guarded by 2 colored officers in the uniform of the United States! Then as the editorial says, she afterwards "partook of refreshments with the Negro women and spent awhile chatting with them on terms of social equality." "Social equality," or a manifestation of graciousness, culture and refinement of a well-bred lady? We ask.

Then her appearance at the 25th Anniversary of the National Urban League held in Baltimore, December 19th where she made a speech, the central thought of which was that each and every American citizen should have equality of opportunity. The editorial attacks Mrs. Roosevelt for that and, incidentally, the National Urban League, "an organization", it says, "among city Negroes of the North to fight for social justice' (meaning social equality) for Negroes." Certainly the editor ought know that those terms are not synonymous, particularly as he thinks of the latter term. And what a pity he does not know of the objects and some of the accomplishments of this League. Indeed, if he did, as a progressive citizen, he could join hands with it and do what he could to aid—it is in no sense of the word just a colored organization; it has in its membership many of the finest white men and women of America. Indeed, it was founded by a white lady of intelligence, refinement, culture and money.

But back to Mrs. Roosevelt. Have not the 12 million colored citizens some claim on Mrs. Roosevelt? In her activities, thoughts and plans—should not the "submerged tenth" receive some attention? Because of her sympathy for and kindliness to the colored citizens, perhaps no President's wife has endeared herself to them in so strong a degree. There is nothing narrow and prejudiced about her. There could not be for she is a real, true Roosevelt, being the neice of the great "T. R."

PARADOX OF RACE PREJUDICE—

There are some peculiar and paradoxical manifestations of race prejudice in Texas and the South. I run across some of them as I go about from place to place.

In Sherman, Texas, where a mob went so far as to burn down the very temple of justice in order to lynch a Negro, I find a Negro high school building equal to the high schools for white youth in many small towns of the state. I was more proud to find that it was impossible to tell from the looks of the grounds or from the cleanliness of the building and decorum of the boys and girls, what was the color of the students who went to that school. For which I give credit to the leadership of Prof. F. R. Pierson, principal of the Fred Douglass High School of Sherman.

In Houston I find more adequate school buildings than in Dallas; but in Dallas I find courses in Negro history, journalism, and Spanish; and a real dean of boys and dean of girls; while none of these things are found in the Negro high schools of Houston.

In Dallas I find white men taking a leading part in the N. A. A. C. P.; in Houston I find Negro leaders more or less shy of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its program.

In Fort Worth I find a new Negro high school about to be constructed, in the plans for which the principal has been given some real opportunity to suggest occupational opportunities for Negro boys and girls. In many places over the state I find a serious reluctance on the part of school officials to provide training for Negro youth which will help them to get a job.

The list could be multiplied. It all proves one point: that we can not afford to sit down and wait to be "taken care of" by the peculiarities and paradoxes of race prejudice. We must be up and about, doing the best that we can to overcome our own difficulties; doing the best that we can to solve our own problems. Otherwise, we may continue to find paradoxes like that manifested in Houston and Dallas; that is to say, we have something to teach in our Dallas high school, but no place to teach it; while we have places in which to teach in Houston, but little of much real significance to the problems of Negroes to teach in these places.

CHARLESTON, W. VA.
GAZETTE

JAN 31 1936

Dirt

Shocked concern is being expressed by Republican officials over the warning by National Chairman Farley that the opposition would make the coming campaign about the bitterest and probably the dirtiest on record. In fact Republican Chairman Fletcher and Republican Congressional Chairman Bolton solemnly enjoined the politicians of their party to avoid sinking to the depths of the Democrats.

And all the time there was a steady output of anti-Roosevelt defamation, some of it of a character that made it inadmissable to the mails. Part of the scurrilous flood was so bad that the Republican chairman had to deny that it was issued by his authority—not, however, until it had been circulated for weeks and in such volume as to make it certain that there was considerable organization in the production and distribution of the cartoons and literature.

Among the delicate propaganda presented were caricatures of the president grinning over tombstones with legends attributing to him responsibility for the assassination of Senator Huey Long and the death of Senator Bronson Cutting.

In the deep south there is being circulated a publication conveying that the President and Mrs. Roosevelt frequently had Negroes as dinner guests and house guests.

Among the other choice morsels of the campaign are suggestions as to the president's physical and mental health, with the implication that both are bad, when at no time since his advent to the White House has he been more vigorous in both directions than he is today.

The Republican national committee insists that it is not paying for any of these things, which is probably true. That organization has so many recognized and informal allies, ranging from the Liberty League to Mr. John H. Kirby's southern committee to uphold the constitution, and including the "national Republican council," that it should have no trouble keeping its skirts reasonably clean during the campaign of abuse and falsehood that is so cleverly presaged by what has already been done.

Race Problem-1936
United States.

Negro's Hard Luck Outweighs Others, Says N. Y. Publisher

Toledo Audience Hears Inside Story Of Why Paul Block Gave Up Newspaper Business in Tennessee; "Negro Question Was Involved," He Says.

By J. B. SIMMONS, JR.

TOLEDO, O., Feb. 4—(Special)—Citing a hitherto unpublished incident as the basis for his observation that Negroes have a much harder time than Jews, Paul Block of New York, publisher of a chain of daily newspapers, compared the plight of the Jews with that of Negroes during a memorial address delivered here Sunday afternoon at Indiana Ave. Y. M. C. A. in honor of Julius Rosenwald.

The occasion was a Memorial Celebration in honor of the great Jewish philanthropist with whom Mr. Block had intimate friendship and who by his large contributions made possible the erection of Negro Y. M. C. A.'s in all parts of the country, including the one in this city.

The story as related by Mr. Block follows:

"I was at the White House on one occasion in conference with President Coolidge. At that time I owned a newspaper in Tennessee. Mr. Coolidge expressed a desire to see the Negro lad who achieved heroism by saving the lives of 32 white people who were upset in a flat boat in the river waters of one of the southern states. I immediately got in touch with my editor. He brought the hero to Washington. The President received and congratulated him. The President expressed a desire for a picture to be made. The picture of the President, the Negro lad, my editor and I, was taken in the White House garden. You saw it in most of the newspapers of the country.

"In less than two weeks time I received a petition with over six hundred signatures from the community in which my newspaper was published. These people stated that they would no longer read my paper because they felt that I had disgraced America for having the Negro boy a guest of the President. I want you to know that in less than two more weeks I sold the Tennessee newspaper."

Mr. Block an intimate friend of the late Julius Rosenwald, gave two Negroes credit for influencing Mr. Rosenwald to spend a fortune in building schools in the South and Y. M. C. A. buildings all over the counry for Negroes. The late Booker T. Washington, founder and first president of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, and Jesse E. Mooreland, former senior secretary colored men's department, International Y. M. C. A., were the men who started and guided Mr. Rosenwald in his spending.

Mr. Block made a substantial donation to the Indiana Ave. Y. M. C. A. before he left the meeting. Dr. J. Nathan Hobbs, Chairman of the Committee of Management, Indiana Ave. Y. M. C. A. presided. Dr. Calvin K. Stalnaker, Acting Minister, Third Baptist Church presented Paul Block. Grover Patterson, editor, Toledo Blade, sat on the speakers rostrum. The Warren A. M. E. Church Choir under direction of Majorie Collin, Jollin Johnson and the Y. M. C. A. Glee Club furnished music for the meeting.

Calls Latter Extreme, Fanatical Person With 'Chip on Shoulder' To Bait Tactless Northern Egotist

Having Repudiated Professional Southerner, Hall Refuses To Tolerate Northern Prototype.

Editor's Note: Grover C. Hall, a native of Alabama, has been on the staff of the Montgomery Advertiser for 25 years, and for 10 years has been editor of the paper. He was awarded the Pulitzer prize in 1927 for the best newspaper editorials written in America, and has contributed to scores of leading reviews and newspapers in this country and abroad. The views expressed in the article herewith are those of the writer, and are not necessarily those of The Constitution.

By GROVER C. HALL.

The professional southerner is a familiar type—an extreme, fanatical creature who carries a chip on each shoulder, but no ideas in his head, and who is quick to say to the tactless northerner who has made some unfortunate remark: "If you don't like our town, there are five trains a day going out of it."

The professional southerner is lugubriously sentimental. He thinks whatever is said in praise of the south is gospel, whatever is said in disparagement of anything southern is libel. Though the manorial plantation house is the exception, not the rule, down here, he likes to argue that dilapidated manors are commonplace. Even our scrawny short-leaf pine is as beautiful to him as the noble, but disappearing long-leaf pine. He would rather endure hookworm and malaria than acknowledge their existence and do something about them.

There is something bogus about the professional southerner. He is usually an actor, and frequently he is a bounder to boot. "We southerners," he announces, "are the only people in the world who know all about niggers. You don't know nothin' 'bout niggers, so lay off the nigger question." He is a gentleman who is ever ready to protect the honor of any woman against all men except himself.

As one who long since repudiated the professional southerner, the perfect ass, I herewith wish to give some reasons for refusing to tolerate the equally obnoxious professional northerner, who is almost, if not quite, as perfect an ass as his southern counterpart.

THE NORTHERN ATTITUDE.

Which puts me in mind to say something that I have been biding an opportunity to say for some time. It is this: In nine cases out of ten whenever there is a discussion between a northerner and southerner of any subject related to the War Between the States, the discussion is started by the northerner, who sooner or later is almost certain to say, in the best manner of the infallible lecturer: "The trouble with you southerners is that you are always fighting the war all over again."

If any southerner, speaking in the presence of the northerner of a certain type—that is, the professional northerner—about any matter relating to the south, either new or old, betrays that he is partial to the southern viewpoint, he runs the risk of being chided for his provincialism and his prejudice. He may be smiled at patronizingly, or on occasion, depending on the grade of person to whom he is talking may be rudely rebuked. If the southerner, in an unguarded moment, should speak in praise of some object or notion that is more or less peculiar to his region, he immediately comes under suspicion of being a romantic, impractical dreamer, and a bit narrow in outlook.

If the southerner fails to say "neegrow" (and it never comes natural to him to pronounce the word that way) his judge and critic from the fabulous north country where only correct English is used at once suspects the southerner of low race prejudice which really endangers his soul in after life.

"SHIFTLESS" SOUTHERNER.

If the discussion turns to economic history and the disparity between the present wealth of the sections is explained in part by a reminder from the southerner that his section furnished, at a disastrous expenese, the theater of "the war," that "the war" was a catastrophe which could not be overcome in a generation (but that nevertheless the south has made an amazing comeback), his amused listener may say to him: "The trouble with you southerners is that you are shiftly. Now up narrurth. . . ."

If the conversation turns to biology, and if the southerner, in order to match the big talk of his auditor, hints that he, too, comes of good stock, that his grandfather was a So-and-So, this incredible pretense to dignity may elicit from the professor of manners another deprecatory smile and the observation, "I've always heard that the trouble with you southerners is that you live entirely in the past and spend your time, like the Chinese, worshipping your ancestors. Why don't you forget your grandparents and think more practically of the welfare of your children?"

In fine, experience has taught us that the only way for the southerner to satisfy this type of northerner—the professional northerner, if you please—is to announce himself as an uncritical pro-Lincolnite, pro-Grantite, pro-Shermanite, to ridicule his native south for the economic ground it lost in the revolution of the sixties, say that everybody down here is indolent and unenterprising, deny that he has any pride in his own family, deny that anything in southern tradition and history charms him, and above all, apologize to the professional northerner for the existence of historical markers and monuments so many of which unfortunately relate to the Confederacy.

SETTING RECORD STRAIGHT.

While on the subject of the north and south, I wish once more to correct some misapprehensions in the minds of northerners of the non-professional type regarding certain southern matters which many of them seem to have difficulty in understanding.

When we say "you-all" we really do not mean one person, occasional appearances to the contrary notwithstanding.

Southerners do not talk like negroes. A few do, but the number is small. There are many similarities between the dialect of the unlettered southerner and that of the unlettered negro, but the differences are conspicuous to all sensitive ears. Proof: The unlettered white man of the low country, where negroes are numerous, talks very much like the unlettered white man of the mountains, where there are so few negroes it is obvious his speech could not have been influenced by the colored man.

Southerners of all classes work as hard as do residents of any other section of the country.

Southerners are not more sentimental than northerners or westerners or Germans or Britishers or Scandinavians.

Southerners are not much given to drinking mint juleps. They do not approve of the sugar, and most of them do not know how to make a julep. Here, as elsewhere in the republic, the people guzzle highballs, cocktails and green beer—nearly all of which is bad.

And finally, southerners are not more hospitable than people of the same class in the north or west. I know hundreds of them who know nothing of hospitality or good manners.

EVILS OF RECONSTRUCTION.

In conclusion: It should be obvious to any northern-born person that the War Between the States never hit him a solid blow. Not one in 20 of his kind felt the impact of that conflict, the most dramatic human struggle of modern times, if we except the World War. Perhaps only one in 20 southerners failed to feel the force of the same blows. For example, not until 1900 were the tax assessments of Alabama, my state, as high as they were

service brake shoes in each rear wheel. The connection is by flexible cable attached to a lever and toggle mechanism within the rear brake drums.

Engines of the two chassis models are identical in design and in horsepower and torque. Maximum horsepower is 72 at 3,200 r. p. m. Maximum torque is obtained over an unusually wide range of engine speeds, 155 foot pounds being maintained all the way between 900 and 1,500 r. p. m.

The increase in compression ratio to 6 to 1 is credited with effecting a 6 per cent improvement in fuel economy. Combustion chambers have been reshaped to attain smoothness with the higher compression.

Major improvements have been made in the Chevrolet cooling system to maintain lower engine temperatures and to attain important benefits in the control of engine oil temperature and of cylinder block and valve push rod expansion. Formerly, only the upper part of the cylinders was water jacketed. In the new engines the water-jacketing extends far below the lowermost point reached by the head of the piston, nearly to the lower edge of the piston skirt at the bottom of the stroke.

Further improvement in engine cooling has been made by changes in the radiator cores of both models.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
POST

FEB 7 1936

Replies To Thomas Dixon.

To the Editor of The Post—Sir: I have just read in The Post of February 1, a letter signed by Thomas Dixon, in which the author of "The Birth of a Nation" characterizes the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as "the most dangerous Communist organization in America." I request The Post to publish with prominence equal to that given to Mr. Dixon's letter, a statement characterizing this assertion as a complete falsehood.

Mr. Dixon, who boasts the somewhat dubious honor of being responsible for the film which played a part in the revival of the infamous Ku Klux Klan, indulges, both in his recent speech at Macon and in this letter to The Post, in a practice popular nowadays with demagogues and reactionaries of labeling everything he disagrees with as "Communist" or "red."

If working incessantly for 26 years, as the N. A. A. C. P. has done, for the impartial enforcement of the Federal Constitution, and if unceasing opposition to lynching, disfranchisement, race prejudice and Kukluxary is "communism," then the venerable Mr. Dixon is right. It is too bad Mr. Dixon doesn't read the Daily Worker and other Communist publications and familiarize himself with the bitter denunciation of the N. A. A. C. P. which they have waged for a number of years.

And what a shock it must be to Senator Arthur Capper, Gov. Herbert H. Lehman, Prof. Manley O. Hudson, High Commissioner Frank Murphy of the Philippines, Col. Arthur W. Little, Dr. William Allan Neilson and other members of the board of directors of the N. A. A. C. P. to learn from Mr. Dixon what he alone apparently knows: that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is "Communist."

Mr. Dixon really ought to get around more and learn what is actually going on in the country before he makes any more speeches or writes any more letters to The Post. WALTER WHITE,

Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

New York, Feb. 5.

To the Editor of The Post—Sir: Mr. Thomas Dixon need not regard Mrs. Roosevelt's indorsement of the Costigan-Wagner antilynching bill as an "astounding performance." For many years Mrs. Roosevelt has been interested in progressive legislation for the welfare of women and children, the improvement of the condition of workers, for the promotion of education and peace and the assurance of civil rights to all citizens regardless of race—all questions of national importance. Her courage and work had won the admiration of millions long before her husband was elected President.

At the same time that he condemns her beliefs and her right to express them, Mr. Dixon proclaims his chivalry to "a lady."

Mr. Dixon, too, has long been known as an eloquent speaker and a forceful writer, but there has never come to my attention any protest from him against the mob that tortured and killed Mary Turner and her unborn child. His code as an "old-time Southerner" does not extend chivalry to women with black skin. America's lynching record for 50 years is now close to 5,100, but Mr. Dixon describes attempts to curb this crime through Federal legislation as "an insult to the people of the South."

Entire families of share-croppers, colored and white, have been evicted from the plantations on which they have worked because they have organized for the improvement of their condition. They are living in tents now or are driven from State to State, suffering such need, such persecution as surpass belief. Mr. Dixon inflames racial hatreds for their continued oppression and exploitation, ignoring the fact that degraded conditions for so great a per cent of our population affects us all.

Periodically we hear of callous carelessness and medieval cruelties inflicted upon prisoners, breaking into the headlines through some tragedy like last week's burning of a score of men. In all these years, Mr. Dixon with his rare gifts of expression might have accomplished much for prison reform, but he gazes longingly into the past and glorifies a parasitic civilization.

These injustices and many others are realities in America today and the struggle for their eradication is not against the people of any section but for the people of all America. GERTRUDE B. STONE.

Washington, Feb. 3.

Herald
Birmingham, Ala. ~~News~~
February 11, 1936

NEGROES JOIN INDIAN FIGHT

Dixie Traditions At Stake In Bill

By WALTER BROWN
Alabama Herald Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Feb. 10. — Negro organizations all over the country ranging from the largest, American Association for the Advancement of Colored People, on down, are reported to be "putting on the pressure" to secure passage of a bill which was introduced in the house several days ago for the benefit of a group of Wisconsin Indians.

The bill, which was introduced by Representative Reilly of Wisconsin for the benefit of a group of his constituents, would amend the alien laws to read:

"Any applicant, one of whose parents is a lineal descendant of a soldier of the Revolutionary war and possessed the qualifications required for membership in such patriotic societies as the Sons of the American Revolution, and who, himself, is eligible to such membership because his ancestor served as a soldier in aforesaid revolution, shall be deemed as possessing a preponderance of white blood."

At the same time, Southerners are wondering if passage of such a bill would not make "white men" of the descendants of the 2,453 negroes who fought in the Revolutionary war. Passage certainly would disrupt the "grandfather laws"

BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN

FEB 11 1936

FACT AGAINST DOGMA

There is so much talk in Leftist circles about the exploitation of the Negro under capitalism that it is interesting to note the remarks of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois—surely no pussyfooter in the cause of the colored man—at Sunday's Open Forum meeting. Dr DuBois said, in reply to hecklers, that capitalists were responsible for donations for Negro education and uplift, whereas the white workers will not concede racial equality to the blacks in their unions. As for the effort of the Communists to sell memberships to Negroes, Dr. DuBois cannot understand it, for, said he, "if there is anything the Communists could do to kill the party in the United States it is to gather the Negroes into the movement."

This is, of course, bad Marx, but it is sound sub-Mason-Dixon, and Dr. DuBois is to be commended for relieving the race problem in this country of some of the excess baggage it has been compelled to carry. The class war may demand another interpretation, but it is true that lynchings are ordinarily the work of plain men who ought to gratify the theorists by recognizing their prospective victim as a fellow-victim of capitalist exploitation, but who actually treat him quite differently. The citizen who sometimes stands on the courthouse steps and shouts "You men, go home. I recognize every one of you," is, likely as not, a retired judge or some other minion of capitalism, who ought to concentrate on the business of oppressing the working class, black or white.

Such anomalies seem to find too little recognition among the true Marxists, but we suspect a colored man whose interest is in the improvement of the position of his race has run into some human truths about race relations which may have escaped the brethren in Russia, where Negroes are as rare as kulaks.

Race Problem – 1936

United States

GREEN BAY, WIS.
PRESS GAZETTE

FEB 1 1936

POURING ON THE HOT LAVA.

A news article would have a difficult time bringing to its readers an adequate description of that Democratic Grass Roots Convention down in Macon, Georgia, which is the deep South.

Correspondents tell us that although the convention was very much against the President it reserved some of its heartiest cheers for T. L. Dixon, author of "The Klansman," who said that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is the "worst communist organization in the United States," and then attacked the Wagner-Costigan Anti-Lynching Bill, which makes states pay damages for mob deaths, as "infamous tyranny," and ended by accusing Mrs. Roosevelt of encouraging the Southern Negro to embrace the philosophy of Communism.

If you really want to arouse the South you've got to turn back the pages of the book until you get to the Tragic Era, that ten-year period following the Civil war, when the South was prostrate and the Carpetbaggers lickspittled the negroes until the Ku Klux Klan arose with murder as its only defense.

And although the actors on that stage have moved off into the Great Shadows their sons and grandsons, taught the story upon a parent's knee, will never overlook or forget the Menace of the Negro. To call a white man a negro lover with any show of support means almost his death in the deep South.

But this Grass Roots Convention was a hybrid affair. It denounced the President for his alleged attempt to destroy the constitution and it toasted one of the greatest anarchists we ever had, Senator Long, as the personification of patriotism. It is all right to toast anyone who is dead. He may have some friends to be brought into the magic circle. Several feet underground he will never do much harm.

There was distributed to all delegates a copy of the Georgia Woman's World. The women of Georgia, it would seem, are fearful of the negro. On one page of this publication was a picture of Mrs. Roosevelt escorted to her car by a negro. Opposite her was a picture of Congressman Mitchell, negro from Chicago, described as Mr. Farley's "pet and protege."

This publication asserts that the President's likening of himself to General Jackson recently was a blunder because:

"Andrew Jackson didn't appoint a negro assistant attorney-general of the United States.

"Andrew Jackson didn't have a negro confidential clerk in the White House.

"Andrew Jackson didn't try to ram an anti-lynching bill down the throats of the southern people through a Democratic congress.

"And Andrew Jackson said: 'To the victor belongs the spoils' and when Andrew Jackson got to be president he didn't put in Republicans, Socialists, Communists and negroes to tell him how to run these good old United States."

Any person who wishes to stage a demonstration of any sort in the deep South must remember the first rule: Link the opposition to the negro.

But, of course, Governor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia was the principal attraction. And aside from the Menace of the Black the delegates turned with affectionate enthusiasm to their hero who, though standing, it appears to us, for diametrically opposite things, is advanced as the happy successor to Senator Long and by none other than the Reverend Smith, Long's handy churchman and a Wisconsin product, who is still mourning "my lost leader," such an excellent fellow at turning the shekels in.

But when Governor Talmadge took the platform the crowd went wild. Here is one correspondent's statement of how the Governor got under way:

"'Pour it on, Gene,' yelled men in the audience, 'take off your coat and pour it on 'em.'

"'This crazy dream of the New Deal won't last,' Governor Talmadge said.

"'It can't last, Gene!' yelled the gallery.

"'I'll say it won't, brother,' Governor Talmadge shouted.

"'Lordy, Gene, pour it on 'em!' thundered the audience."

And Gene started to pour. Perhaps his best sentence was:

"The only way the New Deal can be made to work is for the Brain Trust to invent an ointment to take the place of sweat."

But Governor Talmadge continued from the platform his personal feud with Secretary Ickes. Now, Mr. Ickes is a hard man and a good fighter. He has been taking and giving blows thick and fast and without complaint or quarter. But Mr. Ickes in a careless moment was guilty of a tongue slip that rocked the Grass Roots Convention. Mr. Ickes accused Governor Talmadge of not being a man of his word.

Nothing could have pleased this convention more than to have anyone in the present Administration talk about anybody else breaking his word.

It was a great convention. The air sizzled with invective and personal denunciation. The Administration was charged with the attempt to reduce "the whole human race to a hog pen with a trough of black bread for its fare," and in this particular it does seem to have inherited some of the Huey Long style if not tradition.

The air, too, was charged with verbal rapier thrusts and oratorical chain lightning.

"If Franklin D. Roosevelt is a Democrat," said one speaker, "Sherman's march to the Sea was a Yankee retreat." "People running America today are not Americans," came from another voice, "and four more years of Roosevelt will make it a penitentiary offense to attend a meeting like this."

The author of the Klansman was sure that Mr. Roosevelt if reelected would seek a third term, "and if he became president a third time the people of the country would never get him out without a civil war."

But let us not mention civil war. Wasn't it the last one that really charged the air down at Macon?

It does take an awful long time for scars to wear off.

And it begins to look, as Mr. Farley said, that this is going to be a pretty dirty campaign and the dirtiest part of it is likely to come from those who have been Democrats all their lives.

RUDYARD KIPLING AND HIS NEGRO READERS

By Dr. Kelly Miller

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I first became acquainted with Rudyard Kipling through an interview given out by him in San Francisco in the early nineties. It seemed as if he had some misunderstanding with a colored waiter. In describing the affair he stated, as I now recall his words, "Let me stop here and curse the whole Negro race." Since then the poet of the barracks and barroom has risen to be a star of the first magnitude in the literary firmament. I have read much of his writings which I have greatly admired and frequently quoted but always with his racial bias as a reserve in the back part of my mind.

Kipling possessed a local, national, patriotic and racial, but not a world mind. He was the poet of circumstances, surroundings and conditions, but not of the universal strivings of the human spirit. He hardly separate the stantial from the essential temporal from the eternal. He was the poet of the concrete and not of the abstract; he dealt with man as a biological being but not with mankind as a spiritual entity. If perchance he reached imperial heights where he suddenly sank, he was never sustained; but he swiftly above his limited environment and swept the whole horizon around him. With him, Scotia was but a local setting of universal truth which peared, the flight was incident-low-emerged from the background al to the emphasis of his narrinof provincial environment. You rdmight search the entire of Kipling's writings in vain for a line

Race Problem – 1936
United States

GREEN BAY, WIS.
PRESS GAZETTE

FEB 1 1936

POURING ON THE HOT LAVA.

A news article would have a difficult time bringing to its readers an adequate description of that Democratic Grass Roots Convention down in Macon, Georgia, which is the deep South.

Correspondents tell us that although the convention was very much against the President it reserved some of its heartiest cheers for T. L. Dixon, author of "The Klansman," who said that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is the "worst communist organization in the United States," and then attacked the Wagner-Costigan Anti-Lynching Bill, which makes states pay damages for mob deaths, as "infamous tyranny," and ended by accusing Mrs. Roosevelt of encouraging the Southern Negro to embrace the philosophy of Communism.

If you really want to arouse the South you've got to turn back the pages of the book until you get to the Tragic Era, that ten-year period following the Civil war, when the South was prostrate and the Carpetbaggers lickspittled the negroes until the Ku Klux Klan arose with murder as its only defense.

And although the actors on that stage have moved off into the Great Shadows their sons and grandsons, taught the story upon a parent's knee, will never overlook or forget the Menace of the Negro. To call a white man a negro lover with any show of support means almost his death in the deep South.

But this Grass Roots Convention was a hybrid affair. It denounced the President for his alleged attempt to destroy the constitution and it toasted one of the greatest anarchists we ever had, Senator Long, as the personification of patriotism. It is all right to toast anyone who is dead. He may have some friends to be brought into the magic circle. Several feet underground he will never do much harm.

There was distributed to all delegates a copy of the Georgia Woman's World. The women of Georgia, it would seem, are fearful of the negro. On one page of this publication was a picture of Mrs. Roosevelt escorted to her car by a negro. Opposite her was a picture of Congressman Mitchell, negro from Chicago, described as Mr. Farley's "pet and protege."

This publication asserts that the President's likening of himself to General Jackson recently was a blunder because:

"Andrew Jackson didn't appoint a negro assistant attorney-general of the United States.

"Andrew Jackson didn't have a negro confidential clerk in the White House.

"Andrew Jackson didn't try to ram an anti-lynching bill down the throats of the southern people through a Democratic congress.

"And Andrew Jackson said: 'To the victor belongs the spoils' and when Andrew Jackson got to be president he didn't put in Republicans, Socialists, Communists and negroes to tell him how to run these good old United States."

Any person who wishes to stage a demonstration of any sort in the deep South must remember the first rule: Link the opposition to the negro.

But, of course, Governor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia was the principal attraction. And aside from the Menace of the Black the delegates turned with affectionate enthusiasm to their hero who, though standing, it appears to us, for diametrically opposite things, is advanced as the happy successor to Senator Long and by none other than the Reverend Smith, Long's handy churchman and a Wisconsin product, who is still mourning "my lost leader," such an excellent fellow at turning the shekels in.

But when Governor Talmadge took the platform the crowd went wild. Here is one correspondent's statement of how the Governor got under way:

"'Pour it on, Gene,' yelled men in the audience, 'take off your coat and pour it on 'em.'

"'This crazy dream of the New Deal won't last,' Governor Talmadge said.

"'It can't last, Gene!' yelled the gallery.

"'I'll say it won't, brother,' Governor Talmadge shouted.

"'Lordy, Gene, pour it on 'em!' thundered the audience."

And Gene started to pour. Perhaps his best sentence was:

"The only way the New Deal can be made to work is for the Brain Trust to invent an ointment to take the place of sweat."

But Governor Talmadge continued from the platform his personal feud with Secretary Ickes. Now, Mr. Ickes is a hard man and a good fighter. He has been taking and giving blows thick and fast and without complaint or quarter. But Mr. Ickes in a careless moment was guilty of a tongue slip that rocked the Grass Roots Convention. Mr. Ickes accused Governor Talmadge of not being a man of his word.

Nothing could have pleased this convention more than to have anyone in the present Administration talk about anybody else breaking his word.

It was a great convention. The air sizzled with invective and personal denunciation. The Administration was charged with the attempt to reduce "the whole human race to a hog pen with a trough of black bread for its fare," and in this particular it does seem to have inherited some of the Huey Long style if not tradition.

The air, too, was charged with verbal rapier thrusts and oratorical chain lightning.

"If Franklin D. Roosevelt is a Democrat," said one speaker, "Sherman's march to the Sea was a Yankee retreat."

"People running America today are not Americans," came from another voice, "and four more years of Roosevelt will make it a penitentiary offense to attend a meeting like this."

The author of the Klansman was sure that Mr. Roosevelt if reelected would seek a third term, "and if he became president a third time the people of the country would never get him out without a civil war."

But let us not mention civil war. Wasn't it the last one that really charged the air down at Macon?

It does take an awful long time for scars to wear off.

And it begins to look, as Mr. Farley said, that this is going to be a pretty dirty campaign and the dirtiest part of it is likely to come from those who have been Democrats all their lives.

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Scotia was but a local setting of universal truth which emerged from the background of provincial environment. You might search the entire of Kipling's writings in vain for a line

Kipling never appreciated spiritual values. He never so much as lifted his eyes to heaven. He recognized neither the fatherhood of God nor the brotherhood of man. In his Recessional, bombastical appeal is made to the "Lord God of Nations," but only in the sense that Cicero was in the habit of rhetorically invoking "The immortal gods" to complete his rounded periods. But even at that, Kipling's appeal to piety was only to protect his own nation in its far flung battle line and its ill-gotten "dominion over palm and pine."

He had contempt for all nationalities except his own. His reference to the German as a "Vandal" and a "Hun" and to the Russian as a "Bear that looks like a man" aptly illustrates the narrowness and intensity of his patriotic spirit.

Kipling looked upon the non-white varieties of the human race as the 'lesser breeds without the law," "half devil and half child," whose chief mission seems to be to aggravate the white man's burden. Whatever credit he accorded the "lesser breeds" was secondary and subordinate to the glory of the white lord and master. "The things that you learn from the yellow and the brown will help you a heap with the white."

Kipling genuinely believed that "East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet." If, however, he was willing, generously or grudgingly, to concede virtue and valor to the non-white contestant, it was only to glorify the greater virtue and valor of the white. He was willing to make of an individual exception in favor of the non-white and concede that the distinction between East and West, for the moment, vanishes when "Two strong stand face to face though they come from the ends of the earth."

To the Negro student in literature, Kipling presents a temptation and warning. His apt, pointed, pictorial power of expression must be admired even by the "lesser breeds" against whom he directs his shaft, though they smart while hey smile.

The Negro student, in perusing Kipling's works, must be ever on his guard to appreciate and praise that which is universally good and separate it from that which is racially bad. that is comparable in universality of thought and ideal to Burns':

"For 'a' that and a' that; it is coming for a' that
That man to man the world o'er shall brothers be for a' that.'

With Kipling, morality and ethics are limited by latitude and race. He does not appreciate the existence of "A law of God for man north of 53" nor the validity of the Ten Commandments "East of the Suez."

His horizon was not only limited by latitude and race but by sex as well. Of all the great poets he stands practically alone in ignoring sex appeal as a source of poetic inspiration. His highest conception of woman is: "A rag and a bone and a hunk of hair." Falling back on the bald, biological analogy he assures us that the "The female of the species is more deadly than the male." The nearest he comes to recognizing the universal claim of womanhood is when he tells us that "Judie O'Grady and the Colonel's lady are sisters under the skin."

TEXT AND PRETEXT

BY M. ASHBY JONES

A Definition of "Negro"

Every individual has a right to be judged by his best, and not his worst. The reason is that to be at one's best, he must summon all of his faculties and forces into action and dragoon them into the service of some high purpose. Anything less than this is only a partial expression of the personality. This is true also of races and nations. When one would give a definition of his race, or tell the meaning of his nation to the world, he rightly calls the roll of honor of the prophets, poets and statesmen who have made worthwhile contributions to the weal of the world.

In 1865 the negro race in America emerged from slavery. Now the real significance and sin of slavery is not that one man legally owns another. It is the fact that a slave baby, the moment it is born, has the metes and bounds of its life determined by another. The definition of its personality has already been made by others. He is never free to make his own definition of himself. So the definition of "negro" up to that time was "a slave kind" of man. The race was naturally thought of and described in terms of its accomplishments, as must all races. It had no history, art, literature, or institutions. Even friends spoke of them in negative words, marking their limitations.

Disciple.

That was the condition of his race when John Hope was born in the poverty of a negro cabin in Augusta, Ga., in 1868. Think of having to grow up in a world where everyone around you is saying, "You cannot." It is difficult enough to succeed in an atmosphere of inspiration of faith, urged and encouraged by sympathetic friends. But Lucy Laney, a heroic little negro woman, with the magic touch of faith and a genius for teaching, waked up his sleeping powers and started him on his brilliant career. He won his B. A. at Brown University and afterwards for distinguished service that great institution awarded him his master of arts. Later Bucknell University, McMasters, of Toronto, and other foremost educational institutions conferred upon him the degree of L. L. D.

The significance of this story is not to be found in the splendid record of one man. He and Booker T. Washington became torches of hope—signal lights to point the pathway of a race. They were saying to the world, "Here is what a negro can be." Of course, it did not mean that every negro could be a John Hope or a Booker Washington, but it did mean that being a negro did not make it impossible to attain such a personality. John Hope in his life helped to reverse the verdict of the world, that a negro is a kind of man incapable of the highest human development. Yes, he, Robert Moton, Weldon Johnson, Isaac Fischer, Roland Hayes and others of a really brilliant galaxy of leaders have been making a new definition of "negro" for their race and the world.

But the emphasis of the gratitude of southern people for the life of John Hope should be placed upon the fact that he was unwilling to remain in the north, where he was showered with honors, to pose as a racial freak, a sensational exception to his people. No. He had an unquenchable faith in the possibilities of his own people. This great gift which had come to him he held as a divine trust for his race. With the fervor of an apostle and the urge of an evangelist, he came back to the south to establish a school, and from that vantage point to shout his "whosoever will, let him come" to all his people.

Apostle.

It has been said that every great institution is "the lengthened shadow of a great man." That is pre-eminently true of Morehouse College, which grew, together with other schools, into Atlanta University. It spells John Hope. Let us learn what that means. The south, perhaps, will never forget "reconstruction." That is well enough if we shall understand its significance. That was a period when a child race, with no Hope, Washington, Moton or like leaders—with no Hampton, Tuskegee, Atlanta or Fiske Universities—could be exploited by conscienceless political adventurers, to become a menace to our civilization. But for nearly 40 years John Hope has been developing good citizens, who in turn have gone throughout this southland, to carry to their peoples the spirit and ideals of this great institution. During all of these years, while Atlanta has been building her factories and office buildings, her homes and her churches, this great educator has been building a spiritual defence for this metropolis of the south.

After 40 years of patient, self-controlled, self-sacrificing service of the very highest order, he laid aside a body wearied and worn in the service of humanity, to make a report of his stewardship to the Master, who had so richly endowed him. I think he must have said: "Lord, thou gavest me five talents: lo, I have gained other five talents." Then he was sure to hear the: "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

ST. PAUL, MINN.
NEWS

APR 17 1936

ROTTEN POLITICS

POLITICS at its worst is revealed by the testimony of one Vance Muse, Texan, before the senate lobby investigating committee.

He admitted printing copies of pictures showing Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt "entering a Negro meeting with two Negro escorts" for circulation throughout the south. This was part of the work of the "Constitution Committee" and helped Gov. Eugene Talmadge in his Georgia battle against President Roosevelt. At least $10,000 of the funds used to finance this outfit is alleged to have come from John J. Raskob and Pierre S. Dupont.

All this ought to be quite educational to those Americans who do any thinking about such things.

In Germany, for example, the big business men put up the funds which enabled Hitler to become dictator on a platform (laugh it off or not) of providing jobs and improving the lot of the common people. They are also behind Mussolini in Italy.

The senate lobby investigating committee is doing a valuable job in showing up some of our fascist promoters.

Race Problem - 1936

United States.

THE NEGRO AND THE SOUTH.

East Tennessee News

RACE PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATORY attitudes toward Negroes are not by any means confined to the South, as certain of the Northern brethren would have one believe as they bemoan the condition of their brethren in the Southland; neither is all of the harmonious relationship between the races and cooperative spirit that enables representative white people and Negroes working together for the advancement of their communities existent in the North. 3-5-36

The fine, friendly relationship in evidence between white and Negro leaders in many states throughout the South accounts for well established institutions of all kinds and a high economic status of many Negroes that produces surprise in the minds of many who entertain erroneous ideas that the plight of the Negro in the South is intolerable.

An excellent example of just what can grow out of earnest, honest, law-abiding attitudes on the part of thoughtful Negroes is plainly evidenced as the citizenship of a small eastern North Carolina city took note of the death of a young Negro business man several days ago. No one could question the racial identity of the deceased. He did not sit idly by deploring the fact that he belonged to the Negro racial group, or that he encountered minor discriminations and hostile attitudes on the part of certain people with whom he came in contact, but he decided on a course, studied hard at Hampton until he mastered a trade. He then selected a small city in the South where he could be of service to his own people and by persistent effort and right living he built up a patronage to his tailoring establishment that included a majority of the white men and women of the county. At no time did the patrons of the efficient young Negro tailor question whether the hand that sewed and fitted their garments was black or white. The tailor rendered satisfactory service, lived soberly, abided by the laws of his land and as a result he made a success of his business and when he was called upon to answer the final summons his passing was mourned as a great loss by men of both races and in all walks of life.

The white press of the Carolina city in which this respected Negro business man lived and worked referred to his excellent citizenship, white business and professional men sent messages of condolence and men and women of the white racial group offered their services in an effort to assuage the grief of his loved ones over his death. But for the fact the color of the skin of the deceased was dark, one would hardly have known that the passing of a member of the Negro racial group was being mourned by the citizenship. Even so in life, the competition encountered by the young Negro tailor was practically nil because of the almost complete monopoly he held on the business.

Knoxville, Tenn.

This fine example of a successful career on the part of a thrifty, enterprising, sober Negro in the South is but one of many to be found in almost every section. Such should offer encouragement as well as incentive to the younger generation of Negroes who are proned to lament their imagined unfortunate predicament. The situation indicates without a single doubt that opportunity for making a success in life is in evidence on every side, but hard, earnest, honest endeavor is the price that is required and without those qualifications life is a failure indeed.

Another characteristic responsible in a large measure for the success of the young Negro tailor was his ready inclination to follow and cooperate with consistent, worthy and experienced leadership within the race. From the very beginning of his residence in the small Carolina city, the young man emulated the example as offered by other successful leaders of the racial group and sought to cooperate with them rather than endeavoring to destroy their influence and leadership in the community.

The young Negro, more especially, will soon learn that opportunity to succeed in life can be found in the South as well as North, East or West. It all depends upon the individual—whether he will sacrifice the frivolities, and toss aside envy and petty jealousies in favor of honesty, sobriety and hard and consistent work at something worth doing.

Haters & Baiters

Time

John Wilkes Booth shot Abraham Lincoln at the instigation of Pope Pius IX.

Baby Charles Augustus Lindbergh Jr. was slain by Jews who drank his blood.

Baby Lindbergh's maternal grandfather, the late Senator Dwight Whitney Morrow, also met death at the hands of Jews. They fed him arsenical spinach at a Manhattan hotel.

3-23-36

The 450,629 Knights of Columbus have taken a blistering oath to rip out the wombs of Protestant women, crush their children's skulls, maim and strangle their sons & husbands.

New York Times

President & Mrs. Roosevelt fraternize with Negroes, advocate social equality between blacks & whites.

These and similarly alarming statements were seriously set forth in an extraordinary collection of documents exhibited last week in Manhattan by the American Jewish Congress. Billed as "The Literature of Hate," the sordid show was also endorsed by the Catholic weekly *Commonweal*, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. To attract the curious, the promoters inserted a notice in the New York *Times:*

"SEE ANTI-AMERICANS ON RAMPAGE."

Pinned on panels like poisonous flowers in a botany collection, the 1,500 clippings, letters, pamphlets, magazines and books displayed the work of various U. S. psychopaths, cranks and professional haters & baiters of Negro, Catholic and Jew.

More examples:

A manifesto distributed in the South: "Could Catholics murder Mayor Gaynor of New York and then elect a Catholic Mayor of the City? *They did it!*"

A proclamation of the "American Nationalist Party": "Jews have a distinctly racial program calling for the seduction of any Gentile girl, young or unprotected."

An advertisement of a book about "escaped nuns": "Convent horror . . . story of Barbara Ubrick, who for 21 years was locked in a stone dungeon 8 ft. long and 6 ft. wide because she refused to surrender her virtue to a Romish priest."

The manuscript of a Jew-baiting orator: "Exterminate the Jews! Do unto them as you would do unto vicious rodents!"

An article in *The American Forum:* "The mongrel Negro race in America is rapidly approaching an awful crisis. . . . They go rollicking and cakewalking, apparently unaware of the storm that must inevitably burst. . . ."

Tragic commentary on Negro-baiting carried to one logical conclusion was the gruesome photograph, added to point the exhibit's moral, which showed the lynched and lifeless body of Negro Rubin Stacy of Fort Lauderdale, Fla., suspended from a tree around which stand neatly dressed young white children in snickering, fascinated horror.

Moultrie, Ga., Observer
March 11, 1936

GEORGIA'S "BLACK SHEEP" NEWSPAPER

There is a newspaper published in Georgia, at least it has the guise of a newspaper, purporting to present certain facts and statements that would lead the unintelligent reader to believe that Roosevelt was playing the Negro against the white in some of his political activities.

There never was a sheet of that type that ever amounted to a hill of beans unless it was circulated with inflammatory vigor among those that are uninformed or unintelligent and will believe anything that is said or printed, if it happens to appeal to their sense of prejudice and against the ordinary rules of decency.

Roosevelt was especially condemned in every issue, which was sent to certain persons in Georgia to be distributed. We have seen several copies of the sheet but not having read them it is with no degree of fairness that we can comment on the subject matter. The appearance, general and casual of the sheet makes us think of the stuff that has more stench than otherwise.—Thomasville Times-Enterprise.

The Supreme Court, The New Deal, And The Negro

Pittsburgh Courier 3-27-36

Topeka, Kansas

If ever the power of the Supreme Court of the United States to uphold the constitution is restricted, a Negro who dares to educate himself and acquire property will be driven back into poverty, peonage and dependence. The Supreme Court is the only agency to which members of our group can turn for justice. The "New Dealers" have demonstrated signs of curbing the Supreme court, while the cry of Republican leaders has been "preserve the constitution."

Let us review the Supreme court and the Negro three or four years back. Twice the United States Supreme court intervened and saved the Scottsboro boys from the Alabama death chamber. In 1932 the court held that the trial at Decatur, Ala., was unfair because the defendant had been deprived of proper defense council, to which he was entitled by the constitution.

The Scottsboro cases came before the Supreme court again last year. Again the court reversed the decision, this time on the grounds that Negroes had been systematically excluded from the Alabama juries. The decision was unanimous against the state of Alabama and in favor of the Scottsboro boys.

Just a few weeks ago the Supreme court came to the front for our group and unanimously spoke in defense of Negro rights in the deep south where the only law is the "White Man's Law," this time reversing the decision of a Mississippi judge and jury which had sentenced three Negroes to death. The Supreme court found that the only evidence against the defendants was their own confession, which had been obtained by the lashes and torture of cruel white law enforcing agencies of Mississippi. The trial Judge in Mississippi did not regard this as injustice to human beings and neither did the Supreme court of Mississippi, even when a white deputy sheriff admitted that he had beaten the three Negroes until they confessed.

The United States Supreme court was the only agency these helpless youths could turn to, and if it had not been for the constitution they would be history, the case would have been closed and the three Negroes would be in some lonesome Mississippi graveyard. The Supreme court stepped in and saved them of an injustice that millions of Black folks throughout the south and north cannot escape as American citizens. In both of these cases, the Supreme court checked race prejudice and supplanted social justice.

We are in the midst of one of the most important periods of Negro development in American history. In the last general election, a large number of Negroes voted the Democratic ticket and supported the "New Deal." They were dissatisfied with the Republican party under President Hoover's administration. Hoover's administration insulted the Negroes in a great big way when "Pat" Hurley, who recently made a big speech for Hoover at the Oklahoma State convention, sent the Negro Gold Star mothers to France to see the graves of their sons on a freight boat. They branded Hoover as a "Lily White" Republican and undoubtedly thousands of Negroes did not want another Hoover administration as they voted for the "New Deal." Apparently, they did not know what the new deal would offer, all they wanted was a change from Hoover. Now that the "New Deal" has had a tendency to curb the Supreme court and ignore the United States constitution, the Negroes who supported the "New Deal" are out in the middle, and perhaps can be brought back to the Republican party. If the Republicans expect to win in the coming general election and beat the "New Dealers" they will need the thousands of Negro votes cast for the Democrats. There is not much need of talking Hoover, Borah or Knox with Negroes. The way things look now, Republicans can't go far with the Negro vote advocating either of the three. But the Republican party in advocating constitutional government offers something that will help save the Negro from humiliation of serfdom, slavery and injustice in the courts of this land. To follow the course of the "New Dealers" and ignore the constitution, the Negro will not be safe from the lash and his property will not be safe from exploitation. He will be bound to the soil in a form of peonage, bound in chains of ignorance and helplessness. The Negro's lot in all parts of the United States is bitter enough today with the court to protect him; without the constitution and the Supreme court it would be far worse.

Race Problem - 1936
United States.

RACIAL SPIRIT BRANDED AS MYTH BY EDUCATORS

Commercial Appeal 3-15-36

SAYS GOBIND BEHARI LAL

Science Editor, Universal Service

THE spirit of racialism or race-consciousness, widespread and affecting all major world affairs today, is without any scientific meaning and justification. So demonstrate Professors Julian S. Huxley of the University of London and A. C. Haddon of the University of Cambridge, in their very timely volume, "We Europeans."

The word race, meaning divisions of humankind, is not worth using at all. It has a scientific sound. But in no sense whatever that it is generally employed, does the term race correspond to any scientific facts.

Drs. Huxley and Haddon tell us in so many words:

"Racialism is a myth, and a dangerous myth at that. It is a cloak for selfish economic aims which in their uncloaked nakedness would loom ugly enough. It is not scientifically grounded. The essence of science is the appeal of fact."

The theory of radicalism, which, for example, is the key to the present German policies, is characterized by Huxley and Haddon as "pseudo-science."

Something which is fake science, pseudo or false science, "one of the greatest enemies of science," lies behind the tall talk of biologic justification of racialism.

As far as science is concerned, the whole question of the racial problem, in the sense of the hereditary or genetic background of human society, everybody is in considerable ignorance. Any one who claims to know for certainty in this troublesome realm is simply vociferating his prejudices, not scientifically established facts, or even principles.

Whatever science does know tends to disprove the current uses to which the concept of race is being put in the western world, say the British scientists.

The thing that does matter is "nation." And, to begin with, it is made clear by these writers that "nation" and "race" are totally different things. When people talk of the "British race," "German race," "Italian race," "American race," and so forth, they are probably meaning British, German, Italian or American nations.

A nation is built up by a common culture, not by germplasm or heredity. In the new world, particularly in the United States, Drs. Huxley and Haddon find the most excellent example of their theory: that nation and race mean utterly different realities. They aver:

"There is, very definitely, an American nation, whose nationalism has, indeed, been growing more pronounced during the last few decades; but equally definitely there is no possibility of speaking of an American race. Rather, the popular phrase so often applied to the United States of America, the melting pot of race, displays the true situation. All great nations are melting pots of race."

But what is a nation, if not a unity of heredity, in the biological sense? Huxley and Haddon reply thus:

"A nation is a group of people with a common tract of country, bound together in a common state by common history, common sentiment and traditions, common social organization, and usually, though not always, by common language. It is also bound together by being the unit to which the individual belongs, so that he regards other individuals belonging to the same unit as in some way allied with him, while individuals belonging to other similar units as foreigners.

"The nation is a particular phase in the evolution of human groups, not anything permanent or inherent in human nature."

Drs. Huxley and Haddon point out that the Jews are obviously not a race, in the sense of unity of blood ties. They are a culturally united community. Biologically speaking, it is meaningless to speak of a "Jewish race."

Again, say Huxley and Haddon, "it is illegitimate to speak of an Aryan race."

Aryan is a term meaning certain language groups. English and Hindustani are both Aryan languages. The British and the Hindus are linguistically both Aryan. But they are two utterly different nations. And as for their blood affiliations, neither is a pure race.

Another version of the Aryan race concept is the Nordic race theory. Huxley and Haddon say on this point:

"The Nordic race, like other human races, has no present existence. Its former existence, like that of all pure races, is hypothetical. There does exist, however, a Nordic type. It is not certain where it originated or when its important migration took place, but most authorities believe that it came originally from the steppes of southern Russia."

What about the so-called Nordic theory of superiority? Have the Nordics made most of the advances of history, and are they specially fitted to rule over other races? Huxley and Haddon deny this. Their argument runs thus:

"In the first place, it is quite certain that the great steps in civilization, when man learned to plow, to write, to build stone houses, to transport his goods in wheeled vehicles, were first taken in the near east by people who by no stretch of imagination could be called Nordic but who seem to have been largely of the dark Mediterranean type.

"Secondly, it is true that great advances in civilization have sometimes been observed in history when invaders of relatively light-skinned type have irrupted into countries populated by other groups. But in such cases both types appear to have made their contribution and, the results can be ascribed to the vivifying effects of mixture and culture-contact . . ."

The pure Nordic type, in Northern Scandinavia, is too introspective to do much, and shows a high suicide rate, say Huxley and Haddon. In all the four leading European countries, England, France, Germany and Italy, you cannot find any racially pure peoples. The greatest mixtures of types have occurred there, and apparently produced advances in civilization.

Looking back on history, Drs. Huxley and Haddon find scracely any proof of the Nordic superiority theory, as far as the lives of great leaders were concerned.

"The great explorers of Britain displayed initiative, but hardly one of them was physically of Nordic type. The majority of the most celebrated Germans, including Goethe, Beethoven and Kant, were medium or round-headed, not long-headed like the typical Nordics. Napoleon, Shakespeare and Einstein—a dozen great names spring to mind, which in themselves should be enough to disperse the Nordic myth."

Greenville, S. C. News
March 26, 1936

Ickes Believes State Should Handle Own Racial Problem

Secretary Writes Answer To Cole Blease As To How He Stands On Issue

The Greenville News
Washington Bureau,
1054 Press Building.

WASHINGTON, Mar. 25.—Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes' letter to former Senator Cole L. Blease on the negro question has caused more than passing interest because of the impression which some are trying to create to the effect that the Roosevelt administration hopes to bring about social equality in the South between the races.

In a letter to Secretary Ickes several weeks ago, Senator Blease called for a definite statement on the negro question. Now if there is any cabinet officer who would upset southern custom in relationship between the races it is Secretary Ickes. He is a member of the Association for the Advancement of the Colored People and has often spoken in behalf of the economic rights of the negro.

STATES RIGHTS MAN

But in the reply to Senator Blease, Secretary Ickes made it clear as crystal that he does not believe in the federal government telling the people of South Carolina "how they should handle any racial problem within that state."

There is no question but that in the determined efforts of certain reactionary forces to defeat Roosevelt this fall, an attempt will be made to turn southerners against the New Deal because a negro democrat is in Congress and the administration has in many cases courted favor with the negro vote.

Because of this the opponents of Roosevelt would have the South believe that his administration would force social equality on the South. Secretary Ickes' letter to Senator Blease belies the charge and for this reason may become a campaign document in the South next fall if an effort is made there to raise the negro issue.

On the other hand, the Republican party may use the Ickes letter in thickly populated sections of the East to get votes for its nominee on the claim that Ickes opposes any federal interference in the South which negro associations are now demanding.

The complete correspondence between Senator Blease and Secretary Ickes follows:

BLEASE'S INQUIRY

"Hon. Harold Ickes, Secretary of Interior, Washington, D. C.

"Honored Sir:

"I am enclosing you editorial from The News and Courier, a paper published in South Carolina, which I think should be called to your special attention, particularly in view of the fact that there are those who are trying to create the impression that President Roosevelt is in favor of special equality between the white people and the negroes and that he has them at the White House on equal terms. I think this is political bunk, but we have people right here who believe it and it is not doing the Democratic party any good here in the South and do not know of anything that would come so near breaking the lines in the South than to say that we should associate on equal terms with negroes. We do not propose to do it.

"Quoting from the editorial I repeat the questions, whether you mean that the negroes should be invited to vote under the protection of the government in South Carolina and if the government of which you are a principal member advocates that doctrine?

"I am very much interested in politics and in my country, especially the South. I have been the governor of this state, have been senator of the United States and I am a democrat, which places above all things, first, the virtue of the women of South Carolina and, next, the absolute segregation of the races and under no condition intermarriage or social equality, and I hope I am not speaking egotistically when I state that I have some political prestige in South Carolina.

"Thanking you for an answer, I am,

"Very respectfully,
"COLE L. BLEASE."

ICKES' REPLY TO BLEASE

"The Secretary of the Interior
"Washington
"March 11, 1936

"Hon Cole L. Blease,
Columbia, S. C.

"My dear Mr. Blease:

"Your letter of March 2 has been received. While I believe the negroes of this country should be given a fair opportunity under the law to develop themselves according to their individual qualifications, it would not be proper for me to advise the people of South Carolina how they should handle any racial problems within that state.

"Sincerely yours,
"HAROLD C. ICKES,
"Secretary of the Interior."

The Loyalty Of The Negro Questioned Again

By CARTER G. WOODSON

In cases of the urgent necessity for all elements to forget their differences and work together for the common cause in our greaat crises, the loyalty of the Negro has always been questioned. Why has this been done? There is but one answer. The Negro has been more unjustly treated than any other people of the world, and the tormentors and exploiters of these despised people naturally expect that when the occasion presents itself the oppressed will rise against the oppressor. This was the situation throughout the days of bondage when this country was dominated by slave-holders. Since their undoing as a result of the Civil War the capitalistic element, their successors to power, have had similar fears because of their exploitation of the Negroes and all other poor people in the modern world. History repeats itself. The Negro has always been questioned, but he has always been loyal when others proved faltering to the trust reposed in them. During the colonial wars which rocked this country from center to circumference before it became permanently settled the English in their struggles with the French were always thus disturbed in mind. They were afraid that the Negroes would cross over the Alleghany Mountains into the Ohio and Mississippi region and join their enemies who at several times seemed likely to drive the English out of America.

Victory at last crowned the efforts of the English under Wolfe in their triumph over the forces led by Montcalm at Quebec. The loyalty of the Negro had something to do with this significant result now displayed in bright letters on our pages of history, but the Negro is never mentioned in connection with the eulogies uttered in the celebration of this victory.

The Revolutionary War

During the American Revolution the same question agitated the minds of both the British and the patriots of the colonies. At first it was thought that this struggle would be a conflict between white men, who would not accept Negroes as participants since the question at issue did not concern the latter. When, however, Lord Dunmore driven out of Virginia offered freedom to all Negroes who would come to his support, and when Clinton, hard pressed in New York, likewise opened the door of freedom to the black men who might rally to him; the patriots changed their attitude. They feared that the large body of slaves in the colonies might decide the issue of the war in favor of the mother country.

For the years intervening between that time and the peace made in 1783 the loyalty of the Negroes was a great question. The colonies, trying to show themselves equally as liberal as the British, provided for the emancipation of those volunteering to fight for the independence of this country, and some of them abolished slavery either by instant or gradual methods.

In the second war with England when this country had to fight again to convince the world that it was actually an independent nation, the loyalty of the Negro was again a problem. As a result of the French and Indian War the British had come into the possession of a part of the back door of the colonies—that is, in obtaining possession of Canada and the forts around the Great Lakes.

The Negro again, if disloyal, could do much to embarrass this country by joining the British who had begrudgingly granted the independence of the United States. Brought under more direct control of the slaveholding forces in the states at that time, however, the Negro had very little more than the choice between extermination and fighting with this country. As such they acquitted themselves with unusual honor with Perry and MacDonnough on the sea and with Andrew Johnson on land. These commanders were unanimous in their praise of the loyalty of the Negro during that war of 1812.

The Mexican War

During the Mexican War, the Negro was again questioned and so fearful were the military authorities as to the role the Negro might play the race as a rule was eliminated from that Mexican expedition except to serve mainly in menial capacities.

In the Civil War, however, the Negro became a larger figure in the mind of the American people. Soldiers who were called from their firesides to fight for the perpetuation of the institution which meant a dismal future for the Negroes did not think well of going to the front and leaving their women and children at home in the hands of their slaves. The South, however, flouted the idea of the Negro as a soldier, for one of the important arguments in favor of slavery was that it was necessary to hold the Negro in subordination because he could not be depended upon to defend the honor of the nation.

The Negro, however, proved loyal in the protection of the homes of the southern gentlemen, and the Confederacy in its extremity reversed itself and actually drilled and enlisted Negroes for the army. The cause had undergone moral collapse. We often hear it said that the Confederacy had been exhausted—lack of supplies and food and man power. It has been shown by Dr. Charles H. Wesley, however, that the South had all of these things. Even with the loyalty of the Negroes the slavocrats had undergone a moral collapse. They had reached the point when they no longer had a will to fight.

Spanish-American War

The Spanish-American War did not last long enough to force this country to an extremity, but during the World War the same thought with respect to the Negro arose like "Banquo Ghost" and haunted—every man who had agitated entering the war on the side of the allies. Thousands of enemies of the administration of the United States Government at that time were abroad in the land and some of them were endeavoring to influence the Negro to their way of thinking. The United States Government had to establish an all but perfect propaganda machine to win people to the war and even encouraged the Negro to think that he, too, might have a larger domain of individual liberty if he rallied to the cause.

Here again history repeats itself. The Negro was loyal, and after it was all over he fell back into the same position in which he was at first. Nothing can be gained by a minority group in being disloyal to the country in which it may be, but the Negro evidently has not been clever in exacting from the ruling class what is due him for the great contribution which he has made in defending the honor of this nation.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN

MAR 31 1936

Differs With Mr. Johnson On The "Abuse" Of Negroes By Southern Gentlemen

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—*Sir:*

Mr. Gerald W. Johnson seems to become afflicted with acute shortsightedness whenever his editorial eye turns upon the Negro. Lately in his article on "Ingredients of Aristocracy" he avers that ". . . in the old days a Southerner who abused his Negroes was regarded as a low swine."

Now, either the fabled race of gentlemen of the Old South must have been far less numerous than one generally supposes or the Southerner's meaning of the term abuse in regard to Negroes was exceedingly vague. For through generations, these same "gentlemen" lolled in graceful ease and sunny elegance supported by a staggering mass of ceaselessly slaving, ever weary black humans. If it be not abuse to chain a man to wilting labor, to auction off his sons and make breeders of his daughters, to clothe and feed him foully, to bury his soul and mind in the mire of utter hopelessness, then no man was ever abusive and no man ever swinish.

Such reproach as might have been cast at an aristocratic offender was given not on moral grounds but on account of the economic wickedness of impairing a working machine of low cost and high profit. J. W. HAYWOOD, JR.

Baltimore, March 27.

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.
OBSERVER
APR 16 1936

REPEATING 1928.

Remembering the success of the intolerance campaign of 1928 in the South the little group of extremely wealthy men who find it profitable to control the men who administer the laws of the United States have launched a new move to defeat President Roosevelt by distributing through the South pictures of Mrs. Roosevelt escorted by two negroes.

As a matter of fact the picture was taken at Howard University, a negro college, on the occasion of a speech there by Mrs. Roosevelt. Without having seen the picture we imagine it is such a one as might have been taken at State Normal School or Shaw University or A. & T. at Greensboro with any one of a wide range of eminent North Carolina white ladies and gentlemen as subjects.

The day is past when any dishonor impinges upon any white person who interests himself or herself actively in the cause of negro education. It is a cause which is vital not only to the advancement of the negro race but to the welfare of the white people among whom the negroes live.

All of which is immaterial in the instance under discussion.

What is material is that Vance Muse of Houston, Texas, collaborated with Governor Talmadge of Georgia in promoting an anti-New Deal convention of Southern Democrats in Macon, Georgia.

What is material is that Mr. Muse accepted $5,000 each from John J. Raskob and Pierre S. du Pont, each prominently connected with the so-called Liberty League.

What is material is that Mr. Muse saw to it that a copy of the picture under discussion was on each chair in the convention hall.

Of course Mr. Raskob and Mr. du Pont disclaimed all knowledge of the picture.

Of course Mr. Muse said the picture was not used for the purposes of hitting the President through an underhanded attack on his wife.

Of course Mr. Muse said the picture was used "in opposition to movements to allow negroes social equality with whites."

He might have been more truthful and said it was used in opposition to a movement to allow the forgotten men of America economic equality with a little handful of plutocrats.

He might have been more truthful and said that the Republican party through the Liberty League was willing to encourage even race riots and lynchings in the South in order to bring about the defeat of the New Deal.

Race Problem—1936
United States.

NEW YORK JOURNAL

APR 15 1936

LOBBY INQUIRY HEARS PHOTO 'PLOT' STORY

WASHINGTON, April 15 (By International News Service).—In a bickering verbal exchange with questioners, a witness before the Senate Lobby Committee today admitted that he caused pictures of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt "entering a Negro meeting with two Negro escorts," to be distributed through the South.

He was Vance Muse, manager of the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution at Houston Texas. He said he "collaborated" with Allen S. Sheppard of the Order of American Patriots, in the distribution of these pamphlets.

They were originally distributed at the Macon, Ga., convention which endorsed the Georgia Governor, Eugene Talmadge, for the Presidency. Since then, Muse said, they have been sold "at printers' cost" throughout the South.

CONTEMPT THREAT.

Muse was threatened with contempt proceedings for interjecting what the committee chairman, Senator Black (D.) of Alabame, called "wholly immaterial" matter in his answers to questions. He bl untly refused to answer questions about his own connection with the Order of American Patriots.

The matter of the pamphlets was brought out by Black in questions.

"Have you caused, through the Order of American Patriots, pamphlets or printed sheets to be circulated with reference to the President of the United States, or the ftamily of the President with hoped-for political effect?" Black asked. Muse said he had.

"Describe the pictures, please," said Black.

"I can, but it would be nauseating for me to do it. I'm a Southerner, and I believe in the supremacy of the white race."

TOOK PICTURES.

"Did you take any to the Macon convention?"

"Yes."

"Well, describe them."

"It was a picture of Mrs. Roosevelt going to a Negro meeting, with two Negro escorts —you told me to say that."

"Yes," said Black, "but I didn't force you to circulate them."

"No, sir," said the witness with one hand over his heart, and the other held high in the air. "My conscience forced me to do that. It was here"—he patted his breast.

Muse said that John J. Raskob and Pierre S. duPont contributed $5,000 each to the Southern committee to uphold the Constitution, aware that the money was to help pay expenses of the Talmadge convention. Muse explained that he visited Raskob in New York with John Henry Kirby, chairman of the Southern committee, to uphold the Constitution.

GETS LAUGH.

Muse at the outset of today's session brought a roar of laughter from the crowded roomful of spectators when Senator Minton D.) of Indiana, asked him: "Don't I know you?"

"Why," said the tall Texan, waving his arms, "we pulled salt trucks at Swift's packing house together. Then, I remember when I saw you in Florida—you predicted the boom was gonna bust six months ahead of time. You said you was going to Indiana and either be Senator or Governor."

"Well," Minton came back, "I'm a man of my word."

THREAT MADE.

The committee threat came when Senator Black asked Muse when he became associated with the Southern committee to uphold the Constitution.

"Why, it was right after they passed that fool law—will anything happen if I miss it a few days?"

"Now, here," Black cut in. "Just stop, Mr. Muse—if you have come here with the idea that you are going to make statements wholly irrelevant and immaterial — we are going to treat you with courtesy and we expect you to do the same."

"That'll be an innovation here," muttered Muse; "but we'll try."

"Well," said Black, "perhaps you'd rather tell the Senate. At the bar of the Senate."

"That would be an honor."

"Well, just answer the question."

"I became associated with the committee when it was formulated — it must have been in July, 1935."

PORTLAND, ME.
EXPRESS

APR 17 1936

CHIVALRY

The Senate Lobby Committee learned Wednesday the source of the pictures of Mrs. Roosevelt with two Negroes, pictures that were distributed at the Anti-New Deal convention last Winter in Macon, Georgia. It learned that they had been ordered printed by the head of the Election Managers Association of Houston, Texas, and distributed "in opposition to movements to allow Negroes social equality with Whites, and not in opposition to President Roosevelt." It learned, too, that a large part of the funds which financed the Talmadge Anti-New Deal convention and presumably paid for the pictures was contributed by John J. Raskob, the du Pont family, Ogden Mills, Alfred P. Sloan and Senator Metcalf of Rhode Island.

There was no inference that these gentlemen had part in distribution of the pictures, deliberately designed to inflame race prejudice and to discredit the President and Mrs. Roosevelt; but they naturally incur some of the stigma attaching to the incident. It was not particularly in good taste for Northerners to engage in a "smear-the-President" campaign in the Solid South led by such a man as Governor Talmadge of Georgia whose appeal was almost solely to men who could adopt tactics as offensive as picture-distribution.

The whole incident proved, except, perhaps, to extremist Southern eyes, a flop. Mrs. Roosevelt's implied association with Negroes was at Negro Howard University where she went to make a speech and where she was courteously escorted, not without photographic attention from newsmen, by a committee of students.

The campaign promises to be one of mud-slinging; but no decent American will subscribe to hurling mud at women. The whole Anti-New Deal convention at Macon was a mistake. The place to beat Mr. Roosevelt, if he can be beaten for the nomination, is at the Philadelphia Convention, and not at a grass-roots conference called by a disgruntled Presidential impossibility; and the way to beat him is not by insinuations against Mrs. Roosevelt. If we have to throw mud, at least let us not use women as targets.

High Point, N. C. Enterprise
April 18, 1936

A BIT HARD ON THE CONSTITUTION

Vance Muse, general manager of the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution and evidently a "professional Southerner" of the type we need not at all, reveals that he circulated pictures of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt in company with two negroes . . . The plan was conceived with the idea of "opposing social equality" and described by him as a part of a campaign to preserve the Constitution. A few more such defenders and the poor old Constitution would be sunk!

The pictures, it develops were made at Howard University, a splendid negro institution at Washington, when Mrs. Roosevelt was a visitor. The intent to create prejudice sticks out all over the scheme, says, the Raleigh Times whose pertinent remarks we quote further:

"It has the look of being work typical of an element rapidly decreasing in the South, which suggests equality with the negro by hating him.

"Every year in North Carolina there are instances in which the two races get together in celebrating some event or sharing in educational or church services . . . It is a thing not uncommon for white people by the scores to attend funerals of respected negroes.

"'Social equality' is one thing. A decent inter-racial good will and good temper is something else."

WASHINGTON, D. C.
NEWS

APR 17 1936

IN DEAR OLD GEORGIA

STEELED as the voters are against almost anything bizarre by way of political chicane, they will be shocked at some of the recent doings in Georgia as disclosed before the Senate Lobby Committee.

Vance Muse, tall Texan of John Henry Kirby's "Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution," admitted to the committee that he was responsible for distributing thru the South scads of pictures showing Mrs. Roosevelt entering a meeting accompanied by two Negroes. These pictures not only were broadcast from filling stations thru the Cracker State but were found on the delegates' seats at the so-called Jeffersonian Grass Roots Convention called in Macon last January to nominate Gene Talmadge as the anti-Roosevelt Democratic candidate for President.

Shocking, too, was Mr. Muse's disclosure as to the gentlemen who have been financing such methods of upholding the Constitution. Among the contributors to the Kirby committee were John J. Raskob and Pierre Dupont, each down for $5000. That famous New York Bourbon, Ogden Mills, donated $100 to the cause. Frank B. Kellogg shelled out $50. Our old friend H. C. Hopson of Associated Gas & Electric added his mite, and so did Hearst's general counsel, John Francis Neylan. Steel, oil, auto and power tycoons chipped in what they could afford.

These silk-hatted angels of the Georgia adventure in race prejudice apparently are on the spot for most any kind of organization that presents a blueprint on how to stop Roosevelt. Some of the same big-hearted Jeffersonians have helped finance the "Farmers Independence Council" out in Kansas, the Crusaders, and, of course, that palladium of the old virtues, the Liberty League. Considering what they are getting for their good hard cash, one is constrained to remark that some people and their money are soon parted or that one is born every minute.

In view of the ease with which the city rubes of politics are being separated from their coin, the current campaign may prove a potent factor in the redistribution of the nation's wealth.

Athens, Ga. Times
April 11, 1936

THROWN GLOVE

The glove has been thrown down. Will the South accept the challenge, or will she continue to be misunderstood?

"A Yankee Looks at Dixie," an article in a recent issue of "The American Mercury" by Katherine Fullerton Gerould sounds the note of challenge to the South. Speaking of the Northerner's attitude, she says: "This is our dilemma. We are given sentimental portraits of which the only convincing quality is a certain desuetude. On the other hand, the degenerated upper classes, the hillfolk, the tenant farmers, the Negro ne'er-do-wells seem real. If the Southerner wants the Northerner to forget the child labor and lynchings and sharecroppers and chain gangs of the news columns, let him look to his fiction."

In response to the gibes cast at her, to the caustic criticism to which she is subjected, the South is inarticulate. She lacks the weapon with which to fight — a representative literature.

A truly representative literature of and by the South is woefully lacking. Deplorable surely, but none the less true. It is an issue we have to face squarely if we are honest with ourselves. And if our traditional "Southern pride" protests at such an admission, then that pride should be branded as false and thrown overboard.

Of the two types of literature that have been produced, neither has fulfilled the mission of drawing a true picture of the South of today.

On the one hand we have the "Old South" literature. After nearly a century such a topic is beginning to wear thin. Charming as such literature may be, it is not a true concept of the modern South.

No more typical, however, is the literature, which arose in revolt against that of the pre-Civil war era, the so-called realistic literature. While admitting the fallacy of an assumed aristocratic superiority, we vehemently protest when branded as being slothful, ill-kempt, illiterate degenerates.

There is great need of a literature that depicts the true Southerner, against his natural background and not as a superior being, nor yet as a "Tobacco Road" character.

WEST POINT, MISS.
Daily Times Leader

APR 21 1936

Trying to Stampede the South.

It appears that strenuous efforts are being made in certain quarters to raise the Negro issue in the South in an effort to prevent the renomination of President Roosevelt by the Democratic convention.

Responsibility for this disgraceful effort to make political capital out of racial prejudices has been traced by the Senate Lobby Committee.

A picture of Mrs. Roosevelt, taken as two Negro teachers accompanied her to her automobile after an address at Howard University, was circulated among the delegates at Gov. Talmadge's "grass-roots convention" at Atlanta several months ago. Thus the interest of Mrs. Roosevelt in education and the common courtesy of the two men were employed in a base appeal to prejudice.

The names of the men who prepared this vile propaganda became public through the lobby committee's efforts. The names of their financial backers (though there is no evidence that they were aware of the intended use of the Howard University picture) also went on record. So the episode stands fully exposed.

It was all carried through in the name (God save the mark) of the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution!

But we warn those who are thus trying to array the South against the President that the effort will fail. The South no longer fears that black heels will be put on white necks, or that the Negro race is going to dominate the government.

More than this, the South understands Mrs. Roosevelt's position, and Southern leaders sincerely appreciate her interest in Negro education, in improving the living conditions of all races, and in teaching tolerance for those who naturally look to us for leadership.

Race Problem—1936
United States.

Carthage, N. C., News
April 23, 1936

She Did Not Object To Negro Pictures

Washington, April 20.—Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt said today that photographs showing her in company with Negroes, were taken with her permission and that she had no objection to their distribution.

Mrs. Roosevelt refused to comment on political aspects of the pictures, which were shown by the Senate lobby committee to have been distributed through the South by the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution, an anti-New Deal organization.

"One picture," she said, "was made when I spoke at Howard University, which after all is a government institution. I spoke to a meeting of women, but two officers of a Negro CCC camp met me at the car and escorted me up the steps. They treated me with the utmost respect. I had no objection when the photograph was taken then, and I have no objection to it now."

The other picture, Mrs. Roosevelt said, was taken at a slum clearance project in Detroit.

"Some Negro children put on a program of songs," she said, "and one small girl was lifted up to hand me a flower. I paid no attention to it. I was willing for the picture to be made.

"I can't remember any such pictures except on official occasions."

Albany, Ga., Herald
April 20, 1936

MRS. ROOSEVELT TELLS HOW NEGRO PICTURES TAKEN

WASHINGTON, April 20 (AP).—Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt said today, of the photograph of herself and two Negroes which was brought up before the Black lobby committee last week:

"I had no objection to its being taken, and I have no objection to it now."

In response to press conference questions, she recalled the circumstances under which it was taken:

She went to make a speech at Howard University, a Negro college here, supported by the federal government.

The group she was addressing sent "two officers from the colored CCC camp" to meet her at the place where the car was parked and escort her up the steps to the meeting hall.

"They treated me with the utmost respect, and walked out with me," she said. "The photo was taken as it would have been taken in any other place where I was making a speech."

She said another of the photos—was taken at the opening of a slum-clearing project in Detroit when "a small colored girl was lifted up and presented me with a flower—and I had no objection to that, either."

YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO
VINDICATOR

APR 15 1936

SEES EQUALITY AS TEST IN U. S.

America Must Be Saved for Democracy, Says Dr. Johnson

By R. B. HARVEY

American democracy is still in the experimental stage, Dr. James Weldon Johnson, noted Negro poet and educator, told more than 1,000 persons at Centenary M. E. Church last night. He spoke on "The Negro Test of Democracy," under sponsorship of Belmont Y. W. C. A. branch.

"Discouraging as it may sound," Dr. Johnson said, "the American experiment is not proved. After 150 years, if we look at this experiment, not through the magnifying glasses of inflated patriotism, but in the clear light of fact, we see that democracy in America is still in the experimental stage.

Search for Security

"One hundred and fifty years ago there was no doubt in the minds of the people that the success of the idea was assured. Today we are not so sanguine, and some are willing to throw overboard the idea of democracy in their search for some degree of security. Some have taken refuge in dictatorships, and many ask today in which direction America is headed. Some think this is the only way out—out into what?"

Dr. Johnson pointed out that such a step would be dangerous because, "however faulty the achievements in the realization of basic equality, the guarantee of common liberty and the maintenance of freedom make it evident that if America is worth saving it must be saved for Democracy."

"Liberty Not Equal"

Shaken faith in the present system of democracy is in a great measure due to forgetfulness and ignorance of the fact that the elements and benefits of the term "liberty" are not always equally distributed, Dr. Johnson said.

"This consciousness is wearing on the individual, on groups and on the whole nation," he declared, "and in the stress and strain of their doubt hand over their power to any agencies that may offer relief. Ridicule of the very foundations of our government, equality and the pursuit of happiness, is directly traceable to our double standard of laws, one for the whites and one for the blacks."

Cites Negro's Gifts

Outlining the Negro's contribution to American civilization, Dr. Johnson said the Negro's gift of labor is responsible today for one entire section of this nation, while he has also given America's cultural life his invaluable music, songs, dances, and art.

"Justice for the Negro is not in the nature of a reward. It has been paid for in advance," Dr. Johnson concluded.

He read two of his poems, "Creation" and "God's Trombone."

Mrs. W. P. Young presided, and Attorney C. H. Crumpler introduced Dr. Johnson. The Phyllis Wheatley Chorus sang.

Many attended from Cleveland, Warren, Akron, New Castle and other cities.

Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch
April 17, 1936

Negroes in the South

To the Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Sir,—As I look out of my window in a Northern city, I see white and colored children playing together in perfect harmony. Around the corner is a large public school which both groups attend. White teachers have white and colored students in their classes. Colored teachers have white and colored students in their classes. In one large, well-equipped public school, a colored teacher has all white students; in fact, there are not even any colored students in the school, yet she is loved by both teachers and students.

As I look out of my window in a Southern city, I see a beautiful, white colonial school building to my left, which is for the white children. To my right, I see an unattractive, dirty brick building which is for the colored children. I hear of two different salary standards for teachers, the colored, of course, being the disadvantaged. I see the white children pass the colored children on their way to school; never a sign of recognition, rather hate and contempt.

They say that one group is inferior to another. I wonder if such an attitude of harmful discrimination is an indication of superiority. We realize that an honor student of the Negro race at the University of Virginia might humiliate the proud son of a Cavalier. Negroes do make even Phi Beta Kappa, you know. Yale, Harvard, Columbia, Chicago will tell you that.

No, Miss Southland, it is fear; you are not fooling anybody. It would have been better if the North had let you secede, then you wouldn't have had any lost cause to cry about. Now, you want to get rid of the very folk that made your unenviable tradition possible, instead of helping them and yourselves to become civilized.

When you visit the North, don't spread your hateful Jim-Crowism; it's like a vicious cancer. Once it starts eating, it is incurable. Enjoy your Roman holidays below the Mason and Dixon Line. Yes, they call it the land of the churches, but remember the old Negro spiritual, "Everybody talk about heaven ain't-a-goin' there."

You folks print everything bad about the Negro, seldom anything good, and never address in print a Negro man or woman with the proper title. Be good sports and admit this.

A. MORGAN TABB.
Bishop Payne Divinity School,
Petersburg.

ANOTHER GULLIVER

LOOKING AT OUR SOUTH

George Fort Milton, author, lecturer, and publicist, and editor of The Chattanooga News, published recently a striking editorial discussion of the backwardness and poverty of this South.

Mr. Milton is a forward-looking man. He is a Southerner of the realist school—he loves the South so much that he is unwilling to overlook any of its faults. He wishes to see all of its faults overcome. Apparently he believes that the South's faults can be overcome, especially the "fault" of widespread poverty.

The Advertiser is glad to present herewith this stirring editorial by the famous Tennessean:

The principal theme of the Southern Policy Conference which has been meeting on Lookout Mountain for the past three days was the necessity for discovering some method for relieving the distress of the disposed and disfranchised millions in the South.

The first thought which strikes the mind of the observer of the Southern social scene is the terrible poverty of the people. In every single classification with which a people's economic and social progress can be measured the South trails the list. Income is lowest, education is worst, expenditures for public health, for life insurance and the like are lowest. More persons are denied the right to vote in the South because of inability to pay poll tax. Fewer farmers own their own farms. More farms are washing away and more homes tumbling down than elsewhere in America.

We told last week how a survey by Sherwood Eddy showed some share-cropper families getting less than $5 in cash for their year's labor—the rest being taken to "pay the bills" at the landlord's store. Not only share-cropper and tenant farmer, but the farm owner in many sections is also in poverty.

The Government's project along Crabtree Creek, Wake County, N. C., stresses the value of Government aid for the South at this time. Once that creek was lined with majestic trees and fertile lands. But our pioneers cut down the trees to make houses, and the soil was neglected. Now it is mostly gulleys, and the families owning farms grub out a miserable existence.

The government has purchased 5,800 acres along Crabtree Creek. The farmers will be assisted in moving to better lands and reestablishing themselves, through the aid of the great Resettlement Administration. The barren 5,800 acres will be converted into a public recreation park, reforested and reclaimed.

Rescued from barren Crabtree Creek, the families will be rescued also from backbreaking poverty. That movement throughout the South would strike at one of our greatest problems.

We have frankly stated that the dire poverty of the rural people in the South leads to lynchings. Cornpone and sorghum do not make aesthetes.

The Southern tenant farmer class, about which Erskine Caldwell weaved "Tobacco Road," to which our professional Southerners so violently object, are not more vicious or bestial than other people. They are just more hopelessly steeped in poverty.

There are those who tell us that if we do something for them, lift them out of their stark poverty, make life easier for them, we will make them "lazy, shiftless, worthless." This peonage class proves well enough that it is hopeless poverty which makes people shiftless and worthless, not a taste of the good things of life.

We become less and less enamored of the theory that unless a child is born poor and permitted to fight for its life like the wolf cub or to forage for its food like the wild beast, it will be a "good for nothing."

The worship of poverty is a part of humanity's defense mechanism. We like to remember the few great poets, like Thomas Chatterton or Oliver Goldsmith, who suffered dire poverty, but forget that far greater and more numerous poets nurtured their genius in comfortable economic surroundings.

To have been born in a log cabin adds at least 10 per cent to a President's rating. The log cabins of the Presidents were but temporary abodes of pioneers seeking better things. They were nothing at all like the log cabins of our poorer-class tenant farmers of the South. These are the permanent homesteads, the manored estates of the hopelessly poverty-ridden victims of an unsocial age, and from them, under present conditions, there will come no Presidents, no great poets.

When the South recognizes that the bestial complexes and psycho-mechanisms which cause such weird mob actions as infest the South are rarely a result of poverty, then we shall embrace the government's cooperation and shall cease to call upon a false pride which is, after all, merely the ostrich hiding his head in the sands.

The Southern Policy Conferees decided that something should be done about all this. First, they approached the problem of land tenancy. The Bankhead-Jones farm tenant bill was strongly supported. If that measure fails, the Southern leaders intend to press on towards other means for placing land in the hands of the actual tillers in an attempt to end the ruinous system which seems to be gradually lowering Southern farmers to the class of serfs.

For years the Southern farmer has been buying all his goods in a tariff-protected market while selling his produce in an unprotected world market. This evil process has gone on so long that now the South has an annual trade balance running against it of approximately a billion dollars. No section can long endure with such a ghastly economic picture as that.

Race Problem-1936
United States.

Clarendon, Va., Chronicle
April 10, 1936

MISLEADING THE NEGROES

PRESIDENT Roosevelt let it be known to negro leaders that he was one hundred per cent for the Wagner-Costigan Anti-Lynching bill. Negro newspapers published the fact, and the news was received with unbounded enthusiasm, because the negroes knew that President Roosevelt could put the bill through congress by a word, or a mere wave of his hand. But he was warned by certain southern democratic leaders in the Senate and House, who would roll on the floor at his command, that any attempt on his part to put the bill through congress would cause the loss to him of every southern state. It was denounced in the Senate and House by southern democrats as unconstitutional as a violation of the rights of the states, as a forerunner of federal control of elections in the South, through federal troops at every polling place, as an attempt to revive the carpetbag days, and as ousting the jurisdiction of the courts of the sovereign states, by back-tracked and deserted the negroes, who federal bayonets. President Roosevelt regarded the anti-lynching bill as of far more importance to them than social equality at the White House, promised and practiced by Mrs Roosevelt, and spread abroad by every negro newspaper, and confirmed by luncheons and teas to negro White House guests. But Mr. Roosevelt's lips being sealed on the anti-lynching bill it was necessary that something should be done to appease the suspecting negroes. Mrs. Roosevelt undertook the task. She announced at a meeting of 2,500 negroes at the Metropolitan Methodist Church in Washington on March 14, 1935, that she was in favor of the Wagner-Costigan Anti-Lynching bill pending in congress. There was uproarious applause. The audience naturally assumed that she spoke for the President. Next she spoke at Howard University and in addition to advocating the instructing in communism in the public schools, she expressed herself in favor of the federal anti-lynching bill.

Next she spoke at the National Urban League meeting in Baltimore, a communist controlled negro organization, and again expressed herself in favor of the federal anti-lynching bill.

Mrs. Roosevelt gives morning talks to the assembled newspaper correspondents at the White House. They represent every big newspaper and all the press agencies in the country. But not a word to them that she favored the federal anti-lynching bill.

Only does she favor the bill when talking to negro audiences.

The public learns of the matter through the negro newspapers.

She has never done a thing toward putting the bill through congress or done anything to help along the cause so dear to the negroes, but wishes the negroes to believe that she is making their fight and thinking for them. Just another way of victimizing the poor deluded negro because he has a vote.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.
TIMES

APR 18 1936

IN DEAR OLD GEORGIA

STEELED as the voters are against almost anything bizarre by way of political chicane they will be shocked at some of the recent doings in Georgia as disclosed before the Senate Lobby Committee.

Vance Muse, tall Texan, of John Henry Kirby's "Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution," admitted to the committee that he was responsible for distributing through the South scads of pictures showing Mrs. Roosevelt entering a meeting accompanied by two Negroes. These pictures not only were broadcast from filling stations through the Cracker State but were found on the delegates' seats at the so-called Jeffersonian Grass Roots convention called in Macon last January to nominate Gene Talmadge as the anti-Roosevelt Democratic candidate for President.

Shocking, too, was Mr. Muse's disclosure as to the gentlemen who have been financing such methods of upholding the Constitution. Among the contributors to the Kirby committee were John J. Raskob and Pierre du Pont, each down for $5000. That famous New York Bourbon, Ogden Mills, donated $100 to the cause. Frank B. Kellogg shelled out $50. Our old friend H. C. Hopson of Associated Gas and Electric added his mite, and so did Hearst's general counsel, John Francis Neylan. Steel, oil, auto and power tycoons chipped in what they could afford.

These silk-hatted angels of the Georgia adventure in race prejudice apparently are on the spot for most any kind of organization that presents a blue print on how to stop Roosevelt. Some of the same big-hearted Jeffersonians have helped finance the "Farmers Independence Council" out in Kansas, the Crusaders, and, of course, that palladium of the old virtues. the Liberty League. Considering what they are getting for their good hard cash one is constrained to remark that some people and their money are soon parted or that one is born every minute.

In view of the ease with which the city rubes of politics are being separated from their coin, the current campaign may prove a potent factor in the redistribution of the nation's wealth.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.
TRIBUNE

APR 18 1936

For The Constitution

A DISTINGUISHED Houstonian, general manager of "The Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution," tells the Senate Lobby committee that he distributed thousands of photographs showing Mrs. Roosevelt in company with two students of a Negro university. John Henry Kirby, a case-hardened old reactionary who heads the "Southern Committee," disclaims any knowledge of the exploit. Messrs. du Pont, Raskob, and others, who had obliged with funds, are likewise exonerated.

An execrable violation of taste, an indecent demonstration of stupidity, are about all this helpful Houstonian's offense amounts to,—rather nauseating on the whole. Neither the Senate nor any other department of government has any legal ground for action against him. We may be sure that Mrs. Roosevelt will not notice him.

The appearance of this incident in the record may work a public benefit. The Lobby committee has been charged with over-inquisitiveness and arrogance in its handling of witnesses. Some reports indicate some justice in the charge. On the other hand, while the inquest has exposed little or no criminality, it has shown up several practices that make sour reading which discredits some industrial groups and political-propaganda agencies employed by them. "The Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution" suffers in its turn, for its manager's bright idea. An attack on the Administration through the President's wife, in the name of The Constitution, is about as low an exploit as even the cheapest politician could devise.

Birmingham, Ala. News
April 26, 1936

Mrs. Roosevelt And Her Escort

What a cheap and vulgar device is this nasty little trick of attacking Mr. Roosevelt by the circulation of pictures showing Mrs. Roosevelt "in company with two Negroes," as a witness described it before the Senate lobby committee! The witness is referred to in the news as being general manager of "The Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution," and the circulation of the picture was, he said, part of a campaign to preserve the constitution. He might as well, for all the truth in it, have said it was part of a campaign to drive the Germans out of the Rhineland.

What happened was that Mrs. Roosevelt went to Howard University, one of the outstanding institutions of higher education for Negroes in the United States, to make a speech. Properly and naturally enough, part of the Negro regiment of the national guard in Washington was turned out in her honor. And properly and naturally enough, two uniformed officers of that regiment guarded her safety by escorting her into and out of the building. If they had not done so, she would have been escorted—also naturally and properly—into and out of the building by the president and treasurer or other members of the administrative staff of the institution, all of whom are Negroes.

There isn't a decently reared man or woman in Virginia who would have hesitated an instant to accept such an escort in similar circumstances—at Howard or Hampton or any other place. Indeed, no decently reared man or woman anywhere in the whole South would have given the matter an instant's thought. Mrs. Roosevelt, of course, did not give it a thought—and if she had given it a passing thought, she would have recognized the eminent propriety of her escort. The only persons who feel they have to safeguard their dignity or protect themselves from encroachment upon their position are those who are certain neither or their dignity nor their position.

When Gen. Fitzhugh Lee was governor of Virginia, one of his daughters was married in what Virginia calls the Executive Mansion. Just before the service was to begin, Gen. Lee noticed that Miss Lee's old nurse was not in the room. He ordered the assembly to wait, and went upstairs and brought the old woman down—on his arm. He could afford to do that. And Mrs. Roosevelt could afford to accept her escort. Indeed, neither of them could—or would—have afforded not to.—Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
April 22, 1936

Where Condemnation Begins

Let it be understood that The News and Courier unqualifiedly condemns the circulation of pictures of Mrs. Roosevelt, wife of the president, with negro escorts, but its condemnation applies first to their circulation in The Afro-American, negro newspaper published in Washington. If that is to be silently approved by Senator Black's committee, why the hullabaloo about later circulation of them? Why does not the committee investigate The Afro-American? The Afro-American is not barred from the South, is it?

Columbia, S. C. State
April 27, 1936

"Alien Americans.

Even if seemingly overstrained, it may be beneficial to some in some way not yet discovered, but "Alien Americans," a book written by B. Schrieke, and issued by The Viking Press of New York, is not calculated to "help the cause along." While much in the book is good, it touches a sore spot that only time can cure. Such studies may be helpful in understanding the South's problem, but these will not be those who will or can aid in solving it.

While in Java in 1933, after having spent nearly 18 years in the Dutch East Indies as an officer in the bureau of native affairs and professor of sociology at the University of Batavia, B. Schrieke was invited by the Julius Rosenwald Fund to come to the United States and make a study of Negro life and education in the Southern states, on the basis of his "extensive but quite different experience in the Orient."

Although the problems to be studied "were entirely foreign to me," says the author, "since I had never visited the United States, nor had I ever met an American Negro," the board of trustees of the Rosenwald Fund "regarded these handicaps as an advantage, as a guaranty of unbaised opinion."

One of these opinions is thus expressed:

> The Civil war and Reconstruction issues, and everything connected with them, have grown into a monomania. From time to time liberal spirits earnestly try to free themselves and their section from the obsession and struggle bravely against traditionalism and conformity, but their voices are shouted down. Sometimes, when one thinks that liberation is approaching, a single incident stirs the emotions. Again there is resort to the old pattern. No infringement of the tradition escapes the attention of the Daughters of the Confederacy and other guardians of the past and of public opinion. This monomania has been the obstacle met by progressive minds hoping to change the general attitude—from Generals Lee and Longstreet on up to the present. The South is absorbed in itself; specifically, the South is absorbed in the Negro.

Upon reading this, there are critics who will be asking: Why does Northern capital send to Java for an "expert" to lay before the world the 'poverty" and "short-comings" of the South? Is there no 'poverty" in Java which might be studied? Are there no "short-comings" in the North which Northern capital might consider?

Even the unprejudiced might want to know why it is that such a to-do is made about the frost on the windows of the South by those whose front doorsteps are covered with snow. If a people like to dwell upon a golden past as part of their history, what valid objection? All people worth their salt treasure their history.

Surely we have problems. Faults and "monomanias." All people have them. Ten to one the Southerner knows his own better than any one else. Authorities agree that the Southerner is the only white man who understands even approximately the Negro, and that down South the Negro generally spaeking, is happier than anywhere else. The people here understand him, more or less.

The book has some excellences. It contains studies also of the Chinese and Japanese in California, Mexicans and Indians, America and the alien and a chapter on "Prejudice or Progress."

Anderson, S. C., Record
April 17, 1936

Hold Race Issue in Ga. Politics

Interracial Commission Condemns Racial Prejudice.

Atlanta, Ga., April 17—(U.P.)—Injection of racial prejudice into politics was condemned as "anti-social un-American and un-Christian," in resolutions adopted by the commission on interracial cooperation.

The commission's action was taken late yesterday, just a day after the U. S. senate committee investigating lobbying revealed that Vance Muse, of Houston, Texas, distributed over the South pictures of Mrs. Roosevelt entering a "negro meeting with two negro escorts."

Muse, general manager of the Southern committee to uphold the constitution, also testified that John J. Raskob and Pierre S. DuPont each contributed $5,000 for the anti-new deal "grass roots' convention at Macon. Governor Eugene Talmadge, of Georgia, was endorsed by the convention as a presidential candidate.

The interracial commission said that the senate committee "has produced testimony showing conclusively that some Southern politicians have accepted thousands of dollars from Northern financiers for the purpose of the basest racial prejudices for political ends." The commission called on "Southerners of all political faiths to repudiate such practices."

Dr. Edward Poteat, Jr., of Raleigh, was re-elected president of the commission and Dr. Will W. Alexander of Atlanta, executive director.

Ruston, La. Leader
December 16, 1936

MORE OF THE NEGRO QUESTION

The action of the Grand Jury in special session yesterday, returning no-bills against five white youths, despite the fact that the statements of the youths amounted to virtual confessions in the charges against them, seems to us a miscarriage of justice that holds possibilities of resulting in a serious problem later on. We know nothing of the jury's reasons for their action, nor the evidence presented before them, however, the charges against the youths were a matter of open record, as well as their statements in connection with the charges.

We say "possibilities of serious problems" because the charges resulted from an altercation between the five youths and two negroes, on the place owned by the negroes, and in the home of one of them, after night, while the boys were armed with .22 rifles. Unless the law officers of this parish are in position to protect the negroes in instances of this nature, how can we demand respect for the law from the negroes themselves?

The action of the jury Tuesday virtually handcuffed the sheriff and his department. If such is to be the future policy in regard to this question, it is our opinion that sooner or later, serious trouble will result, due to the negroes following the natural course of self-protection when the law fails to do so.

We are not up-holding the negro as such. We are merely contending that the racial question is one that we have with us, and one that must be dealt with wisely, in order to keep it from flaring out with serious results.

Race Problem - 1936
United States.

Bad Inheritance

The problem of race relations lingers on because so many persons inherit their opinions instead of thinking through. If this were not so segregation would vanish from the United States overnight. It flies in the face of every principle laid down in the Constitution and in the Declaration of Independence. The only reason for its existence is that habit persists.

Pub. 25 July 36

A public official who at a critical time gave his vote for an improvement that meant much to Negroes is typical of this attitude which handicaps Negroes. This man, who by his one act established beyond question of doubt his desire to serve all of the public, can see no harm in segregation.

Men and women like him, who think their attitude right because they mean no harm, retard progress toward racial understanding and fairplay. They are cruel without knowing it.

Segregation inflicts slavery upon the soul by denying ambition an outlet. It is the very opposite of the brotherhood which is enjoined upon men. It serves to excuse slum housing. It fathers peonage. It dulls the spirituality of the majority, because it makes their practice belie their profession.

The standard argument for segregation, "Would you have your daughter marry a Negro," is an evasion. Americans who would not have their families intermarried with Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Malays or even with the decadent nobility of Europe do not insist that they be segregated. Toward every other group except Negroes with whom they have lived on the most intimate terms for three hundred years, there is an intelligent attitude. Toward only them there is neither intelligence nor conscience.

A Hitler in Germany calls for Nordic supremacy and is laughed at for his assumption that by virtue of birth one nationality is superior to all the others. But a prejudiced American equals his absurdity by proclaiming that all Negroes are inferior, lumping together in one condemnation full blood Negroes and all degrees of admixture, even those with blue eyes and blond hair. He honors Negro geniuses like George Washington Carver and then refuses them ordinary courtesies, an act illogical and demoralizing.

Segregation is the hurdle which American democracy must overleap to be sincere just as the young man of wealth was required to sell all of his goods according to the Bible narrative.

Negroes accept distinctions based upon intelligence, culture, or property, but not the bar because of color and race, the work of their Maker. If discrimination is the divine will, the segregationist should disclose the way in which he became the confident of the Almighty. Segregation is his own arbitrary act, illogical, un-American and un-Christian. Confessing that would be his first step toward a saner, fairer treatment of his neighbor.

Christmas, when followed by New Year's resolutions as used to be the custom, gave men a renewed grip on their better selves. It is the one memory which pays dividends.

Race Problem – 1936
United States.

NATION
NEW YORK, N. Y.

JUN 17 1936

Progress in the South

IT is not wholly accidental that this week's issue of *The Nation* contains two articles dealing with the problems of the South. As Representative Maverick points out so graphically, the South is in ferment today as it has not been since the Civil War. The depression and the world-wide trend toward economic nationalism have threatened the foundations of its economic structure. The loss of the export market for cotton has perhaps permanently cut off its chief source of cash income. While the AAA and the Bankhead act staved off complete ruin for the landowners, hundreds of thousands of share-croppers have been deprived of their only means of earning a livelihood. In the old South the situation is particularly grave because of competition from the more efficient cotton producers of the Southwest.

Barring war or a miracle—such as a drastic cut in the American tariff—cotton will never again play the dominant role in the South that it has played in the past. A complete reconstruction of the economic life of the entire region is inescapable, although it will be greatly retarded by political and cultural backwardness. The decay and corruption resulting from the single-party system makes it unrealistic to expect progressive leadership through ordinary political channels. Denial of franchise to the underprivileged, both Negro and white, precludes any effective revolt through the ballot-box against the power of the land-owning aristocracy.

Programs such as the TVA—described on another page by Stuart Chase—are bound to contribute to the removal of some of these barriers; but it goes almost without saying that the motivating impulse for a fundamental reshaping of the social pattern must come from within. There are numerous indications that this process is already under way. The existence of militant organizations of share-croppers in Alabama and Arkansas, the formation of the Modern Democrats in Florida, and the successful fight being waged by the progressive Democratic wing in Texas are illustrative of the ferment at work. The recent conference of the Southern Policy Committee at Chattanooga brought together many of the leaders in this movement. Composed of professors, editors, and business men, the group represented a fair cross-section of Southern progressive opinion. The moderate nature of their recommendations is a reflection, at least in part, of the magnitude of the problems which they faced. As immediate steps for improving the economic status of agriculture, the conference recommended passage of the Bankhead-Jones farm-homes bill, the organization of farmers in producers' cooperatives, the reduction of tariffs, the establishment of laws for the enforcement of minimum housing standards applicable to rural conditions, and the extension of the federal Social Security Act to cover agricultural unemployment. In the industrial field the conference went on record as favoring laws prohibiting the abuse of injunctions in labor disputes, guaranteeing the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively, restricting the work week, and establishing minimum wages. It also recommended ratification of the child-labor amendment, and the passage of legislation implementing the Social Security Act.

Mild as they are, these proposals are indicative of a definite social awakening on the part of certain "responsible" elements in the South. It is disheartening, however, to realize that even in a group as progressive as this there is so little disposition to come to grips with fundamental problems. It is almost incredible, for example, to find that apart from general recommendations regarding the extension of suffrage and educational facilities it offered no specific proposals for aiding the Negro. For though a Southerner may be right in arguing that Negroes will be aided by any measure that is designed to benefit the South as a whole, it can scarcely be denied that the colored population as a group is suffering from innumerable economic and social disabilities which must be removed before they can make their full contribution to the renaissance of the South. There was a similar disinclination to face the fact that the injustices of which the group complained are deeply ingrained in the profit system. Except for a mild indorsement of collective bargaining, the committee showed little disposition to choose weapons adequate for the task at hand. The conference apparently ruled out political action, either through the Democratic Party or by the formation of a new party, as impracticable under present conditions. This may or may not have been a wise decision. But if the ordinary avenues of popular expression are closed in the South, it would seem all the more imperative that attention be centered on the organization of rural and urban labor for direct economic struggle.

The Wrong Step

PEACEFUL protest is the right of every citizen, and the Supreme Court has taken cognizance of that right. Every American is entitled to voice his opinions on subjects of public interest, and it is both right and gratifying to know that Harlem is not derelict in denouncing the Italian grab of Ethiopia. Fascism and imperialism are two menaces which should bring forth the sternest criticism and moral opposition which minority groups can muster.

On the other hand, we look with extreme disfavor upon demonstrations in Harlem this week which were turned into attacks upon Italian shops in the community. Fish markets and vegetable stands have stood the brunt of the assaults, and considerable property damage has resulted.

Venting wrath upon Harlem merchants of Italian origin solves no problem. Moreover, it reeks with injustice as rank as that perpetrated upon the Ethiopian empire by the arch blackshirt bully, Benito Mussolini.

Many of the Italians in Harlem are here because they want no part of Fascism or Il Duce. Some of them suffered under Mussolini's regime and fled to the United States for refuge.

Turn that resentment into peaceful mass meetings. Bombard the League of Nations, France, Great Britain and the United States governments with messages asking for continued war bans on goods to Italy and no recognition for the grab.

New York Herald Tribune

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
June 20, 1936

Speaking as a New Dealer

Attention, Men and Brethren, The News and Courier will for (only) a few minutes of your valuable time speak as a loyal New Dealer, as a Roosevelt-for-reelection-Ickes-Harry-Hopkins-Madam Perkins anti-Supreme Court man:

The "Black Legion" of Michigan should be investigated by congress.

The "floggings" and other performances among the strikers of the tenants and share-croppers union in Arkansas should be investigated by congress.

Tampa, Florida, should be investigated by congress.

The alleged killing of negro farm workers in Alabama should be investigated by

congress.

The burning of a house in which a "bonus celebration" was held in a Texas town and the attempt of a mob to capture negroes who killed an officer should be investigated by congress.

The alleged unfairness in the administration of "relief" in certain counties of South Carolina should be investigated by congress.

In a great city of Upper South Carolina a newspaper printed a candidate's announcement when another newspaper might have printed it first Congress should investigate.

The refusal of the Democrats of South Carolina to admit negroes to their primaries should be investigated by congress.

Lax enforcement of Pennsylvania's "Civil Rights" law should be investigated by congress.

All grievances alleged by negroes in South Carolina as well as in Arkansas should be investigated by congress.

The investigation of the Townsendites was right and should continue.

The Coughlinites should be investigated.

The News and Courier (if sufficiently important) should be investigated by congress.

The strikes or recent strikes in Gaffney and other parts of South Carolina should be investigated by congress.

The "vagaries of the weather" and the drought in South Carolina should be investigated by congress.

As a consistent New Dealer it is clear to The News and Courier that this country can be carried on nicely only as ONE BIG STATE and that it is preposterous to leave to Michigan, Alabama, Arkansas, South Carolina to manage their own affairs.

(Having gotten the foregoing out of our system, The News and Courier returns to its normal condition of Reaction, Toryism, and sin in which it was born.)

A MERITED REBUKE

Earnest protest against the effort to arouse the race issue in the Georgia campaign for the United States senate is voiced in a letter written to Governor Talmadge by James E. Shepard, president of the North Carolina College for Negroes at Durham, an outstanding leader of his race who holds the universal respect of the white citizens of his state.

President Shepard's letter, a copy of which he sends to The Constitution, is reproduced elsewhere on this page.

There will be general approval by the sober-minded people of Georgia of his dignified presentation of the case of the negroes and agreement in his statement that "it is incomprehensible to me that any southern democrat should in the year 1936 lift his voice against the negro as a race and traffic upon the prejudice against him."

The effort of Governor Talmadge to gain political support through appeal to race prejudice and passion is meeting with merited condemnation by the right-thinking people both of Georgia and other states. The fact that he has gone so far as to make use of the facilities of the state government to circulate his false and inflammatory literature adds to the seriousness of his offense.

His efforts are similar to those of the unscrupulous polticians who raised the issue of the bloody shirt in the north and east following the War Between the States. For many years the bloody shirt has been gone in the north, as has the appeal to race prejudice in the south, until it was raised by Georgia's Governor in his attempt to discredit the administration of a democratic president.

In a recent issue of the Statesman, of which the Governor purports to be the editor, another vicious attack is leveled at his party on the ground that social equality existed in the recent Philadelphia convention. Under his own signature, Governor Talmadge writes:

> There were a great many negro delegates at the Philadelphia convention. Along with the negro delegates, there were a great many negro visitors and newspaper reporters.
>
> These negro delegates and newspaper reporters stopped at the same hotel with our white ladies and our white men from the south. They ate at the same tables. They stood around in the same hotel lobbies, chatting.
>
> In other words, social equality and political equality was established at the convention in Philadelphia.

All of which is not true, and the Governor undoubtedly knows that it is not. He knows that no such conditions would have been tolerated by the hundreds of leading men and women delegates representing the southern states at the convention.

Through the same periodical the Governor voices a frenzied protest against the "offense" of having a negro preacher included among the considerable number of ministers chosen to offer prayers at the national convention—a step taken in recognition of the fact that the negroes have what is, in effect, the balance of power vote in several of the important states of the east and middle west.

Another howl is raised by the Governor because a negro congressman from Chicago was among the 50 delegates selected to second the nomination of President Roosevelt.

This negro, a democrat, secured his seat in congress through the defeat of DePriest, a south-hating republican negro representative. The manner in which he has conducted himself in the house has received the commendation of every member on the democratic side, and is in striking contrast to the trouble-making and defiant conduct of the negro DePriest, whose occupancy in office was marked by continuous and vicious attacks on the south.

These indisputable facts, along with the proven falsity of his attacks on President Roosevelt and the members of his family on the ground of social equality, are wilfully disregarded by the Governor in his indefensible waving of the flag of prejudice and passion in the hope to gain the support of the ignorant and the intolerant.

The resentment against the Governor's inflammatory statements is not confined to Georgia, but is being expressed throughout the south, and even by outstanding newspapers elsewhere who are supporting Governor Landon. Excerpts from a number of these editorials appear on the opposite page.

The intemperate and inexcusable statements of the Governor have brought Georgia before the eyes of the whole country, and it is not surprising that the hope is universal that this great state will not commit itself to the kind of intolerant, intemperate and unscrupulous representation it would have if Governor Talmadge should be sent to the senate.

The enlightened electorate of Georgia is not likely to approve of the effort of Governor Talmadge to revive the demagoguery of the Jeff Davises, the Vardamans and the Heflins of past years. The extent to which their states suffered from the bigotry of such leaders stands as a warning to the voters of Georgia not to submit themselves, nor the country as a whole, to the destructive policies of such leaders.

Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch
December 20, 1936

Treatment of Negroes

To the Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Sir,—I read with amusement a letter, written by J. H. Saunders Jr. of Chase City, taking you to task, because of your attitude in the Scottsboro case and your assertion that Negroes are not treated fairly in the South. I wish to refute his statement that the Negro is petted in the South.

For more than a generation, I have traveled on pleasure and business both in the North and South, always to find that the treatment was better to my group in the former section than in the latter.

The first is the difference in treatment in public carriers. In the fall of 1935, I boarded a train in Southwest Pennsylvania to return to my home in this city. Until I reached Washington, I was permitted to travel in a first-class coach with all other passengers, and did so only with this thought: I was simply getting equality in accommodation for equality in price paid for my passage. When I entrained in Washington, however, with the rest of the other Negro passengers, I was placed in a coach so dirty that decency compelled me to complain to the conductor, who promised that he would transfer me as soon as he could find room in another coach.

A few years ago, a party of us took a midnight train from Richmond to a Southern State and spent some time at a junction town. One of our party entered the station, asked for a time table and was told by the agent that he did not have any. The matter was brought to the attention of a railroad man who was in charge of our party. He entered the station and returned with an armful of time tables and freely distributed them to all who wished them. I suppose the agent was too busy thinking how he could "pet" a Negro to give him a time table.

Your correspondent also referred to courts by saying: "The decent people of the North never attempt to have decisions of our courts changed." This leads me to cite a Northern and Southern attitude of the courts to the Negro. The Southern attitude was a daily happening in one of our local courts. In this court, a colored citizen was invariably referred to as "nigger," and this writer has often heard policemen in this court when the clerk would call a prisoner's name, go to the cage and say: "Come on out of there, nigger."

The truth about the matter is that the Negro does not wish any petting, either in the South or North. What he does wish, however, is the opportunity, which should be given to every American citizen for self-determination and to be unhampered by discriminatory laws and practices.

Richmond. SNIKPOH,

Race Problem-1936
United States.

Talmadge's Effort To Inflame Racial Passion and Prejudice Sternly Rebuked

Editor Constitution: I inclose you herewith copy of a letter which I have addressed to the governor of Georgia. I am writing this letter, as I stated to him, solely in behalf of the negro and a desire to see good relations between the races.

JAMES E. SHEPARD,
President North Carolina College for Negroes.
Durham, N. C., July 24, 1936.

Hon. Eugene Talmadge,
Governor of Georgia,
Atlanta, Ga.
My dear Sir:

In writing to you as a non-resident of Georgia I recall one of the proverbs of Solomon which reads: "He that passeth by, and meddleth with strife not belonging to him, is like one that taketh a dog by the ears."

But since the "strife" into which I enter is the race controversy I think everybody will agree that it affects profoundly and everywhere the white and colored people of the country, and because I believe he does, I am making this appeal to you.

The newspapers of your state say that for the first time in 16 years there is a stir in Georgia politics over the negro. It is not contended that any member of my race has misused the few and poor privileges accorded him by the laws and practices of the state of Georgia. I have read quite a number of extracts from your speeches. I do not find in them any charges that such conditions as you attack are in the slightest measure the precipitated by the negroes of Georgia or elsewhere. I observe with some eternal hostility to certain fanciful honors and recognitions that may come to the negro. I often wonder why governors of our southern states do not become much more excited over rights and privileges accorded our negro citizens by our federal and state constitutions, our congresses and legislatures, but universally denied in practice, than over things that the negro cannot hope to gain during the lifetime of any adult of today?

I wonder, too, what the industrious, the intelligent and the law-abiding members of my race must do to win your friendship to the extent that you will use your great office to guarantee them their rights? What price must they pay to have peace, a rest from ceaseless agitation against the right to participate in the affairs of this country into which they were brought against their will, and freedom from exploitation in our politics?

If there is a negro in Georgia making himself obnoxious over any powers bestowed by his government, I have not heard of him. But a reading of your speeches would lead an uninformed man to believe that the negroes, even as Sherman, are marching on Georgia. Just a few weeks ago, a negro clergyman of Philadelphia, on invitation of the democratic national convention, offered the prayer, Senator Smith, of South Carolina, rudely and irreverently walked out, leaving a trail of racial rancor behind him. I can understand no man whose race antipathy would lead him to the extreme of resenting a negro prayer.

It does not dispirit me that you and southern leaders who hold your extreme views, make oath of everlasting hostility to all suggestions of "social equality." I have never understood how any intelligent southern white man can fear "social equality" at the hands of a people almost universally denied political, educational, economic and judicial equality. No other people ever gained social standing when denied every other equality. The negro does desire social justice, and he meets every day and in every forum the barriers to that justice. The white man who makes all the laws, names all the administrators of those laws, sets all the standards of education, fixes all the social canons, and holds a monopoly on all the means of promoting the general welfare, refuses to live by his own enactments and unwritten commitments and holds the denial of the benefits of his own laws to be in the interest of the general welfare. It is incomprehensible to me that any southern democrat should the year 1936 lift his voice against the negro as a race and traffic upon prejudices against him.

Nearly 50 years ago the golden voice of Henry W. Grady was thrilling the world as he carried the gospel of peace and goodwill to the hatreds left by the war. Georgia is rich with traditions. Mr. Grady is one of them. If he ever uttered a word to promote race bitterness I do not recall it. The Interracial Commission which has done so much more than any other agency to give heart and hope to disadvantaged negroes and whites, was born in Georgia. I know your administration has been marked by a sturdy championship of the cause of the poor and helpless. Do the thousands and tens of thousands of underprivileged negroes, the sharecroppers, the uneducated, the unprotected make no appeal to you? Have they received more than they by their fidelity and their patient labors deserve? In a word, is there the slightest justification for raising the race issue in a campaign for the United States senate?

Yours respectfully,
JAMES E. SHEPARD, President.

BAD MEDICINE.
(From The Baltimore Sun.)

The lower tier of southern states have long been cursed by a brand of political leadership resting on the lowest possible basis. From Vardaman and Jeff Davis on down through Tom Heflin and Huey Long, the south has inflicted upon itself and upon the nation some of the worst rabble-rousers a free people ever had to put up with.

After Huey Long's death the school seemed to die away, but there now appears a new figure in Georgia in the person of Governor Talmadge, who bears all the earmarks of the old crowd. Governor Talmadge has been quite a cut-up during his tenure of office as Georgia's chief executive, and now he is campaigning for the senate against Richard B. Russell Jr.

He has run true to the usual practice of his kind by racing the race issue. That was the chief stock in trade of all the Vardamans and Jeff Davises, of Arkansas, and the Heflins until the Smith candidacy gave Heflin a great opportunity to exploit the Catholic issue. Huey Long, who came a little later, was the first and perhaps the only southern rabble-rouser who did not exploit either of these prejudices in conspicuous fashion. Talmadge is returning to the old bogey. He is attacking the Roosevelt administration for what little recognition it has given the negro race, and is yelling vociferously about this being "a white man's country."

It is a poor way to campaign, and if Georgia is wise it will give the campaigner a resounding slap at the polls in the democratic primary.

TALMADGE'S LAST STAND.
(From the Anniston (Ala.) Star.)

The Talmadge-Russell race is of national interest, for there is no other man in the country who has fought the Roosevelt administration harder than the red-gallused Georgia dictator and the result will be interpreted as a test of Roosevelt's popularity in the so-called solid south. To all intents and purposes, Talmadge is making his last stand and it is predicted that he will go the way of Senator Gore, of Oklahoma, also a Roosevelt critic, who recently ran fourth in a field of pro-Roosevelt candidates.

Every republican in the United States would take heart if Talmadge should succeed in beating Dick Russell, for his policies have been more republican than democratic; but it seems to be in the cards that Talmadge has run his course and that the democrats of Georgia will return to the senate a member of a family that has contributed much to the illustrious history of that great state.

MORE ABOUT TALMADGE.
(From the Huntsville (Ala.) Times)

The political antics of Governor Talmadge of Georgia are almost as much a pain in the neck as are those of another democrat, Congressman Zioncheck, of Seattle.

There is a difference, though—Zioncheck's are committed in a spirit of fun, and often while he is under the influence of drink, while those of Talmadge apparently are premeditated, and carried out in all the malice of sobriety.

A year ago, he hoped to win national recognition by proclaiming Mr. Roosevelt a communist, and denouncing everything he stood for.

Roosevelt won the entire Georgia delegation to Philadelphia without a struggle, as Talmadge was afraid to put out a contesting slate, knowing its certain defeat.

He subsided, in fact, to the point where he announced he was still a democrat, and therefore would stand on the Philadelphia platform and support the nominees.

This was for the purpose of making himself eligible to run in the primary for the senate seat held by young Senator Dick Russell.

The moment the Philadelphia convention was over, he could not restrain himself longer, but launched into another tirade and made the ridiculous charge that, because negroes were allowed to sit in the convention as delegates from a few of the northern states, the convention thereby established "social equality and political equality."

THE LONE VOICE OF BITTERNESS.
(From The Albany Herald.)

With the dregs of disappointment embittering his soul, the Governor of Georgia seeks to fan into flame the embers of racial prejudice in his own state. It is a pitiful example of willingness to injure Georgia for the sake of possible brief political advantage.

"We would like to assure the Governor of Georgia that it will not be necessary for him to call out his personal bodyguard in order to prevent 'social and political equality' in Georgia. Georgia newspapers have made no attempt to suppress any Philadelphia convention news.

"It was not the Philadelphia convention that raised the 'political and social equality' issue in Georgia, but Governor Eugene Talmadge, whose hatred of President Roosevelt and all for which his program stands is known throughout the nation.

"His is the lone voice of bitterness that's raised in all the south."

BLOWING HOT AND COLD

Only a few months ago Governor Talmadge delivered an oration at the tomb of Abraham Lincoln, the great negro emancipator, extolling his virtues and glorifying his deeds.

This address was delivered in the presence of a vast republican audience, which applauded his glorification of Lincoln, and his castigation of President Roosevelt and the democratic administration.

At that time Georgia's governor was laboring under the delusion that he was presidential timber, possibly the republican presidential nominee.

It was under the spell of this surprising delusion that Governor Talmadge lauded the great emancipator of the negro.

Then coming home, his dream shattered, the Governor started his campaign of racial prejudice and passion at the abortive grass-roots convention at Macon. Since that time he has waved the red flag of race hatred in his desperate effort to retrieve his lost political fortune.

Not in 50 years has such a despicable and dangerous appeal to passion and prejudice been sounded by a public leader in Georgia.

No wonder that the Baltimore Sun, although among the strongest opponents of the New Deal, editorially comments that, in Governor Talmadge, this state now has an example of the "leadership resting on the lowest possible basis which has cursed the southern states in the past, and which has inflicted upon the south and upon the nation some of the worst rabble-rousers a free people ever had to put up with."

It is to the undying credit of the people of Georgia that they have never been swayed by such appeals to passion and prejudice—and Governor Talmadge will find that they will not now.

All the more inexcusable, therefore, is his effort to bolster his personal political fortunes at such a price.

Clarendon, Va., Chronicle
June 19, 1936

NEGROES GROWING RESENTFUL AGAINST MR. ROOSEVELT

BECAUSE of treatment of their race by this administration, negro leaders are growing resentful. The rank and file of negroes are talking "Back to Abraham Lincoln." That is now a slogan among colored voters. Their charges against the administration that all the negro employes of a great dam

out West were removed when the force was reduced, and that negroes were discriminated against in the use of dwellings erected on the works, and that they were denied transportation on public busses to and from work, has caused the National Association for the Protection of Colored People to collect numerous instances of discrimination against negroes by this administration.

They are not satisfied with social equality at the White House promised them by Mrs. Roosevelt, nor with her having a colored woman as her guest for several days at the White House graciously attended by White House servants, nor by lunches, buffet lunches, dinners and teas given to negro men and women at the White House. The negro leaders do not show any great appreciation of such things.

They complain that Mr. Roosevelt broke his promise to put the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill through Congress, and assert that the republicans in the Senate and House were the only ones that gave the bill support.

They assert that under the New Deal lynching has increased, negroes are being disfranchised, are denied equal opportunity, and economic and educational justice in the courts because of their color, and that Mr. Roosevelt has done nothing about the matter.

Negro leaders assert that there has never been so much lynching in America as under the administration of Mr. Roosevelt, and in 1935 there were twenty-five lynchings and one hundred and two attempts by mobs at lynching and no punishment of any of the mobs, and that in April, 1936 there were three lynchings in six days and that six persons were lynched and fifteen who narrowly escaped lynching between January and April. They have gathered a history of 6000 lynchings in the United States since 1882.

The National Association for the Protection of Colored people charge that in this administration Mr. Roosevelt has failed to stop discrimination against negroes in federal relief work, and that contractors on federal jobs have been permitted to discriminate against negro workmen well qualified to do the work, and that negroes have been denied justice in the distribution of federal money for educational purposes. The negroes charge Mr. Roosevelt with not enforcing the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and with taking no steps necessary to the enfranchisement of negroes and the reduction of representation in congress from those states that deny the negro the ballot. They charge that the negro has been excluded from the benefits of social welfare legislation, and that negroes have been discriminated against by this administration in the administration of the Civil Service Laws, and that the negro will not get justice in the marking of civil service examination papers until finger prints are substituted for photographs.

Verily the negro is not yet owned by the New Deal despite its efforts at negro social equality. "Back to Abraham Lincoln" is heard everywhere and means votes against the New Deal.

Without Prejudice?

Because Professor E. E. Ericson, white, of the University of North Carolina, ate dinner in Durham, N.C., with James W. Ford, Communist candidate for Vice President, and an interracial group, the Raleigh (N.C.) News and Observer is campaigning for his dismissal.

The News says Professor Ericson was careless of the welfare of the university and adds:

> In the South men believe, *quite apart from prejudice*, that the public welfare will be best served by preserving racial integrity and that the best way to preserve racial integrity is to keep the races wholly apart in their social relations.—(Emphasis ours.)

Men of the South can believe what they please, but they cannot, unless they prove it, declare that their beliefs are "quite apart from prejudice."

Half the aristocrats of the South suckled at the breast of a colored nurse without impairing their racial integrity.

All over our country, members of both races sit at table together and by such gatherings inspire and cement race relationships.

The belief that the races must be kept socially apart is based upon the traditions of slavery which the South seeks to preserve seventy years after the Civil War.

Those traditions were founded upon the theory that inhuman treatment of colored people would keep them in their place as slaves and preserve their status as property.

From their selfish and immoral point of view this belief was reasonable; from the point of view of humanity, it was prejudice and race hate.

Voltaire called prejudice the reasoning of fools.

This editorial does not go that far but we do insist that those promoters of racial separation and class strife shall not be permitted to get away with the pious claim that they are acting without prejudice.

Strained Liberalism

ONE OF the dictionary definitions of "liberal" is: "Possessing a free and generous heart; bountiful; not bigoted; broad. A member of a party which advocates liberty of thought, speech, or action." There is a small, but growing school of liberals in the South in which may be found persons whom the above definition fits literally; others who find it difficult to fill the role without reservation.

Liberalism and high intellectual attainment are not always synonymous, although the southern liberals as a rule are distinguished for scholarship. Some of their leaders hold important professorships in the leading colleges, some occupy the important editorial positions on a limited group of forward moving newspapers, and others are leaders in commerce and industry.

One of their chief preoccupations is "the problem of race." That is the question mark that is met everywhere when one starts out to explore the political, social, and economic order as it is found in the South. In their explorations a few of the more intellectual liberals do not hesitate before anything that will lead them to the truth.

In such a quest a group of North Carolina liberals which included Professor E. E. ERICSON of the University of North Carolina participated in a luncheon conference with JAMES W. FORD, Communist candidate for Vice-President when he spoke in Durham a week prior to the election.

When it became known that Professor ERICSON attended the luncheon some of the university alumni, and others, undertook to raise a furor, but had little success. It seems that the supply of furor ingredients such as raised the roof off of the South when ROOSEVELT the I gave BOOKER WASHINGTON a cup of tea in the White House, and that banished JOHN SPENCER BASSETT from Trinity College in North Carolina when he wrote that WASHINGTON was the greatest man the South had produced in a hundred years with the exception of ROBERT E. LEE, has lost some of its potency. The incident may still hold elements of much trouble for Professor ERICSON but the score thus far shows only that the dictionary definition does not fit some of the liberals.

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IN STUDYING scientifically a social question so vast as the "problem of race" the student must handle laboratory specimens. Just how far he goes with his explorations is for the student to decide, but the further he goes the more he will learn. The seeker after truth will not find it by staying away from the laboratory and confining his search to the pages of text-books written pontifically by other students who also studied the question abstractly.

The question of social equality entered the minds of the liberals who objected to Professor ERICSON'S experiment. That question is so delicate and has so many disturbing implications that we hesitate to discuss it at all. To some people it means far more than mere racial intermingling on a plane of equality—a form of sociality. To them it means not only a denial of what the realistic liberal would call liberty of personal action, but a denial of the right to vote, to hold public office, to avoid discrimination in the distribution of public benefits, to receive an equal wage for equal service, and any and all opportunity to escape from economic bondage. In its essence social equality is to a great many people the enjoyment of any rights or privileges under the law that lead to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We fail to comprehend how they can achieve their objective by traveling in opposite directions at one and the same time. Such a course subjects liberalism in the South they have addressed themselves to the task of spreading more equitably the fundamental things that lead to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We fail to comprehend how they can achieve their objective by traveling in opposite directions at one and the same time. Such a course subjects liberalism to undue strain.

If we have understood correctly the writings and the oral pronouncements of the leading liberals in the South they have addressed themselves to the task of spreading more equitably the fundamental things that lead to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We fail to comprehend how they can achieve their objective by traveling in opposite directions at one and the same time. Such a course subjects liberalism to undue strain.

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Race Problem-1936
West Indies.

Aurter-Dispatch 1-11-36 New York, N.Y.

IN NEW YORK CITY the municipal legislators are called aldermen, but in Kingston, Jamaica, they are councillors. Here is the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation Council. From left to right (sitting) are R. K. Nunes, S. R. Cargill, Mayor H. A. L. Simpson, Dr. O. E. Anderson, deputy mayor; and George Seymour-Seymour. Standing are E. G. McDonald, H. L. Harris, town clerk; E. D. R. Evans, and J. C. Chisholm. All are colored except Mr. Nunes. The entire council is not shown.

Bermuda Trade Development Board

Publishers Photo Service

Bermuda: whose security and horse-and-buggy quiet is threatened by overpopulation of Negroes

BERMUDA BIRTHS: Governor Considers Control, Fears Tourist Bubble Might Burst

Literary Digest

The sparkling coral beaches, lily-scented fields and white limestone roofs of Great Britain's Bermuda Islands yearly attract thousands of American vacationists. Gaily oblivious to the island government's problems, they find the absence of automobile traffic refreshing, rediscover the joy of riding in open victorias, and the art of pedaling a bicycle.

10-10-36

Ruled by a British Governor, Bermudians inhabit only twenty of the 360 islands which form the coral group, pursuing their daily work unruffled by great doings in the outside world.

New York

Gentle Hint—Last week, however, they were gently warned by their new sixty-year-old Governor, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Reginald J. T. Hildyard, that the increasing likelihood of a war, or even an epidemic, might easily burst the profitable tourist bubble and leave them at the mercy of their skimpy home industry.

Hardly five months on the job, the robust, gray-mustached soldier, who finds relaxation in golfing and hunting, served notice on the 29,665 inhabitants, 17,862 of whom are Negroes, that he was considering the establishment of birth control clinics to check the rapid growth of the Negro population, which he deems a serious problem.

For years, this vexing issue has troubled the Government, which often found it necessary to get subsidies from the mother country whenever the tourist trade, chief source of income, fell sharply. To maintain the British Colonial tradition of financial independence, the Governor last week urged his people to work for a reserve and not to rely overly on tourists, who already have spurred an abnormal building boom.

Deadlock—Last year, the House of Assembly which, like the Executive Council, is appointed by the Crown to help govern the colony on the pattern of Britain's Parliament, deadlocked on a report advocating that information on birth control be disseminated among the people. Opposition cropped up among the Negro element, which dubbed the move unfair and discriminatory.

The report pointed out that in Bermuda's area of 19.3 square miles, the density of population represented 1,462 persons per square mile, as compared with 40.6 in the United States and 897 in China's most crowded Kiangsu Province. Since 1930, the whites have decreased from 15,725 to 11,807, while the Negroes increased from 16,415 to 17,862.

Against Autos—To maintain the picturesque, insular character of their islands, the people are dead set against introducing automobile traffic. Not even the Governor may ride in a motor-car, and only ambulances and fire-engines are gasoline-driven.

The islands enjoy a remarkably fertile soil, but depend entirely on rain-water for drinking and irrigation purposes. Agriculture flourishes and a brisk trade is carried on with the United States in the islands'

Cuban's Confession Lays Bomb Plot to Spaniards

Negro Names Terrorist Group as 'Intellectual Authors' of Fatal Blast

HAVANA, Sept. 21 (AP)—A Cuban Negro, responsible sources said tonight, confessed his own participation and named a group of Spaniards in Havana as the "intellectual authors" of the dynamiting of the newspaper El Pais, in which four persons were killed Sunday.

Telegraph 9-21-36

He was reported to have made the statement after almost 24 hours of continuous questioning by police. A white man — another Cuban — was questioned with the Negro, but refused to admit any part in the dynamiting.

Another development which brought the Spanish radical theory to the fore was an informal statement by a police official in which the officer said that the investigation was "progressing" and that "we are making more arrests right along, especially among Spanish Socialists."

The Negro was said to have related a complicated story of dealings between professional Cuban terrorists and Spanish radicals.

Dynamite Fund Described

He said he knew a group of Spanish radicals in Havana had put aside $5,000 for the purchase of trucks and dynamite. Approximately $4,500 of the money was spent for that purpose.

The money, according to the Negro's statement, was paid by the Spaniards to the leaders of a Cuban radical secret terrorist organization. He gave the leader's name — the name of a man with a long record of bombings charged against him but who has repeatedly evaded police traps.

The Negro said he was paid a small sum of cash by this man and ordered to drive the truck to El Pais and park it. The Negro claimed the leader told him he would be killed if he failed to comply with orders.

Buyer of Truck Traced

It was also reported by a reliable informant that after obtaining the statement from the Negro, investigators confronted the man who sold the truck with a group of photos.

This man, it was reported, immediately picked out a photograph of the man named by the Negro and said he was the purchaser of the two dynamite vehicles—the one that was blown to bits at El Pias and the one that was found parked and loaded with dynamite at the Diario de la Markna plant.

Although the seller of the two trucks was being held as a material witness, it was understood police virtually had absolved him.

famous onions, potatoes, beetroots, tomatoes and lily bulbs; while the abundant flower fields, especially the famous lily beds, have encouraged the manufacture of perfumery.

Shipwrecks—Discovered in the fifteenth century, the island group early became noted for shipwrecks among European navigators and writers, as judged by Shakespeare's allusion to the "still vexed Bermoothes" in his "Tempest." Its name is derived from Juan de Bermudez, who was shipwrecked on its reefs in 1915. Later it was rechristened Somers Island, after the British admiral whose galley foundered on its sandstone in 1609. But its first name persisted even when, three years later, Virginia settlers colonized it under British tutelage and imported slaves for plantation work, thus creating a serious population problem.

Meanwhile, the British Admiralty decided to turn it into a naval station for the North Atlantic and the West Indian Fleet, stationing a garrison of 2,500 men there. Last year, construction began on a modern port and trade center at St. George, and an air-base to link other Atlantic air-ports with Hamilton, the Capital, where Negroes and white folk speak English with an Oxford accent.

Enough of Marcantonio

Either house of Congress can refuse to seat a member because it does not like the color of his eyes, and there is much more than the color of his eyes which justifies the exclusion from the House of Representatives of the pestiferous mischief-maker, Vito Marcantonio.

There can be no doubt that he is a radical of the worst type but he is also a typical demagogue and the feeling is strong that most of his capers are intended for his own selfish interests rather than the interest of those classes for whom he pretends to function.

The situation in Puerto Rico is highly complicated. There is a noisy minority faction which insists upon complete independence of the United States. But when a memeber of the Senate, during the last session, introduced a bill proposing the immediate independence of Puerto Rico, it sent a shiver of dismay throughout the island. Even those local politicians who pretend to stand for independence realized that it would be utterly destructive of the best interests of the people if the United States were to turn them adrift. Spokesmen rushed to Washington and begged, almost on their knees, that the United States would not grant what these politicians had been clamoring for.

Perhaps it was not expected that Congress would pass the measure granting this independence but it at least called the bluff of the Peurto Rican politicians.

It is in the face of all this that Representative Marcantonio recently organized a parade of 10 thousand Puerto Ricans which marched through Harlem, the Negro section of New York, loudly demanding that their country be set free. The explosive little Italian charged that American imperialism had converted Puerto Rico "into a slave country." Return it, he shouted, to the Puerto Rican people and then it will be a real country with no tyranny.

Of course the minds of the Negro population of Harlem was greatly inflamed by these incendiary utterances, all of which was nothing in the world but a lot of political hokum to insure the re-election of Marcantonio.

This is but another instance of agitators who come to this country from a homeland far less free and prosperous than the United States and then seek to make trouble for the country which has given them asylum. This applies to Marcantonio and the 10 thousand Puerto Ricans.

The fiery representative from New York city never loses an opportunity to head a parade of incendiaries and the question arises if the time has not come for the next Congress, if he is elected a member, to refuse to let him take his seat. We have been far too tolerant of these agitators already and there are strong hopes that the next Congress will return to the sanity and conservatism which properly belong to that body.

WEST INDIANS OPEN BATTLE AGAINST BIAS

Islanders Are Bitter Against Governor of Bermuda

While British subjects and others in the United States are denouncing the birth control proposal of the governor of Bermuda, the people in the islands are planning to war on the race bias which His Excellency is preaching against Negroes.

Bermudians see in recent speeches by Sir Reginald Hildyard justification of the present discrimination against colored people in hotels, theatres, restaurants, schools and playgrounds, and a new and more intensified form of race prejudice in the colony.

Prejudice on the American plan was proclaimed in his Armistice Day speech to the Bermuda War Veterans' Association, of which he is president, when Sir Reginald declared, among other things, that:

"In England today the schooling of children is carried out on very sound lines. When children leave elementary school they may go to a secondary or grammar school and advance by stages, so that they may fit themselves for good positions in the world.

"Bermuda will have to spend money so that children of the white section of the community will be given a better chance in life," emphasized the governor.

These remarks, according to Bermudians here and at home, clearly indicate the anti-Negro attitude of the governor, who recently warned the people of the islands that, owing to "the rapid growth of the Negro population, which is a serious problem, birth-control clinics would be established by the government for the use of Negroes."

Protest Follows Plan.

A storm of protest is rising against Sir Reginald's plans for wholesale birth-control. Last Thursday a large crowd passed resolutions condemning the proposal, and calling upon the British government to put a stop to the plans of the governor.

The mass meeting, which was held under the auspices of the Council on West Indian Affairs, St. Ambrose Episcopal Church, United Aid for Persons of African Descent, Burmuda Benevolent Association and the Caribbean Union, is the beginning of a number of other meetings to be held.

Typical of the opinions expressed at the mass meeting is the following letter, which says in part.

"The suggestion of Sir Reginald J. T. Hildyard, governor of Bermuda, to establish birth control in order to limit the Negro population in the islands is immoral, indecent and anti-Christian.

"Right-minded people have always regretted the tendency toward birth control, whether with or without official approval. To suggest such a practice for a single racial group is to add insult to the other discriminatory tendencies too frequently perpetrated."

(Signed) ROLIN DODD,
Rector, All Souls Church,
88 St. Nicholas Avenue.

Race Problem - 1936
West Indies.

Virgin Islands.

Virgin Islands Women Win Right To Vote On Ruling By U. S. Judge

ST. THOMAS, Virgin Islands—Native women have equal rights with men to vote for members of local councils and candidates for other electoral offices, it was held here Saturday by Judge Albert Levitt who succeeded Judge J. Webber Wilson on the bench of the United States District Court.

Judge Levitt issued a writ of mandamus on a petition submitted by three women school teachers who sought to compel electoral boards in this municipality to enter their names on voting lists. The electoral boards had refused to register the names of twenty-three women teachers last week.

In giving his ruling Judge Levitt cited the Danish colonial law known as the Amalienborg Code published in 1906 and regarded as the basic law of the islands, which provides that every personal legally qualified who owns property in this municipality or has a yearly income of more than $300 and who has not been legally deprived of his property, is entitled to vote. After extensive research into Danish codes, Judge Levitt held that as a matter of law the term "person" could not be interpreted as "man" without invalidating the entire colonial law. He also cited the 19th Amendment to the United States Constitution.

Carl Thiele, chairman of the electoral boards, said Saturday that he was satisfied with the court's actions and would obey the order without appealing from it. A fine of $1,000 or imprisonment or both may be imposed on anyone who refuses to obey the writ or file notice of appeal within a specified time.

VIRGIN ISLANDS ARE NOW QUIETING DOWN

New York Times

New Governor Meets Passive Opposition and Many of Old Problems Remain.

1-12-36

RESORT PROJECTS LAGGING

New York Times

By HANSON W. BALDWIN.

The Virgin Islands—less than a year ago the enfant terrible of America's colonial possessions—have considerably quieted down in the four months since Governor Lawrence W. Cramer assumed office. Their problems are by no means solved, and some of the opposition to the rule of Governor Paul M. Pearson has been continued against his former Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Cramer; but the turmoil and trouble that featured much of the Pearson administration has, to a large extent, subsided.

It was in an atmosphere of gathering storm clouds that large-scale economic, social and political experiments were inaugurated which, it was hoped, would transform the islands with their 25,000 inhabitants from the "poorhouse" which President Hoover dubbed them. Homesteading and housing projects were commenced; public works have started, and the Virgin Islands Company was set up with government funds to rehabilitate the wrecked sugar industry of St. Croix and to turn sugar cane into what was hoped would be the liquid gold of rum.

Self-Support Sought.

This program, it was believed, would break up the vast land holdings of the old slave estates, would help to redistribute wealth, and, coupled with proposed new basic laws for the islands, would make the people not only self-supporting but self-governing—or nearly so.

There have been a number of changes in island adminstration, a number of departures from the islands of some of the most active members of the opposition, and some tightening of the reins of government.

The opposition newspaper, The Emancipator, still thunders, but mildly. A number of Governor Pearson's subordinates have been supplanted by new appointees, though some have been retained and even promoted, and the navy—in the person of some eighty marines and about eight marine planes—has returned to the islands.

But Governor Cramer has found no bed of roses, for economically and sociologically the islands have been undergoing a sweeping program of change. The opposition, though passive, continues. In the islanders' minds the Cramer administration is tarred with the brush of Pearsonism, as The Emancipator once would have expressed it. Mr. Cramer and practically all of his principal subordinates were so closely associated with Dr. Pearson that the present administration has worked under the handicap of the unpopularity that helped to bring about Pearson's downfall.

Islanders' Criticism.

There is also some criticism of the slowness with which the government's program for the economic rehabilitation of the islands has been advancing; of health and sanitary conditions, and of the failure of the promised tourist hotel to materialize immediately. But despite opposition and changes of plans the government's program is progressing, say reports.

The Virgin Islands Company has made and stored for aging many gallons of rum, and has sold some of it. A new rum industry, financed by private capital, has been established in St. Thomas; the homesteading program is continuing both in St. Thomas and St. Croix, and a new road is being built in St. Thomas.

The marines have brought to St. Thomas, which in the old days used to live—according to legend—by "taking in the navy's wash"—a degree of prosperity, which has been marked by increased laundry prices and rents. The plans for making St. Thomas a tourist paradise—an American Bermuda—have admittedly lagged, but according to Ralph Dellevie, head of National Tours, who was appointed tourist commissioner for the Virgin Islands last Summer, the plans have not been abandoned.

Not only is there the government's Bluebird Castle Hotel, opened about a year ago, but funds for a large hotel have been appropriated and plans for its erection are going ahead. Mr. Dellevie says that the number of tourists visiting the islands increased 30 per cent in 1935.

Little apparent improvement has as yet been made in the islands' health and sanitation conditions in the interval since Governor Pearson left office, and a number of cases of tropical fever were recently reported in St. Thomas.

Present agitation in the islands is chiefly centered in St. John, where some of the natives are objecting to the continued rule of Dr. Arthur Edison, commissioner of St. John, and urging his replacement. Morris Davis, leader of the opposition during Governor Pearson's régime, has after a long period of quiet renewed his efforts in St. John, though so far with but a few slight surface indications of resultant discontent.

The New Organic Act.

Two of the movements with which some of the principal citizens of the islands are now concerning themselves are the steps being taken to frame a new organic act for the islands' government and the movement toward extending the right of suffrage to women. The progress in framing the organic act is slow; women's suffrage, because of a recent ruling of Judge Albert Levitt of the Federal District Court, is practically a fait accompli.

Judge Levitt, whose wife, Miss Elsie Hill, was one of the original members of the Lucy Stoners and an ardent suffragette, issued a writ of mandamus recently on a petition submitted by three women school teachers of St. Thomas, who sought to compel electoral boards to enter their names on voting lists. The judge, after extensive research into Danish codes, held that as a matter of law the term "person" in the old Danish Amalienborg Code, which is regarded as the basic law of the islands, could not be interpreted as "man" without invalidating the entire colonial law. He held also that the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution applies to the islands, despite the fact that under the law by which the islands were purchased from Denmark in 1917 constitutional rights were not extended to Virgin Island citizens.

It is to remedy such anachronistic legal situations as this, to rescue the law of the islands from ambiguity and contradictions, and to extend the basic American system of government to the people of the Virgin Islands that the new organic law is being framed.

Despite the quieting of the troubled waters and the large-scale steps that are being taken to make the islands, if possible, self-supporting and self-governing, it is still too early to judge of the ultimate success or failure of these efforts. The islands may have a bright future, but as yet no one can say so with assurance.

VIRGIN ISLANDS NOW QUIET

Things are quieting down in the Virgin Islands. The storms that raged against Gov. Paul M. Pearson and his administration have pretty well blown themselves out since his removal several months ago, and the new governor, Lawrence W. Cramer, has considerably less opposition to face. Of course Governor Cramer has inherited some of the unpopularity of the Pearson regime. This was inevitable because Cramer was Pearson's lieutenant governor and many of his present subordinates were associated with the Pearson government. For that reason some of the opposition in the islands looks upon the present government as embodying the same old faults under a new head. Their attacks, however, have lost most of their fire.

But aside from meeting the attacks of opponents Governor Cramer has an enormous task ahead of him. It will not be easy to convert these Caribbean islands which, as president, Hoover termed an "effective poorhouse" into a self-supporting territory. With their entire economic system upset or destroyed by prohibition and changing conditions they had gone backward, up to the time of the present rehabilitation movement, until they were noted for their poverty. With both their profitable rum and sugar trades gone they reflected none of the prosperity they knew in past years and none of the free and easy days longer past when profits from slave trade and freely spent pirate gold flowed steadily into their ports. The present population of 25,000, composed largely of the descendants of slaves, was unable to re-establish and support itself.

Our government's efforts to better conditions in the Virgins have attacked the evils at the roots. Housing and homesteading movements have been started in an attempt to put the natives in sanitary and adequate quarters and remove them from the huts into which they have been crowded, and efforts are being made through a government corporation to revive the islands' industries. Plans have also been laid for attracting tourists to these "Jewels of the Caribbean" and have been successful to a degree. Whether all these efforts will succeed or not it is yet too early to say.

Virgin Islands Negro Case Causes Split Between Secy. Ickes And Attorney General

Public Works Chief Clerk Of Isles Tried Found Guilty Of Embezzlement; Decision Upheld By Cummings

PHILADELPHIA, March (ANP)—The famous decision of District Judge T. Webber Wilson, native Mississippian named to head the Virgin Islands judiciary, in the case of Leonard W. McIntosh, Negro Virgin Islander, which has caused a split between Secretary Ickes and Attorney General Cummings, was upheld by the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals in a decision handed down here last week.

McIntosh, chief clerk in the Department of Public Works of the Virgin Isles, was found guilty by Judge Wilson of "embezzling a small quantity of lumber, cement and nails worth not more than $70." He was sentenced to pay a fine of $200 or serve 100 days in jail.

At the circuit court hearing held here in December, Secretary Ickes' lawyers declared Judge Wilson had overstepped his authority in his conduct of the case and had acted as "judge, jury, prosecutor and prosecution witness," leaving the bench to cross examine and harass McIntosh's witnesses, and that he convicted the clerk on insufficient evidence.

In reality, however, it was a fight between Ickes and Cummings over civil control of the Virgin Islands, both sides contending authority belonged to them. Secretary Ickes said his office should appoint the attorney for the islands, and called the attorney general a "usurper" of those rights.

Both Judge Joseph Buffington and Judge J. Warren Davis, writing majority opinions, threw out the Ickes' contentions that the conviction was unjust, that Cummings had usurped authority, and declared they had listened to arguments of Ickes' atorneys "purely as a matter of courtesy."

It is predicted that the case will go to the United States Supreme Court.

Senate Passes Bill For Permanent Form Of V. I. Government

5-4-36

Three Local Legislative Bodies Could Only Incur Bonded Debt —Measure Goes to House.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, May 4.—Moving to correct administrative difficulties that have recently beset the Virgin Islands, the Senate approved today a permanent form of government for the 22,000 inhabitants of the former Danish possession, and sent it to the House. There was virtually no opposition.

The measure represents an effect at reform growing out of the Senatorial investigation last year of the governorship of Paul Pearson, who was later removed, and succeeded by Lawrence W. Cramer.

The outstanding feature of the bill passed today was the extension of universal suffrage to the inhabitants of the three islands. Under Danish law, which prevailed in the twenty years under American sovereignty, property qualifications limited the number of voteds to 800 or 900 people, Senator King said in explaining the bill.

"Autonomy" Is Limited

The general autonomy in local government to be extended to the islands was limited, as far as concerns the power of the three local legislative bodies, to incurring bonded indebtedness.

Senator King said that this precaution was taken because the governments are not expected to be self-supporting.

Two municipalities would be set up as local units. One would take in the island of St. Croix, the other St. Thomas and St. John. The sixteen members of the local councils of these municipalities would sit as a territorial legislature.

Their acts would be subject to veto by the Governor, who would be appointed by the President, as would the government secretary, second ranking administrative officer. The legislature, however, could pass acts over the Governor's veto by two-thirds vote, but the act could then be voided by the President. Power would also be reserved to Congress to void any act of the territorial legislature.

Vandenberg Asks for Light

Mr. King said that "the inhabitants of the Virgin Islands are literate and loyal citizens of the United States."

"It is the view of the committee that they are capable of managing their local affairs," he added. "Unfortunately, the islands are not yet economically self-supporting. Hence it has been necessary to provide for an amount of Federal control over local affairs commensurate with continuing expenditures of Federal funds to subsidize the local government."

Senator Vandenberg gravely interrupted Mr. King at one point to call to his attention the word "scilicet," used in the following phrase: "All judicial process shall run in the name of 'The United States of America, scilicet, the President of the United States.'"

The Michigan Senator said that he had asked all the lawyers he could find and that none knew what the word meant, so that he presumed it must be a typographical error. No Senator offered an explanation, but at least two members sent pages for dictionaries. Their researches revealed that the word meant "to wit, namely."

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Universal suffrage to all the inhabitants of the Virgin Islands is one of the major concessions made by the bill providing a permanent form of government for the three islands which was passed by the Senate here Monday. The measure an outgrowth of the Senatorial investigation last year of the governorship of Paul Pearson who was later removed, and succeeded by Lawrence W. Cramer, although providing for considerable expansion of the self-governing powers of the inhabitants of the islands, granted limited autonomy, however, in regards to the incurrence of bonded indebtedness by the three legislative bodies.

Senator King, in explaining the bill, said that his precaution was taken in view of the opinion that the governments of the islands are not yet considered able to be self-supporting.

According to the provisions of the bill, which has been sent to the House of Representatives, two municipalities are to be set up as local units, one taking in the island of S. Croix and the other including St. Thomas and St. John. The sixteen members of the local councils of these municipalities will sit as a territorial legislature according to the provisions of the bill.

Stating as the views of the committee the belief that the natives of the Virgin Islands are "capable of managing their local affairs," King further declared that they are "literate and loyal citizens of the United States."

VIRGIN ISLANDS BILL IS VOTED BY SENATE

Reform Growing Out of Inquiry Extends Universal Suffrage to Inhabitants.

BUT LIMITS 'AUTONOMY'

Race Problem-1936
West Indies.

Virgin Islands.

Native Legislator Tells Of Congressional Fight

Amsterdam News 5-2-36

Virgin Islander Is One of Delegates on Organic Act

How delegates from the Virgin Islands have been struggling in Washington for the past 20 days to secure greater autonomy for the islands' legislature and people in their own affairs was described by the Hon. Lionel Roberts for fourteen years a member of the Colonial Council of St. Thomas, in an interview Monday.

Mr. Roberts, together with Arnold M. Golden, member of the Colonial Council of St. Thomas, also addressed a mass meeting, under the auspices of the Virgin Islands Congressional Council, Sunday evening at St. Mark's Hall, 57 West 138th street.

The greater autonomy is provided for in a proposed new organic law, or constitution, for the islands, to succeed the old Danish Colonial Law, which has been in force since 1906, the last basic law passed by Denmark in its long control over the islands.

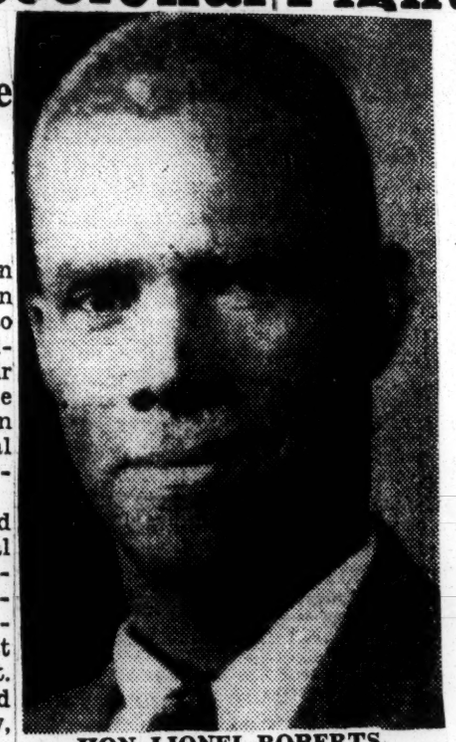
Two Groups Fighting.

In Washington, Mr. Roberts pointed out, two groups were fighting to have their plan of government adopted. The Virgin Islands people, through their elected legislators, and the Division of Territories and Insular Possessions of the Department of the Interior.

"We want small governing councils, the right to fix our own taxes and authorize our own appropriations, the right to make complaints directly to Congress, and complete right of way to introduce legislation," Mr. Roberts explained.

"The Department of the Interior and Governor Cramer want a larger council, the power to fill offices and create positions, and want to perpetuate for the governor a Danish custom of permitting the chief executive to introduce legislation directly, such legislation to have priority over that introduced by the elected members.

"At the same time, the governor would also have power of veto," he



HON. LIONEL ROBERTS.

declared, "and all complaints would have to go to the Department of the Interior."

Cramer Formerly With Pearson.

Governor Cramer was lieutenant governor to former Governor Paul M. Pearson, removed some months ago, and, according to Mr. Roberts, although he was given copies of the organic act drawn up by the islanders, when he reached Washington, instead of lining up with the islanders he became the chief exponent of the Interior Department bill.

Representing the department was also William H. Hastie, assistant solicitor of the department.

"When the Senate Investigating committee told us in 1935 to go home and prepare a new basic law for the islands," Mr. Roberts continued, "we were admonished not to go to the governor or even to the Colonial Councils, but to the people.

"The committee members said, in effect: 'You are not lawyers, but get the people's wishes, find out what they want, and we have lawyers here who can fix what you work out into the final shape.'"

So well did the islanders draft their bill, however, that there was no need for general revamping, the delegates revealed. Besides hearings and community meetings, different groups in the islands, including the committees working on the proposed act, read hundreds of charters and constitutions, including the "model constitution," drawn up by about 500 American lawyers.

From all these sources they built up the constitutional instrument they desired, preserving for the natives the highest degree of autonomy and self-government, free from Washington bureaucracy, as much as possible, Mr. Roberts said.

The new law, when and if passed by Congress, will legalize universal suffrage for the first time. Until a very recent court decision gave women the suffrage, only men could vote, and there still exists a monetary provision ($300 annual income) as a requirement for voting.

Legislature Revamped.

The legislature of the islands will also be reconstructed. Each municipality will have a municipal commission of seven members for St. Thomas and nine for St. Croix, and these two commissions will meet at stated periods as a legislature of the entire Virgin Islands. Under existing laws there are two independent legislatures for the islands, each working independently for its own constituency.

It will be necessary for newcomers to the islands to live there three years before they may run for any legislative position, under the new laws, and persons in the employ of the government will be ineligible for elected office.

Sunday night's meeting, attended by 1,500 people, turned out to be also a demonstration for Casper Holstein, president of the Virgin Islands Council, who is now in prison for operating the numbers business, according to the law, but who is being persecuted, according to the contention of his followers, for having fought in the interest of the islands and against the recent Pearson regime.

"Pearson was kicked out of the islands and I was kicked in—kicked into prison," Holstein observed in a message read at the meeting.

Both of the visiting legislators, Mr. Roberts and Mr. Golden, asserted that Governor Cramer is not the man for the job. "He is too much tied to the Pearson regime, on one hand," said Mr. Roberts, "and even if he would make himself acceptable, he cannot, because, to me, he is little more than a clerk of the Interior Department."

"There should have been a clean sweep of the whole setup when Pearson left," both islanders agreed.